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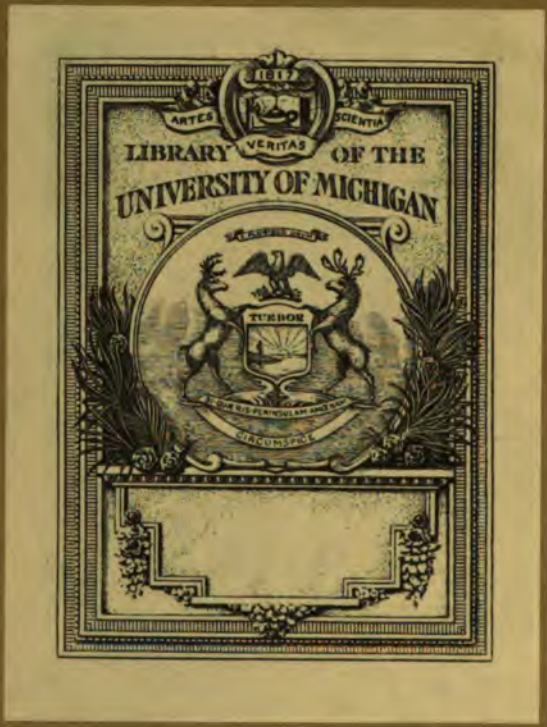
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1849.

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THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JOHN ENGLAND,

FIRST BISHOP OF CHARLESTON,

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED

UNDER THE ADVICE AND DIRECTION OF HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR,

THE RIGHT REV. IGNATIUS ALOYSIUS REYNOLDS,

AND PRINTED FOR HIM,

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

"Remember your Prelates, who have spoken the word of God to you."—HEB. xiii. 7.
"He shall show forth the discipline he hath learnt, and glory in the Covenant of the Lord: many shall praise his wisdom, and it shall never be forgotten."—ECCLI. xxxix. 11, 12.

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PREFACE.

I AM happy to be able, at length, to offer to the friends of Dr. ENGLAND, of Religion and of Literature, the Works of that distinguished Prelate. In a Circular Letter, addressed to the Rt. Rev. and Rev. Clergy, in March, 1847, I stated that, "I have not undertaken this publication, as a tribute to the memory of a great and good man, an eloquent and learned Prelate of our Church—admired in life and lamented in death, by all who knew him; though a sense of what is due to the memory of such a man has animated my efforts. My chief motive has been, to preserve for this and future ages the labors of a writer, well acquainted with the important subjects which he treated, and singularly gifted with the powers of close and exact logic, and with the happy talent of communicating his thoughts, in a style remarkable for perspicuity and strength,—always easy and natural,—often charming by its beauty, or warming by its fervor,—and sometimes elevating us by its sublimity. Dr. ENGLAND possessed in an eminent degree the talent of perceiving, and presenting clearly and prominently to view the principal facts, or most important points in every subject. He had, besides, the admirable tact,—if so it may be called,—of always marshalling his arguments to the greatest advantage, and of accommodating himself to the circumstances, and spirit of the age, in which we live; thus making every thing available for the great and holy cause, to which he had consecrated his life. The truths of our divine Religion, and the arguments in their proof,—always substantially the same,—seemed to possess a new beauty and power,—to be a sudden and certain intuition of the mind,—the vision, as it were, of an inspired man, when announced by the eloquent lips, or laid down and explained by the ready and vigorous pen of the late Bishop of Charleston. Hence, to those, whose duty it is to inculcate the truths of Religion, his writings may serve as an excellent model, and a motive to increased zeal and industry; while they are a rich repository of matter, generally presented in the manner most fit to produce the desired effect. They are, moreover, among the first *in time*,—as in merit,—of the contributions of the Catholic Church in these States, to Literature, Science and Theology;—are a proof to all of the learning and zeal of our clergy in this, as well as in every other age and country, and contain much that will aid the future historian of the American Church.

"One other consideration has influenced me in preparing this edition of Dr. ENGLAND'S Works; it is, that they cost the author much time and labor, and that for their publication in the ephemeral journals and pamphlets of the day, he thought it right to spend a large portion of the means, which he might have used to promote the interests of Religion in other ways, or to alleviate some of the inconveniences and privations, to which his poverty subjected him. It seems to me that works, which are so valuable under so many points of view, and which cost the author, whose name we are proud to see on the catalogue of American Bishops,—so much of time and labor, and of the scanty means of poverty itself, *should be preserved;* and the omission of an *effort* at least for this end, might justly be imputed to some want of judgment, or of zeal, in those who are charged with the interests of Religion." In the same Circular I remarked:—"I do not flatter myself, that the selection and arrangement of the matter will meet the approbation of all; nor do I presume to think, that the work might not have been better executed under the direction

of one having more time and ability for the task; yet, I am conscious of having spared no exertion to collect *all* the most valuable writings of my lamented predecessor, and put them in the form and order, which seemed to me best suited to convenience and usefulness."

My first care was to procure complete volumes of the "United States Catholic Miscellany," from its commencement by Dr. England, in June, 1822, to the time of his death; and also to collect the various pamphlets and books written by him. This was not an easy task, especially as regards the Miscellany; for, unfortunately, there was no complete file of that paper in our Library, or Printing Office. By perseverance, a perfect set of the Miscellany was found, and was purchased by a pious lady, to whose liberality and zeal, on various occasions, the Church of Charleston is much indebted. There remained still the more difficult task of ascertaining what pieces were from the pen of Dr. England, and of selecting those most fit and useful for the present collection. This was entrusted to a Committee of Clergymen of the Diocess.* Their accurate memory, intimate acquaintance with Dr. England, and knowledge of his style, are the best, and, in fact, the only guaranty for the authenticity of the few pieces in this collection, not otherwise certainly known to have been written by that Prelate. The arrangement and preparation of the whole matter for the press, were committed to the Rev. J. A. Corcoran, D. D., and the Rev. N. A. F. Hewit. They cheerfully accepted this labor; and have performed it with a perseverance and ability that require of me a public acknowledgment.

By the kind co-operation of the Committee above-mentioned, and especially of the two Rev. gentlemen last named, and, most of all, by the persevering industry and zeal of the Rev. Mr. Hewit,† I am enabled to send forth the present volumes, which will, I hope, perpetuate, better than a monument of marble or brass, the memory of their gifted author.

I offer no apology for any portion of the articles here presented to the public. Had Divine Providence prolonged his life, Dr. England would certainly have revised his writings with rigorous criticism, before suffering their re-publication, especially, as they were at first prepared under the continual pressure of the many cares and labors of his Episcopate, increased by the embarrassments of poverty. Indeed, when urged by his friends to publish a complete collection of his works, he pleaded the necessity of a strict revision, and the time required for the same, as reasons for postponing the task. He was called away in the prime of life, and in the midst of his usefulness, before reaching that period when, as he had hoped, he might have retired from the active duties of the ministry, and devoted his latter years to a more intimate communion with his Creator, as well as to this, and similar labors. But, though there may be some faults in the style, or deficiency in the matter and arrangement of his compositions, nevertheless, I believe that every thing which Dr. England published, however hastily, or—in the severe judgment of his own mind—imperfectly written, is worthy of being preserved and read by posterity.

I wished very much to have the quotations and historical references verified,—as errors in these matters are easily committed, even by well-informed and honest writers; and this verification was partially made: but our imperfect library, and the many duties of the gentlemen entrusted with the preparation of the work, prevented its being carried through. I am satisfied, however, from the examinations that have been made, and from a knowledge of the accurate mind of Dr. England, that his quotations may be generally relied on.

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* The Committee was aided in its labor by a Catalogue of Dr. England's Writings, kindly furnished, at my request, by the very intelligent and accomplished ladies of the Ursuline Convent,—then in Charleston.

† This gentleman is more truly than any one else, the Editor of these volumes, having sustained the principal labor of preparing them, and the more irksome task of superintending their impression.

A few notes have been appended to portions of the work;—more would have needlessly increased the size and expense of the publication.

To each volume a Table of Contents has been prefixed, and to the last, a General Index has been appended, sufficiently copious and exact to be of great convenience and service to the reader.

I cannot conclude these remarks, without expressing my regret, that I could find no one, among the numerous friends and admirers of Dr. ENGLAND, who would undertake to write his biography. Being imperfectly acquainted with his early life, and wholly occupied in the duties of my station, I could not myself prepare one, and I can only offer two biographical notices, remarkably well written, indeed, but entirely too brief for the importance of the subject.

I hope it will not be considered improper for me here to say, that it is not without feelings of anxiety I have committed the present volumes to the press. My expectations of a large subscription list, and of advance-payment, in part, or in full, by many, have not been realized; and it may be, that a more embarrassing disappointment awaits me, in respect to the sale of the work. Yet, as I can scarcely believe that such will be the result, I have, after a long and anxious delay, contracted a heavy debt by the present publication, relying entirely, for the means of payment, on the patronage of the public, and especially on the *benevolent exertions* and *active zeal* of my Clerical Brethren in this country. To them, the Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests of the Holy Catholic Church in these States, I respectfully offer and dedicate the present volumes, humbly invoking the blessing of God on this work, which has been undertaken solely for his honor and glory.

† IGNATIUS ALOYSIUS REYNOLDS,
BISHOP OF CHARLESTON

CHARLESTON, S. C. *Feast of S. Francis Xavier*, 1848.

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ERRATA.

Page 29, col. 1, 5th line from the top, "political" should probably be "polemical."
" 56, Poem, by J. A. Shea, 2d line of 1st verse, for "lis" *read* "is."
" " Lines on Bp. England by M. P., 2d line of 3d verse, *omit* "the" before "charities."
" 65, Note, col. 1, 19th line from the top, for "Let," *read* "Licet."
" 66, col. 2d, 25th line from the top, for "saparatist," *read* "separatist."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND OBITUARY NOTICES

OF

BISHOP ENGLAND.

EXTRACT FROM A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE RIGHT REV. JOHN ENGLAND, LATE BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.

[From the Dublin Catholic Directory.]

THE distinguished subject of this memoir, the Right Rev. John England, late Bishop of Charleston, United States of America, was born in the city of Cork, on the 23d of September, 1786. A modesty the most sensitive, a kindness of heart the most devoted, distinguished him even in boyhood, and endeared him to all within his sphere, long before the development of those great intellectual powers which have ranked him with the ablest and most eminent men of his time. It were indeed easy, did the space afforded to this hurried sketch permit us, to furnish instances from his earliest age, of that fervor of devotion—that greatness of soul—that lofty spirit of self-sacrifice, that ennobled him living, and embalm his memory dead. On such matters, however, we cannot afford to dwell, but must leave to others to trace from its infant source that tide of deep philanthropy and apostolic devotion, which, checked and buffeted as it was, pursued its course in defiance of the obstacles that beset it, and bore the blessings of charity and faith to thousands on its way.

Having providentially recovered from a severe fever, that attacked him in the seventh year of his age, accompanied by an ulcerous affection of the throat, which rendered the removal of one of the tonsils necessary, Mr. England received all the advantages of education that the schools of his native city afforded, until he reached his fifteenth year. Having at this period made considerable progress in his studies, his father became desirous that he would turn his attention to some pursuit, in which he could forward him in life; but, when on the eve of doing so, he was agreeably surprised by his son's unexpectedly communicating to him his wish to embrace the ecclesiastical state—a wish which he stated to be the result of nearly two years of silent reflection; and on the fulfilment of which, he declared his heart to be firmly and unalterably fixed. Upon being convinced that his choice sprung from no hasty or ill-considered determination, or what from his filial affection he dreaded more, no sacrifice of his own feelings to those which he might have conjectured to be their's, Mr. England's parents gladly seconded his views, which indeed had long been the object of their anxious though unexpressed wishes.

From this time to his entrance at college, a space of two years, Mr. England occupied himself in more assiduous application to his studies, having, at the desire of his Bishop, the Right Rev. Francis Moylan, placed himself under the particular care of the Very Rev. Robert M'Carthy, the Dean of the Diocess, a man of exemplary virtue, whose esteem and affection he rapidly won, and whose lessons of religion and self-devotedness, he proved by his after career to have made an indelible impression upon his mind.

On the 31st of August, 1803, Mr. England left Cork for the College of Carlow; and, in the second year after his entrance, commenced delivering catechetical instructions in the parish chapel, which not only the children, but the adults of the town and neighbourhood thronged to hear. He likewise devoted much of his leisure time to the religious instruction of the Roman Catholic portion of the Cork Militia, then stationed in Carlow, under the command of Colonel Longfield. This officer was persuaded, by the representations of some bigoted fanatics, to bring to court-martial the men who attended his instructions; but to the mortification of their persecutors, the inquiry ended in his sanction and approval of the young apostle's proceedings, who frequently after

expressed his delight that his mission, like that of the great St. Francis de Sales, had its commencement amongst the military.

His religious instruction was not, however, the sole benefit derived by Carlow from the exertions of Mr. England. Before his departure from it, he laid the foundation of a more lasting claim to the gratitude of its inhabitants, by procuring the establishment there of a female penitentiary, and the erection of male and female poor schools, which latter institution chiefly suggested the formation of the Presentation Convent. He took his departure in the year 1808, to the deep regret of all the inmates, both students and professors, particularly the Venerable President, who expressed the most unaffected sorrow at their separation—and returned to Cork to receive holy orders, for which Dr. Moylan had, without apprizing him, obtained a dispensation from Rome, Mr. England not having yet attained the canonical age. On the 9th of October in that year, he received the order of deacon, and of priesthood on the following day. Immediately after his ordination, he once more visited Carlow, to regulate the affairs of the different establishments there, which had been under his superintendence, and to resign the charge of them. After a stay of a fortnight, he returned to Cork, and was appointed lecturer at the Cathedral. The Bishop himself announced the appointment from the altar, and requested the attendance of the congregation at the lectures. At his desire, Mr. England commenced a series of these, on the Old and New Testaments, which he always regularly attended, unless prevented by illness or absence from the city.

On Sundays, besides his lectures at the Cathedral, he delivered an exhortation in the small chapel of the Presentation Convent; the doors of which were besieged by persons eager to hear his zealous and impressive eloquence.

Of the effects produced on his hearers by his powerful reasoning, the best attestation is to be found in the acknowledgments of many still living, who, to his instrumentality under God, attribute their preservation from vice; whilst many, it is hoped, now numbered amongst the dead, had been by his guidance turned from the courses of wickedness to the paths of religion and truth. In the community just referred to, of which Mr. England was at this period chaplain, he ever took an active interest, and assisted much in organizing it, and in improving the system of education in the schools attached to the Convent.

We can only give a passing glance at the various other matters which at this time occupied the attention of Mr. England. On his arrival from Carlow, the present Magdalen Asylum, built at the expense of Mr. Therry, was in progress of erection. To this he immediately turned his attention, and up to the time of its being opened in June, 1809, he assembled six of the unfortunate beings who were to be its future inmates, whom, with the assistance of his friends, he supported till the house should be opened for their reception, placing them under the care of the person who subsequently filled the office of matron in the establishment. To the remonstrances of his friends, who feared that his exertions on behalf of this institution, which could only be credited by those who witnessed them, would lead to results prejudicial to his health, he replied in the words of St. Ignatius—"If I only prevent one sin, I shall consider myself well recompensed for all my exertions—perhaps I may prevent many;"—and many indeed we may safely trust he prevented.

Another of his labors about this time, was the publication of a monthly periodical, the "Religious Repertory," which he originated in the month of May in the same year, with a view to diffuse a spirit of piety amongst the people, and to withdraw them from the perusal of books of a dangerous or immoral tendency. This work was instructive and recreative. With the same object which induced him to originate it, he likewise established a circulating library, in the extensive parish of St. Mary's, Shandon.

He next turned his attention to the city jail, and government not then allowing a salary for a Roman Catholic Chaplain, gave it his services gratuitously for no inconsiderable time. There being at that time no priest at Sydney, this made him redouble his exertions for such of its wretched inmates as were condemned to transportation for their offences: and with the most salutary effect, many of the misguided creatures blessing God for their punishment, as being the means of placing them under the guidance of one who dispelled the shades of crime from their hearts, and brought them once more to a knowledge of religion and virtue. Many of those, too, whom a darker career of evil brought to a sadder and more awful expiation, received under his chastening admonitions their punishments as a boon from the Almighty hand; while reckless and unfeeling guilt has, even at the scaffold's foot, been arrested by his determined voice, and paused on the very threshold of eternity, to seek in a subdued and altered spirit reconciliation to an offended God.

In the year 1812, we see Mr. England in a new character—a character indeed seem-

ingly opposed to the quiet and sacred calling of the minister of God—but which, notwithstanding, it is at times a peremptory duty with him to assume—the political champion—the unflinching advocate of the rights and liberties of his fellow-men. At the period of which we write—a far different one, thank Heaven, from that in which we live—the Irish priesthood had been traitors to their religion, had they been faithless to their country. The party dominant in the land proclaimed "war to the knife" against Catholicism, and political disabilities were but another name for religious oppression. Such was then no time for a man of Mr. England's stamp to be inactive. His ardent and philanthropic temperament, required not that his faith should be involved in the struggle to make him a participator in it. His exertions never were wanting, when the object was the happiness of his fellow-man, be his sect or party what it might: and we may judge that, when the two great impulses of religion and patriotism combined to urge him, he joined heart and soul in the contest.

After the contested election for Cork, in which Sir N. Colthurst, Colonel Longfield, and Mr. Hutchinson were candidates, he strenuously exerted himself to procure the registry of the liberal voters, and by his admonitions against bribery, laid the foundation of the independence and public virtue of the constituency, and particularly the forty shilling freeholders, which so often since have caused the principles of freedom to triumph on the hustings of his native country.

In this year, Mr. England was appointed President of the Diocesan College of St. Mary, opened by Dr. Moylan for the education of candidates for holy orders, and taught in it the theological course.

In 1813, he performed a principal part in the ministerial functions attendant on the Jubilee granted by the Pope to the Catholics of Cork, on the completion of their new Cathedral. Dean M'Carthy having, on the death of Dr. Walsh in this year, been appointed Parish Priest of St. Finbar's, and having accepted the office, requested the Bishop to allow him the assistance of Mr. England in the parish. To this, however, the Bishop would not consent; declaring that, whilst he lived, he would retain him near himself; and Dr. M'Carthy, finding his resolution on the subject inflexible, resigned the parish.—To the remonstrances of Mr. England on subsequent occasions, who desired to be removed to some post more suited to the activity of his character, Dr. Moylan's invariable reply was, that he never would consent to part with him.

In the commencement of the following year, the life of Mr. England was providentially preserved under the following circumstances. Having left Cork for Dublin, on business of a spiritual nature, a heavy fall of snow came on during the night, which prevented the mail in which he travelled from proceeding beyond Carlow. Mr. England's business was urgent; and, having no better mode of proceeding, he resolved, with some others, to walk the remaining part of the journey. The snow had fallen to such a depth as to cover altogether the huts by the road-side, and he at one time narrowly escaped fracturing his leg, by thrusting it through the chimney of a cottage. After advancing some distance, and feeling fatigued, he drank of the snow-water to refresh himself. This produced sickness and languor; and, unable to keep pace with his fellow-travellers, he sank exhausted on the snow. He reached, with some effort, a little elevation, as he thought, to expire, and had scarcely attained it when he fell into a swoon. In this state, he was fortunately discovered by a countryman, who, with some difficulty, recovered him so far that he was just able to articulate "I am a priest," and to make a faint attempt to exhibit a stole which he had. The man assured him, that at any risk he would not abandon him, and with the assistance of some others, who shortly after happened to reach the spot, conveyed him to the nearest house. Here, having taken some repose and refreshment, he quickly recovered his strength, and pursued the rest of his journey in safety.

On his return to Cork, he found, to his great affliction, that his pious and enlightened friend, Dean M'Carthy, was no more; and not long after, he sustained a fresh and more painful deprivation in the death of his beloved Bishop, Dr. Moylan, which took place on the 10th of February, 1815;—a man whose many virtues and unpretending excellence, shed a mild and tranquil lustre over the station which he occupied, and the religion which he adorned. Amongst the flock of which he was pastor, the grief for his loss was universal: but to him who from his first entrance on the mission, had been his chosen friend, and whose own heart rendered him in every way capable of appreciating his kindred virtues, few events could have brought such deep and heartfelt sorrow. Even at this distance of time, we would consider it a wrong to the memory of one so good, to mention his name without a passing tribute to his worth and virtue. May he rest in peace!

During the year 1814, Mr. England powerfully exerted himself in opposition to the Veto, which then formed the topic of univer-

sal discussion amongst the Catholic body, both in this country and in England. He looked upon it as an insidious attempt to undermine and sap the foundation of the Irish Church, which had been found impregnable to the open and violent assaults of three successive centuries, and assailed it incessantly with his voice and pen. In the pages of the periodical already referred to, "The Repertory," he warmly espoused the cause of the anti-vetoists, and held up to deserved contempt those, and there were high and influential names amongst them, who with the power of constitutionally gaining their rights, would, with fawning servility, accept them as a ministerial boon, and give in exchange the freedom of that religion which their ancestors had preserved with their fortunes and their blood. Happily the *boon* was rejected, and the *rights* have been obtained.

On the death of Dr. Moylan, the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, the present Bishop, succeeded him in the Diocess of Cork, and in the year 1817, appointed Mr. England to the parish of Bandon, on the death of the former Parish Priest, the Rev. James Mahony. This town was at that time the stronghold of bigotry and intolerance, but the high character of Mr. England, during his residence there, conciliated men of all shades of opinion, and won for him the respect and esteem of persons of every sect and party. He continued in the parish until his appointment to the See of Charleston, in the year 1820, the bulls of which were expedited from Rome, on the second of June in that year.

On the arrival of the bulls, Mr. England withheld the knowledge of them from his family for some time, not wishing to afflict them, and particularly his mother, (his only surviving parent, his father having died in 1812.) He was consecrated on the 21st of September, 1820, by the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, assisted by Dr. Marum, Bishop of Ossory, and Dr. Kelly, Bishop of Richmond, several other prelates being present at the ceremony. Previously to his departure from Cork, he was entertained at a public dinner, which was attended by the most respectable inhabitants, Protestant as well as Catholic, of the city, who joined in paying a tribute to his worth. He left for Belfast on the 10th of October, accompanied by his youngest sister, who had resolved to be the partner of his privations and perils; and after a stay of a fortnight there, till the vessel in which he was to proceed was ready to sail, embarked for the United States. Shortly after putting to sea, the weather became wild and tempestuous, and they were driven into Milford Haven, having narrowly escaped shipwreck, where, having remained ten days to repair the damages sustained by the ship, they again set sail: and after a severe and boisterous passage, reached Charleston, on the 30th of December. * * *

MEMOIR OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

BY WM. GEORGE READ.

Bishop England was a man of transcendent and various ability. Had his genius been directed exclusively to arms, or to politics, or to letters, he might have twined the shamrock with the laurel or the bay, as triumphantly as a Wellington, a Grattan, or a Burke. In a different age of the Church he would have been classed with her Gregories and Alcuins.

The mysterious dispensations of Providence appointed him to duties requiring the alternate exertion of all his diverse gifts; though in circumstances unfavorable to their perfect development before the world; yet, doubtless, with as much substantial benefit to others, and less danger to himself, than if his career had been one of unchecked success.

He was born at Cork on the 23d of September, A. D. 1786. His parents were of that class of society designated, in common parlance, "respectable," from their possession of a competency of worldly wealth; but ennobled, in heavenly heraldry, by their unflinching participation in those sufferings for Christ which have peopled Ireland, for ages, with the "friends of God." I cannot record his genealogy in language equal to his own:*

"More than forty-five years have passed away since a man, then about sixty years of age, led me into a prison, and showed me the room in which he had been confined, during upwards of four years, in consequence of the injustice to which the Catholics of Ireland were subjected in those days of persecution. On the day that he was immured, his wife was seized upon by fever, the result of terror. While she lay on her bed of sickness, she and her family were dispossessed of the last remnant of their land and furniture; she was removed to the house of a neighbor, to breathe her last under a stranger's roof. Her eldest child had completed his 17th year, a few days before he closed her grave. Two younger brothers, and two younger sisters, looked to him as their only support. He endeavored to turn his education to account. It was discovered

[* See Bishop England's Letter to Rev. R. Fuller, dated October 10th, 1839.]

that he was a *Papist*, as the law contumeliously designated a Roman Catholic, and that he was guilty of teaching some propositions of the sixth book of Euclid to a few scholars, that he might be able to aid his father and to support his family. Informations were lodged against him for this violation of the law, which rendered him liable to transportation. Compassion was taken upon his youth and his misfortunes, and, instead of proceeding immediately to the prosecution, an opportunity was given him of swearing before the Protestant Bishop, that he did not believe in the doctrines of Transubstantiation, of Penance, and of the Invocation of Saints, and the certificate of the prelate would raise a bar to his prosecution. This youth knew no principle of his Church which could excuse his perjury. He escaped, and fled into the mountains; where he remained during more than a year, subsisting upon the charity of those to whose children he still communicated the rudiments of learning, but in the most painful anxiety as to the state of his father, brother and sisters.

The declaration of American Independence, and the successful resistance of the colonies, produced some mitigation of the persecutions which the Irish Catholic endured: this fugitive returned by stealth to the city, and was enabled to undertake the duties of a land surveyor, to have his parent liberated, his family settled, and he became prosperous."

Bishop England was the eldest son of this martyr of Catholic truth and sincerity.

Well has an English poet attested,—Adversity,

> "When first thy sire to send on earth
> Virtue, his darling child, designed,
> To thee he gave the heavenly birth,
> And bade to form her infant mind."

The trials of the England family nurtured them to high vocations. Two priests and a nun were devoted to the service of God in the present generation. When I once asked the Bishop how a temperament so ardent, and talents so eminently adapted to civic or military pursuits, could have found their way to the sanctuary, he answered that, "though she never told him of it till after his ordination, his mother took him to the temple, in his infancy, and offered him to God"—we may add—as Anna did Samuel. "She lent him to the Lord all the days of his life," and he accepted and sanctified the loan.

His father seconded her pious care, and, by precept and example, directed the future priest in the path of holiness. He was accustomed to send him, at regular periods, to his confession, as to a duty of course, and which was not to be postponed or dispensed with; in this exhibiting a salutary precedent to Christian parents, who too often rely on persuasion, or the spontaneous movements of the youthful conscience, which, in its guileless simplicity, dreams not of reservations at the sacred Tribunal of Penance, however reluctantly approached. Bishop England illustrated, in after years, the truth of the inspired maxim—"it is good for a man when he hath borne the yoke from his youth." When he inclined to some indulgence of doubtful morality, his father would bid him "hear the Church," and send him to his confessor.

But his discipline was not limited to the watchful solicitude of a mother's love, or the anxious providence of paternal care. The champion of the cross was to be exercised, while yet a child, in the hard doctrine of the eighth beatitude—"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, for my sake." In the cruel circumstances of his afflicted country, it was necessary, at one period of his boyhood, to élect between want of education, and his subjection to a teacher in whose school he was the only Catholic, and who was accustomed to wreak his malice on "the little Papist:" by which reproachful epithet he delighted to expose his victim to the contempt and odium of his youthful associates; and so deep was the impression of his cruelty and injustice on the heart of the pupil, that when, many years afterwards, they accidentally met at the door of a church, as the latter was entering it to celebrate Mass, he found himself compelled to pause, for a considerable space, in an agony of prayer, before he could sufficiently subdue the emotions of horror and resentment excited by the sudden apparition of the tyrant of his childhood, to venture to approach the tremendous Mysteries.

"In early life he placed himself with an eminent barrister, under whom he studied for about two years." No preparation could have been better for his subsequent career; and to this elementary training he was doubtless indebted for that practical intuition, with which, in after years, he discovered the legal difficulties which often surrounded his position, and apprehended, or himself suggested, the appropriate remedy. The comprehensive wisdom, too, of legal principles, and the precise and subtle logic that regulates their application to human affairs, could not but have exerted a most beneficial influence on the conduct of his understanding, and the formation of those overwhelming argumental powers that rendered him so eminent as a controversial writer and speaker.

But he was created to a higher and holier

vocation than that which ministers at the altars of earthly justice. The voice which broke the slumbers of the youthful successor of Heli, spoke to the heart of the great apostle of this western world. He turned from the pursuits of temporal ambition, and consecrated his virgin prime to the service of the sanctuary.

At his own request, and with the approbation of his Bishop, he was placed by his friends at the Theological College of Carlow, where his piety, virtues and abilities, soon commended him to the confidence, love and admiration of his superiors and fellow-students: and, as every reminiscence of such a man is precious, it may not be amiss to state the grateful recollection he retained to the last, of what he esteemed the judicious method of his spiritual guardians there; whose aim he represented to have been, to form their pupils to habits of independent devotion, so that, when they should emerge from the security of the cloister to the exposure of the world, their piety might not fail, for want of those accustomed helps of religious sodalities, which, however useful where they are maintained, are unhappily not often found in these ages of infidelity, beyond the precincts of the Seminary.

Even at this early stage of his usefulness, he seems to have evinced that practical turn for which he was subsequently so distinguished; and to have left "at Carlow and its vicinity," enduring monuments of his untiring zeal and active benevolence, in "an asylum for unprotected females, and schools for the free and correct education of poor boys."

The high estimation in which he was held by his ecclesiastical superiors, appears from the fact that, even before he was formally admitted to the degree of a licentiate in theology, the Bishop of the diocess in which Carlow is situated, "called into action his great instructive powers," in delivering moral lectures at his Cathedral, during the season of Lent.

But the venerable diocesan of Cork would no longer spare him from the labors of his own immediate portion of the vineyard. Before he had invested him with the priestly character, by imposition of sacred hands, he appointed the youthful theologian President of the Diocesan Theological Seminary at Cork. He soon manifested his confidence in him still further, by dispensing, in his regard, with the canonical prohibition of ordination, before the age of twenty-five years; and established him in the honorable and responsible appointments of lecturer at the North Chapel in Cork, and chaplain of the prisons.

In the former station, Mr. England perfected himself in that magnificent pulpit oratory, for which, beyond the sphere of his immediate and personal official relations, (though among the least of his many and splendid endowments,) he was principally admired: in the latter, he became intimately versed in the political misery of his countrymen, and the diabolical machinations by which their tyrants tortured, degraded, plundered and enslaved them!

A circumstance related by himself sheds baleful light on that system under which Ireland so long has groaned. During one of his visits to the jail, a turnkey told him there was a prisoner recently committed, who was abandoned to the most frantic despair. Mr. England sought his cell immediately, but, for some time, found him inaccessible. With frightful imprecations, now against himself, now against the treachery of the government, the wretched man seemed on the verge of the wildest insanity. At length, the soothing voice of pity, and the tranquil admonitions of sober reason, recalled him to something like composure; and he told his sad tale. He had been an emissary of government, and his business was, to foment discontents among his countrymen, stimulate the daring to outrage, and then betray them to the bloodhounds of the law. He had, at length, become possessed of too many secrets, and it was expedient to get rid of him. He had accordingly been entrapped into some accustomed felony, for the usual purpose of turning approver, and arrested, under circumstances that left no hope of his escape from conviction; and he was now writhing under the certainty of his destruction, and the horrid consciousness that it was justly incurred. Mr. England was a man whom no circumstances could take by surprise. He applied his searching intellect, at once, to the examination of the prisoner's statements; assured him that, if they were true, he should be defended, with strong hopes of success; and, at the same time, held out to him the consolations that religion offers to the repentant sinner. He left him, to return on the morrow with witnesses and counsel—but, on that morrow, the prisoner was gone, nor could the most diligent inquiries elicit a trace of his fate. Many years afterwards, when the occurrence had faded from his memory, a person called on him in Charleston, and inquired if he were related to Mr. England, the former chaplain of the prison at Cork? On being informed that himself was the identical person, the stranger asked, if he remembered the incident I have just related. The Bishop, with some difficulty, recollected the affair, when his visiter informed him that he had known that prisoner in India, where he had

seen him confined in a remote fortress in the interior: that he had there communicated to him his wretched history, and its consummation. The interview with Mr. England had been reported, the government took the alarm, and he was spirited away!

Transactions like the foregoing, the ordinary incidents of every day life, have long since made every honest Irishman a politician: and if ever Irishman was true to his country, that Irishman was Bishop England.

But his was that reasonable zeal, which, while it animates the oppressed to unremitted perseverance for the attainment of their rights, is yet more effectively useful in controlling that spirit of wild justice, which, bursting into momentary frenzy, is at once impotent for good, and serviceable to tyranny, as affording it new pretexts for more crushing measures of subjugation. His undoubted patriotism, and the strong hold he possessed on the affections of his injured countrymen, sufficed to restrain them when they would come to him with crude plans for insurrection; while his quick sagacity and instinctive knowledge of men, enabled him successfully to expose to them their insidious instigators.

Another anecdote, which I give on the same high authority, exhibits the even balance held by the Catholic religion, in all questions of doubtful morality, and how clearly she distinguishes between the public virtue and the private crime; while it sets forth, in strong light, the wonderful power over his fellow men possessed by the lamented subject of these remarks.

A gallant youth, of noble frame, of joyous soul, of previously blameless life, and steady piety, and who supported by his labor a widowed mother, had been inveigled into robbing an arsenal, and possessed himself of some public arms; detection followed, he was tried, convicted and condemned to die. The arms, however, had been effectually concealed; and with delusive casuistry, persuading himself that his forfeit life had purchased the property of the oppressor, he communicated his secret to his doubly bereaved and destitute mother, who fell under the same temptation, to retain the miserable profits of his crime.

Mr. England proffered his ministry; but the Catholic doctrine of *Restitution*—the stumbling block to so many alarmed, but half repentant souls—was in the convict's way. He announced publicly, in the open prison, that he should not restore the arms; and his desperate associates animated and confirmed him in his resolution. In vain Mr. England argued, expostulated, entreated—the prisoner was obdurate. The day for execution came. It dawned on the shepherd still struggling to reclaim his wandering sheep. "I am going to say Mass, will you attend?" "I will, but you will not give me Communion." "Then it will avail you nothing to attend the Sacrifice." "I shall not restore the arms." And they relapsed into a gloomy silence. At length the sheriff arrived. The case had excited more than usual sympathy, and a strong military force was in attendance. The convict received the grim executioner of the law with the calmness of a martyr. The fatal rope was placed about his neck. Not a nerve trembled, not a muscle shook, not a drop of blood forsook his cheek, not a sparkle of his eye was dimmed. He simply remarked, "you have allowed me very little *jerk*—but 'tis of no great consequence," bowed to the sheriff, and moved towards the door. At that instant, Mr. England stood before him, and glaring on him with an eye that could penetrate the inmost soul, exclaimed, "Stop, sir! you shall not go to hell for half an hour yet!" "How could you speak so to a dying man?" "You know I speak the truth, and that I should not do my duty if I did not!" The culprit turned away, and crouched in the corner of his prison, as hiding from the wrath to come! "Indulge me, sir, for half an hour," said Mr. England to the sheriff. "My warrant," he replied, "extends till five, P. M., you can have till then, sir." "I shall do whatever I am to do in the time I ask." And here the impenetrable veil of the confessional falls around the penitent and the Minister of reconciliation. But this we know, that, within that hour, passed forth to die, without defiance as without fear, a weeping Christian; and that he who marshalled him through the dark portals of eternity, and has stood by many a death-bed, assured me that he never commended a departing soul to the mercy of his Saviour, with better hope than he did on that sad day.

In schools like these, in the condemned ward and on the scaffold, was the patriot trained, for what must be considered the great achievement of his life—his successful resistance to the attempt of the British government to subsidize the Catholic clergy, as the bonus for emancipation. They were willing to grant it, with a veto in the crown upon ecclesiastical nominations. The crawling, heartless aristocracy and gentry were eager to concede it. Some few of the hierarchy, too gaped for the gilded bait. I could pronounce some mighty names, of those who then faltered in firmness, or in a clear perception of the danger. The priests, as a body, stood firm. Mr. England borrowed money on his own responsibility, and, in opposition to the wishes even of the diocesan

assumed the editorial conduct of the "Cork Mercantile Chronicle," the then failing organ of the liberal party: and to him; under God, him only; though aided by many master minds, whom his courage rallied around him, in that crisis of his country's destiny, is due the glory of the first impulse to that system of peaceable agitation, that has eventuated in the emancipation of the Catholics of the British Empire, with all the blessings that have already flowed from it, and the still more glorious triumphs the Almighty seems yet to have in store, for that afflicted portion of his eternal Church.

But his agency in this mighty movement was not merely political. The men of '98, it is well known, were imbued with the principles of the French revolutionary school; and it was his aim, and successful endeavor, to counteract the infidel tendency, and replace it by sentiments of genuine patriotism, regulated by Christian morality; which, I believe, can only be adequately enforced by Catholic discipline, or sustained by the divinely appointed means of grace which are found in the Catholic Church, but without which, as our own degrading and fearful experience is rapidly disclosing, as the experience of France did before us, the disruption of the restraints of temporal power is but unchaining winds, to wrap creation in the chaos of unbridled, individual passion.

It may be supposed his editorial charge was replete with danger. Surrounded by spies and informers, prepared to wrest the slightest indiscretion to the purposes of a tyranny that found its willing agents in venal courts and perjured juries, it is rather wonderful that he should have escaped destruction, than that he sometimes fell under the vindictive grasp of the law.

On one occasion, we are told, "the corruption of the judges and mal-practice of packed Orange juries," and consequent oppression, during the administration of the Tory Lord Lieutenant, Earl Talbot, brought the new editor in direful conflict with the government. The mal-administration of the laws, the horrible state of the Irish prisons, and the savage treatment of the unfortunate transports, became the subjects of animadversion. He gave to the world the truth, and nothing but the truth, and for this he was mulcted for a libel, in the round sum of five hundred pounds sterling. But *gold or silver he had none;* the cell in which his grand-father had been incarcerated for teaching the elements of Euclid, must be the priest's state room until the fine shall have been paid. * *

* [An anecdote of Bishop England's mother which was here inserted, but afterwards found to be incorrect, is for that reason omitted.]

At another time, the mighty "Agitator," who, in these latter days, has been permitted to combat, like Josue, successfully in the plain, while his consecrated ally could only lift his hand in prayer, as he looked on from the sacred mount to which God had called him, went into the office, during the absence of the editor, and wrote a scorching article. A judicial inquiry was instantly commenced. The only person in the office who could identify O'Connell's hand-writing, was a Protestant journeyman, who had set up the piece, but who was "true as steel" to the secrets of the establishment. The law rendered the editor liable, in default of proof of the actual author; but, by a most providential circumstance, the official certificate of editorship, which was a necessary link in the chain of proof against him, had been cancelled that very day, by the officer of the crown, for some supposed defect; and, while another was being prepared, the paper was uncertified, through the act of government itself, and Mr. England escaped. But the poor journeyman feared not so well. He was committed to prison, and for many months his family were supported by the liberals, till at last some unsuspected lounger about the courts happening to overhear that the man was only detained for the purpose of annoying the Catholics, and wasting their scanty means, they ventured to "stop the supplies," and their faithful agent was forthwith set at liberty.

There were few of his extra-professional transactions on which I have heard my beloved and venerated friend dilate with more satisfaction than the following. An election was held for two members of Parliament from the city of Cork. Two wealthy and influential tories, both malignant Orangemen, were in the field. As a vast number of the constituency were tenants of one or the other of these candidates, or of their connections and friends, it was judged inexpedient, by the patriots, to expose them to the furious persecutions that would follow the election of two liberals; but they determined to run in one, and invited Mr. England to assume the post of chairman in the conduct of the contest. After maturely weighing the difficulty and delicacy of such a step, he decided that the exigency warranted a departure from the customary clerical reserve on such occasions; and accepted the responsible trust, on the express condition that his powers were to be dictatorial, and that the host of advisers, who are generally busy in such affairs, should be kept aloof. Having gained this concession to his known integrity and prudence, he immediately organized a large body of voters, pledged to vote as he should

direct them, and on whose firmness, sobriety, and discretion he could rely, and posted them on the day of the election at a convenient place, under the strictest injunctions to hold no intercourse with any person but himself. He then sent for the tory agents, and told them he was aware that many of his friends were willing to vote for one or the other of their respective principals, but apprehended some interference with their right to vote also for the liberal candidate; "and now, gentlemen," said he, "I warn you! I shall have you and your friends narrowly watched, and every instance of intimidation, or even attempt at it, on either side, I will punish by instantly voting ten men for your tory adversary." To a determination "to ask nothing that was not right, and submit to nothing which was wrong," they could not openly object; and the polling commenced. Very soon a Catholic voter was threatened by his landlord, and the case was reported to the chairman. The agent went all but on his knees to explain and apologize. Mr. England was inexorable: and ten votes were forthwith deposited for the liberal candidate and the rival tory. The result was natural. Men respect the rights of those whom they see able and willing to maintain them; and thenceforth the election went on without a cause for complaint. When now the liberal was so far ahead that his defeat was morally impossible, Mr. England again called up the tory agents, and telling them, in his merry way, that they had behaved themselves exceedingly well, since they could not help it, observed that he had no particular quarrel with either of their patrons; and, releasing his "*corps de reserve*" from their pledges, abdicated the chair, and left the tories to electioneer among them as they pleased.

It must not be imagined that these civil duties were performed at the expense of his sacred function. At the very time he was battling so strenuously with the princes of this world, he was foremost in the endless war against the powers of darkness. His services were in requisition for the arduous labors of the secretaryship of the diocess. He was mainly instrumental in founding the North Convent of Cork, of which his sister is Superioress, and the Magdalen Asylum. But his missionary labors were intense; and to these wa schiefly owing his unbounded influence among the Catholic portion of his countrymen. Few are so sagacious in detecting the secret springs of individual action, and they give their confidence to none like them whom they see ever "watching, as who shall render an account of their souls." The secret of his indefatigable exertions, in so many different ways, was his utter self-abandonment, in whatever he undertook; and which enabled him, as it were, to multiply his existence. His religion seemed in him a principle of perpetual activity; though no one appreciated more highly, or venerated more profoundly, the contemplative piety of those who "chose the better part" with Mary, at her Master's feet. He would sometimes even speak of his restless temperament as a defect, and has said to me, in that sweet confidence it was my inestimable privilege to enjoy, beyond many more deserving, "I should be much more useful if I were a better man; if I prayed more and labored less."

It is possible that wise and holy persons may regard his interference in politics as inconsistent with the pacific duties of the priestly character. Such must remember, that the power of the British government had, for ages, been exerted to destroy the religion he professed; and that in vindicating the political rights of his countrymen, he was but asserting their liberty of conscience. He buckled on his earthly armour as their spiritual guardian; and, as the wall fell down, when the people shouted responsive to the trumpets of the priests, as they compassed Jericho with the ark of God, so have the outer battlements of religious tyranny toppled to the ground, at the united voice of Ireland, directed by her faithful pastors. And I thank God, that the same nursing land of faith and genius that gave us Bishop England, has left another prelate to the church, who, if any, moves in an equal plane of intellectual and moral power, to encounter and crush by the same legitimate measures, an insidious conspiracy to withhold, through monopoly of public education, its blessings from the child of the American Catholic, who refuses to purchase it at the price of his religion.

The intensity of sectarian prejudice that prevailed, scarce a quarter of a century ago, in the town of Bandon, is unhappily too well known to many of my hearers. When can that inscription be forgotten, which disgraced its entrance, and welcomed thither by name, the "Turk, the Atheist, and the Jew," but bade "the Papist" keep away? To this thorny field was Mr. England sent by his Bishop; and as one who knew him intimately, and was his co-laborer for eighteen years, has told us, "six years' incessant labor, his benevolence, his great powers of mind, his liberality, and *peculiar* manner of explaining the principles of his religion, enabled the young parish priest to remove the existing prejudices, and bring together in a social band of brotherhood, the Cath-

olics and Protestants of the town and district of Bandon?"

It was during this period of his ministry that an incident occurred, which sets out, in bold relief, the distracted condition of his country at the time, the qualities then requisite in the soldier of the cross, and the readiness with which Mr. England responded to every call of duty.

One night at a very late hour, he was roused by a knocking at his door. On his demanding who was there, the answer came from female voices. "Does the parish priest live here?" "I am the parish priest." "You are wanted for a dying woman?" "Who is she?" The name was unknown to him. "Is she a Catholic?" he asked. "No." "Are you Catholics?" "No." "Why then did you come?" "She used to say that, when dying, she would wish to have a priest." "Has she sent you now?" "No." "How then do you know she wishes to see me?" "They had promised her when well that, when she should be dying, they would bring her a priest, and she now was dying." He suspected a plot; and outrage was so rife throughout the region, that it seemed more than probable some evil was intended—still there was something so mysterious in the affair, that he determined to investigate it; and spurning the suggestions of caution—fear he knew not—prepared for his darkling expedition.

His guides led him to the country by a circuitous route, enjoining the strictest silence, as they stated that an armed party were posted on the high road to intercept him. At length they entered, with the utmost caution, a solitary hovel. In one corner lay the dying sinner, and, on some planks placed above the rafters, several men were sleeping in a position from which they could look down upon the bed. He comprehended at a glance the entire case. She was of that unhappy class, by no means confined to Ireland, who believing the saving truths of the Catholic religion, and yearning for its life-giving consolations, are yet restrained from avowing and acting on their convictions, by the influence of the tyranny of friends; and what is sometimes conceded to the serpent wiles of earthly love, or the dread of fashionable opinion, was, in the rude state of society I tell of, attempted by open force. The family knew her inclinations, but, misled by party zeal, resolved to prevent her "reconciliation"—if necessary, by the murder of the priest.

Mr. England seated himself near her and whispered, "I am the parish priest." She muttered an incoherent answer relating to her food. Again he said, "did you wish to see me?" and once more she replied at random. He thought her delirious—'twas but the ready expedient of female address, to baffle the sleeping watch, in case the noise of his entering had roused their dozing attention. But no sooner was she satisfied that all was still, than she opened her gasping soul, that panted for the cooling waters of life like the hunted hart, professed her faith, received the saving rites, and was bidden to "depart in peace." Led forth by another route, with equal caution, and instructed to gain the high road beyond the armed party, so that, being seen coming from a more distant point, all suspicions might be lulled, he passed a gang of noted Orange desperadoes, at the entrance to the lane which led to the dwelling he had quitted; and gave them the good morrow, as the dawn was breaking, with that cheering glee and merry triumph, that few but an Irishman can feel in the very presence of his intended assassins.

But a wider and more important field of action was now opened before him. The Sovereign Pontiff had long regarded, with peculiar solicitude, that portion of his charge politically comprehended within these United States.

For once, in the history of man, an immense and powerful empire was here seen growing, with immeasurable rapidity, in all the elements of national greatness; but untrammelled by any of those artificial institutions that, in the ancient world, obstruct the free action of the mind and heart. All government interference with religion was interdicted by the fundamental law; and though, in some of the States, a few vestiges of ancient bigotry remained, they were fast being trodden out, in the steady advance of enlightened public opinion. The unbounded temporal advantages of a fertile soil and salubrious climate were attracting to America millions of the oppressed Catholics of Europe; to whose longing eyes the light of the western star displayed the Labarum of religious freedom floating proudly on the ramparts of political liberty. Above all, there was here an intelligent, inquisitive people, prepared to question every thing, to "prove every thing, and hold fast" what seemed to them "good;" with no vested interests, to bend them to erroneous opinions—no obstacle to the progress of truth, but hereditary prejudice, traditional misinformation, and the universal corruption of the human heart.

What a field for Catholicity! whose onward movement nothing ever did, or ever will arrest, but the fierce argument of penal law—itself ineffectual but to purge the church of the insincere and indifferent. What

a field for that religion, which had sustained itself triumphantly in Ireland, and measurably too, even in the more pliant Sister Isle, against three centuries of persecution unequalled in atrocity since the days of Julian, the subtlest device of whose code—*inhibition of education to the Christian*—had been borrowed by the self-styled "bulwark of religious liberty," in her long and unavailing war against the Truth of Christ.

The American Church was already founded. The cross that Calvert had planted, though trampled down for a season, by those whom it had sheltered, had been set up again by the hand of Carroll. That wild political convulsion, in which "the Gentiles raged and the people devised vain things"—when "the rulers" of France "stood up, and her princes took counsel together against the Lord and against his Christ"—thinking to "break his bonds asunder, and cast away from them his yoke"—He that dwelleth on high had laughed at and derided! They burst into the cloister, and dragged the holy virgins to the guillotine! but, as head dropped after head, the voice that ceased on earth took up in the choirs above that celestial song, the surviving sisters chaunted till the fatal knife came down! They burst into the Temple, set up the abomination of desolation in the Holy Place, and slew the Priest where he stood in his robes of glory—and his brethren fled to other lands, and the sacred fire that profane hands had scattered, and sought to quench in the blood of its vestal guardians, blazed up again on ten thousand altars! A portion of those saintly men had taken refuge here. They came with the wasted wrecks of earthly possessions, but rich in the jewels of eternal truth. They trimmed the lamp of learning, and poured its benignant rays on the youthful mind of America; and, though their tongues could not give forth the thrilling music of our Saxon idiom, their gentle virtues spoke more touchingly to honest hearts, which, strangers to the standards of Catholic holiness, wondered that men of life so pure should yet labor, in fast and vigil, to "fill up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ in their flesh."*

But the scattered condition of the American flock rendered it necessary to multiply their Chief Pastors, and subdivide the fields of their labors. The states of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, were grouped into a single Diocess, reference being had less to their territorial extent, than to the small number of Catholics they were supposed to contain. To this important station Dr. England was appointed by the Holy Father. "He had previously in the college of Carlow, made a private consecration of himself to the Almighty for a foreign mission, under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of Christ, and [in submission to] the will of his superiors. Before his nomination for the See of Charleston, he was requested by some of the Irish Bishops to permit his name to be transmitted to Rome as a candidate for a Bishopric. With this request he complied, but with the proviso—'that he would never wear a mitre in any country where the British government exercised any control.' No wonder, then' that the Pope selected him as Bishop for a Diocess in the United States."

An anecdote connected with his consecration is interesting, from the view it gives us of his inflexible adherence to principle, even in what might be considered by some, mere matter of form. It is customary at the consecration of Bishops, who are British subjects, to administer to them the oath of allegiance. This he refused to take, observing that, as an American prelate, it was his intention to renounce that allegiance, at the earliest opportunity, and to invest himself, as speedily as our laws would permit, with the character and obligations of a citizen of the United States. For a time it was doubtful whether the consecrating Bishop would venture to omit that ceremony; but finding the Bishop Elect inflexible, and determined to seek consecration elsewhere, he gave up the point. Dr. England received the episcopal character in the Parish Church of St. Finbar's, at his native city, on the 21st of September, 1820; and Charleston was blessed with his arrival there, on the last day of December of the same year.

I wish that my limits permitted me to attempt a full explanation of the difficulties that awaited him there. I know the people of Charleston. There bloomed the promise of my spring; there was passed a portion of my riper years; there still are many of my nearest relatives and dearest friends. The nature of their institutions impresses a peculiar immobility on their individual opinions and conduct. Landed wealth, descending from sire to son through a longer series than is usual with the possessions of mercantile communities, while it confers more social stability, imparts, with hereditary refinement of taste and manners, no moderate tenacity on every subject of family pride. South Carolina was a royal province, and the Church of England had been established there, on a more magnificent basis than in most of the

* I have heard that when some one spoke, in the presence of Col. Howard, of the austere penances of his esteemed friend, the Rev. Mr. Nazot, the stern old soldier answered, "Ah, sir, he had no need of penance!"

other colonies. Churches built and endowed by the crown wore an air of venerable, ancient grandeur, that carried back the mind to those departed ages which are the natural home of profound religious ideas. Men who knelt in the place of their grandfathers, and recited that beautiful liturgy from their old heir-loom prayer-books, which retained the Creed of St. Anthanasius, and "the forms of sound words" that expressed doctrines since modified or exploded, in which the eye inadvertently glanced on, and the lips unconsciously repeated, prayers for the royal family—forgot while professing their belief in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, that their own had its comparatively recent foundation in an act of a British parliament. * * *

Bishop England was to startle a people like this from their dream of security, and tell of a still more ancient, still more magnificent Church than theirs. But how was he to exhibit her in Charleston? Sitting like her Master among the little ones of the earth, without decoration or beauty; with scarce a more certain abode than the denizens of the air, or the foxes. The Catholics of the diocess were composed principally of the poorest adventurers from his native land, or ruined refugees from St. Domingo, and their domestics. To brotherhood with these, he was to invite the proud sons of Carolina! The material condition of his See was deplorable. His flock, which even after twenty-two years of his incessant labors to gather them together, numbers, at the present day, not more than eight thousand souls, were dispersed through three states, each of which is larger in extent than many European kingdoms. They possessed, if I am not mistaken, but two churches, one of brick, and modest proportions, at Charleston, and a small wooden chapel at Savannah. Such was his personal poverty, that as himself assured me, he has walked the burning sands and pavements of Charleston, with his bare feet to the ground—the upper leather of his shoes, only, remaining decent, while the soles were worn away! But the moral condition of his charge was still less encouraging. Remote from episcopal control, the sacerdotal office had not been free from scandals. The property was vested in trustees entirely independent of his authority; and, as not unfrequently happens in such cases, semi-infidels had crept into trust.

His flock was insubordinate and ill instructed; and the very idea of an Irish Roman Catholic Priest, had become, through the prejudices of education, through the libels of a corrupted literature, through the indecent exhibitions of the stage, as vulgar to the polished Charlestonian, as that of a fisherman of Galilee to a Roman senator, eighteen centuries ago!

But the herald of the cross had been "anointed" to the holy mission "with the oil of gladness above his fellows!" The enlightened and accomplished citizens of the South were seen crowding around his pulpit, delighted by his eloquence, abashed by his learning, astonished by his logic—ready to exclaim with him of old, "Almost thou persuadest!" Churches, temporary in material, and slight in structure, it is true, but suitable for the exigency, rose around him like exhalations. A Constitution was formed, and the Diocess incorporated by legal charter, which, while it reserved to the bishop all powers essential to discipline, and repressive to schism, guaranteed ecclesiastical property to its legitimate destination, against the possible lapse of himself or his successors; and by introducing the principle of public and strict accountability into the management of ecclesiastical revenues, assured to him the confidence of a people proverbially jealous on all subjects connected with the purse.

His first and greatest want was that of a competent clergy. His diocess, like most poor and thinly peopled ones, had been a city of refuge to outcasts from others. Men of talent and merit were of eager request, where not only greater temporal advantages, but ampler opportunities to do good, invited them. His sad experience, too, with some valuable co-laborers, whom zeal of martyrdom, or attachment to his person, attracted to that insidious climate, convinced him of the necessity of educating a native clergy, or at least one composed of such as long and early acclimation might seem to ensure against being cut off in the midst of their usefulness. He attached also the utmost importance to what might be called the "naturalization" of Catholicity. He desired that it should no longer be regarded as the religion of the stranger; but that its ministers should be American, in principle, feeling and habit—familiarized, by long experience, with all the practical workings of our political system.

With these views he founded a Seminary. But how, in the destitution of pecuniary means, was it to be supported? His rapid observation detected the languishing state of rudimentary education. He incorporated a classical and scientific Academy with his Diocesan Seminary, united in his own person the School-master and Doctor of Divinity, and his embryo theologians were subsisted by the very means that consigned his father to a jail. He was emphatically the restorer of classical learning in Charleston.* His ap-

*Southern Review, No. 1.

peals excited direct interest in the subject among the most influential citizens. Sectarian jealousy was awakened, rival institutions were built up to preserve ingenuous youth from "the snares of Popery;" and thus, whether "out of envy and contention," or "for good will," a great public want was supplied. It remains to be felt by the wealthy planters, who subscribed their thousands with unsparing hand to subvert the Seminary, that would long ere now have supplied their country with priests, whether they did wisely in retarding the progress of a religion which some of them are now beginning to appreciate, as the only one to which they can entrust the fidelity and happiness of their slaves.

But the Bishop's comprehensive forecast was not limited to projects connected exclusively with his own immediate objects. He infused new life, by his energy, into the Philosophical and Literary Association, of which he continued till death an honored and useful member; applying his unrivalled powers to instruct and please, as happily to the subjects of scientific or critical contemplation, as to the more accustomed topics of his sacred calling; but ever aiming to hallow his intellectual offering, and direct the attention of his delighted auditory, from the wonders of nature or the beautiful creations of mind, to the "Author of every good and perfect gift."

He witnessed with grief and horror the Moloch ravages of that misnamed spirit of honor that so often carries desolation to the bosom of Southern society; quenching in the blood of its victim the hopes of an admiring country or of domestic affection. He rallied about him the chivalry of Carolina, in an Anti-duelling Society, of which General Thomas Pinckney, of revolutionary fame, was the venerated President: and through his own personal activity, backed by the moral influence of that association, many hostile meetings were prevented, and valuable lives most probably preserved. I have listened to him, as with merry triumph, and unsparing but playful ridicule, he has talked over, with a gallant officer, their counter manœuvres, on one most interesting occasion, and rejoiced over his opponent's baffled love of mischief.

He found the Catholic body in America defenceless. The secular press was in the hands of persons so utterly enslaved by the delusions of that great conspiracy against truth, the history and literature of England for the last three centuries, that writers were often unconscious of giving offence, while promulgating the most injurious misstatements or senseless absurdities; of the journals professedly religious it is unnecessary to speak. He established the "United States Catholic Miscellany," and found time amidst his immense and various occupations, to supply its columns with a vast amount of original matter, not always perhaps, as perfect in literary polish, as if he had read over the blotted manuscript before it was hurried to the printer—but always resistless in reasoning, charming by its fervid eloquence, overwhelming with its accumulated erudition. Many of those essays, which the importance of the subjects discussed induced him to extend through a series of numbers, have been collected in such guise as poverty compelled them to wear—like the hero of the Odyssey in rags at the palace gate—but a wider circulation will yet be given them, and future generations look with gratitude and delight on the fulfilment of the modest pledge that announced them to the world:—

"The MISCELLANY is intended to contain—

"The simple explanation and temperate maintenance of the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church; in exhibiting which, its conductors are led to hope, that many sensible persons will be astonished at finding they have imputed to Catholics, doctrines which the Catholic Church has formally condemned, and imagined they were contradicting Catholics, when they held Catholic doctrine themselves."

It may be taken for granted that all this energy was not to sway unhindered. But his adversaries could not meet it openly.

"*They* seize that dervise?—seize on Zatanai!"

Safer measures were resorted to. A valuable and most rare Protestant work on the Inquisition was found in the Charleston Library. The Bishop used it to disabuse his "separated brethren," by which endearing name he loved to call them, of the monstrous misconceptions that obtain, in relation to that little understood and grossly misrepresented tribunal. The book disappeared! I have already spoken of the opposition schools. A whisper was industriously circulated—"avoid this dangerous man; keep him out of your families." And many who were proud to cap to him in public—who looked up to him with feelings akin to those with which they contemplate their "old St. Michael's tower," the unrivalled, architectural glory of their ancient city, withheld from him too much of that graceful hospitality so natural to a Southern gentleman.

But God had sent an angel to assist his labors and cheer him for a time! An accomplished, young and lovely sister had left the ocean breezes of her own green Isle, and all the endearments and comforts of her home, to minister to this idolized brother in

the swamps of Carolina. She threw her little fortune into his poverty stricken institutions. Her elegant taste presided over the literary department of the Miscellany. Her feminine tact would smooth away whatever harshness his earnest temper might unconsciously infuse into his controversial writings. When he sometimes rebelled against her censorship, "with childish authority she would cling about him," till he yielded to her gentle jurisdiction. Her presence shed a magic charm around his humble dwelling, and made it the envied resort of the talented, the beautiful and gay. No pastoral vigilance could prevent the sweet virgins of the South from loving Joanna England, and a portionless Irish maiden gave *ton* in old, aristocratic Charleston. She infused into her young companions a taste for more exalted enjoyments than the empty display of exterior accomplishments and graces. She introduced "tertulias," for conversation of a higher order than obtains at merely fashionable assemblies. She constituted a golden tie between the Bishop and the highest class of the community, "and some who came to laugh" with her, "remained to pray" with him. I knew this charming woman, who exhibited before us in one bright vision the blended graces of this world and the next. Too soon for earth, she was called away from her joyous task of usefulness and love. In 1827 she died of "the stranger's fever"; and it was then, while sitting in a room adjacent to that where slept her lifeless form, I held by the hand that desolate brother, and our hearts melted into one forever!

I have hitherto dwelt principally on his general relations with society. But he can only be justly appreciated by those who knew him in the pastoral charge. When that frightful scourge, the stranger's or yellow fever, desolated Charleston, he was ever at his post. This is nothing new or strange, to those who know the Catholic priesthood. But when the Protestants of Charleston saw this apostolic man hurrying under the fiery noons of August and September, or the deadly midnight dew, to assist and console the victim of the plague, usually of the humblest and the poorest—they could not but exclaim, in the sincerity of their wonder and admiration, "this is Christian charity!" I am not dealing in imaginary suppositions. I repeat but the language of honored and beloved relatives and friends, who had no acquaintance with him, who never listened to his doctrine, who would as soon have questioned their own personal identity as the infallible truth of the religious tenets in which they had been educated, but who gave the cheerful testimony of honesty and gratitude, to virtues which were voiced by the whole community. A near relative of mine, speaking of him to me, said: "I met him one forenoon, while the fever was at the highest, brushing along through perhaps the hottest street in the city: when I tell you he was blazing, I do not exaggerate—he was literally blazing! The fire sparkled from his cheeks and flashed from his eyes! I shook hands with him, and, as we parted, thought to myself, 'my dear fellow, you will soon have enough of this!'" But his work was not yet done. No! for season after season, amid vice, squalidity and wretchedness, where intemperance, perhaps, kept maudlin watch by the dying or the dead, while the sob of sorrow was broken by the shriek of destitution and despair, there still stood Bishop England, the priest, the father, and the friend—to assure the penitent—to alarm the sinner—to succor and to pity—*baptized again and again*—unto his holy function, *in that frightful black vomit*—the direst symptom of the malady!

Let me exhibit him in another light. If there was a portion of his flock he served with more than ordinary tenderness, it was his humble Africans. While, with the wisdom that ever guides the Church, he could control his national prejudices on the subject of slavery, and vindicate the institutions of his adopted country against the machinations of malice or fanaticism, he felt the deepest solicitude for the religious instruction of this neglected family of the race of Adam. He exposed the inconsistency of those who, asserting that the reading of the Holy Scripture, by every individual, is the divinely appointed means to attain the doctrines of salvation, yet found themselves constrained, by the exigency of self-preservation, to deny education to this unfortunate race, whom the crime and cupidity of former and foreign generations had planted on their soil; but he applied himself, with indefatigable energy, yet without infringing a single principle of police, to fulfil his master's mandate, "Go teach all nations!"

His own Mass on Sundays was offered for them. At that hour, the Cathedral was reserved for their exclusive use; and he then habitually instructed them from the alter or the pulpit. So too, he had a Vesper service for their accommodation: though, at the regular offices of the church. they were required to sit apart, for the due enforcement of social order. Sometimes, when his gigantic powers, overtasked as they always were, proved unequal to the effort of two sermons in one afternoon, he would disappoint the rich, the talented, the powerful, who throng-

ed St. Finbar's as a school of logic and eloquence—but never his poor, colored congregation! And so well were his labors for their welfare becoming appreciated at last, in their improved morality, fidelity and happiness, as contrasted with the tumultuary, nervous excitement, or sour discontent, that pervaded other portions of that population, that many highly respectable and intelligent Protestant planters, in spite of prejudice, and forgetful that the same gospel was sent to the wise and unwise, the rich and poor, the learned and ignorant, have avowed their disposition to accord him every facility on their plantations, even to the exclusion of missionaries of other denominations, so soon as he should be able to supply them with Priests.

His confessional was always crowded: and so one was ever turned away. He possessed the happy faculty of detecting, as it were by intuition, the source of the mental malady; and, while his habits of despatch would not allow him to be beguiled of his time by scrupulous prolixity, he never dismissed the spiritual patient without a balm and a blessing.

He delighted to perpetuate the old observances of the Church. His language was, "these are not essentials, but outworks to be maintained:" and the rough, weather-boarded Cathedral of St. Finbar's was a theatre, where the gorgeous drama of the ecclesiastical year was enacted in its detail; and there sat the Bishop (while eager strangers jostled the Catholics from their places,) to supply by the splendors of his explanatory eloquence, what was wanting in material decoration to the mystic ceremonial! I have heard him in the Holy Week, when every eye around me streamed with sorrow and compunction! I have known him leave his confessional after nine at night, on Christmas Eve, arrange a mattress for me in his library, return to his distant dwelling, wake me for the real Midnight Mass of the early ages: give Communion at the six o'clock Mass; and celebrate High Mass and preach! These endless toils were not without their fruit. To the poor is the gospel preached, and from the poor he made converts—some too, from among the more distinguished of the world. Some professed in health and vigor. Some in the sincere hour of death, remembered the awful truths they had learned, while merely delighting in his oratory, and called for mercy—not, we trust, in vain.

I have often dwelt with melancholy pleasure, on the fate of an early school-fellow*—the son of a distinguished clergyman. This gentleman had caught, from Dr. England's discourses, some Catholic principles; but, like too many others, deferred their grave consideration to "a more convenient season." He was taken ill at his plantation, at the most dangerous period of the year. A messenger was despatched to Charleston for a physician, with a request that he would also bring the Bishop. To visit him was to incur almost certain death, from "country fever," a malignant intermittent, to which the oldest inhabitant is as subject as the stranger, and which is contracted by exchanging the salt air of the city for that of the interior, during the summer and autumnal months. The doctor delivered the message, observing, however, "Of course, Bishop, it is impossible that you should go. These things are in the line of my professional duty, and though the danger is great, I think physicians sometimes bear a charmed life."—"The only question," replied Dr. England, "is, how are *we* to go? I have a carriage, but no horses; can you furnish them?"—Expostulation was now useless, and as the day descended, they started on their errand of mercy. All night they traversed a district as terrible as the Pontine marshes, The rising sun lighted them to the bed-side of the dying man. He received the sacraments, and, I believe, my venerable friend received his parting sigh.

The Bishop (as who does not?) experienced his disappointments and consolations. Two high-born sisters shared his friendship; one, ardent, enthusiastic, quick of apprehension, "wax to receive" impressions. She saw the truth of Catholicity, embraced its tenets with speculative warmth, and urged her sister to the same investigation. The other, sober, cold, judicious, slow to admit, but "marble to retain" convictions, quietly revolved the matter in her mind, but advised her sister to *practice* what she seemed so sincerely to *believe*. But old ideas recurred with the return of an accomplished lover; and, as in the days of England's great reformer, gospel truth became clearer from the eyes of earthly beauty. But the sister caught the falling lamp that had been cast aside for the torch of Hymen. She followed its guiding ray—she prayed—she studied—she professed the faith—and died in the odor of sanctity!

Bishop England's influence, where he could gain a candid hearing, was irresistible. An illiberal majority was once organized, in the lower house of the Legislature of South Carolina, to refuse a charter of incorporation to a Community of nuns, whose invaluable services he was desirous to secure, for the education of the female portion of his flock at Charleston. They were a branch of that same admirable Ursuline Order, whose Convent had been pillaged and

*[Dr. Purcell.]

burned, with such unmanly cruelty, in one of our Eastern cities. Some of his friends procured him an invitation to preach before the Senate, and many of the members of the Lower House attended, through curiosity.—He spoke of religion, its claims, its obligations. He discoursed of toleration. He held up Massachusetts to their scorn. He adverted to the subject of his charter—hurled defiance at them—showed them how he could possess the entire state, for ecclesiastical purposes, had he the means to buy it, despite their narrow-souled policy. He exposed to them the folly of driving those of his communion, from the high road of legalized establishments, into the by-paths of the law. He changed his theme, and told of Catholic charity; arrayed before them her countless institutions for promoting the glory of God and the welfare of man. There was not a dry eye in the house: his bill was passed without a division on the following day!

Before leaving this topic, it may be proper to explain an expression, adopted advisedly, but which might seem to derogate unjustly from the merits of many of his predecessors and co-laborers; over whom, with all his freedom from the affectation of humility, Bishop England would have been the last to claim precedence. When I style him "the great apostle of this western world," I mean only to say that he was the first to make the Catholic religion respectable in the estimation of the American *public*. The learning, the virtues, the edifying piety of a Carroll, a Nagot, a Du Bourg, a Mareschal, a Flaget, a Cheverus, and others whose names will readily occur to you, had been fully appreciated, admired, and beloved, within the immediate sphere of their personal association. Still their religion, seen through the distorting medium of the literature of England, who in this, as in many other things, still holds us in colonial subjection, was regarded as the hereditary foible of great minds; and pardoned, in their persons, for love of its professors; whose inborn good qualities, transcending the ordinary measure of human virtues, were supposed to have broken through the trammels of what our nursery books taught us to believe to be a cruel, senseless, corrupting and damnable superstition. Bishop England was the first to dispel this general delusion, and confound the ablest reasoners of America, with his unanswerable expositions of the solid basis of Catholicity, and the deceptive foundation of every other religious system.—Followed to the last by admiring crowds, many, whom I could name, "turned back, and walked no more after him," not because they considered him the advocate of folly, but because they did not choose to have their imaginary security disturbed, and dreaded lest another hearing should urge them irresistibly to conclusions they were predetermined to abjure. He had shown them too clearly already where was the realm of cold, philosophical truth, and where but the fairy-land of traditionary credulity. Most of my readers have heard him preach, and can therefore appreciate, as well as I, those exhibitions of stupendous power, so tempered with gentleness, that, while it struck objectors dumb, never gave offence. If I were to attempt to describe the style of his controversial discourses, I would liken it to a straight bar of polished steel, connecting his conclusion with his premises, with the lightning of heaven blazing and flashing about it. As he was generally invited, when abroad, to preach on the evidences of Catholic doctrine, an idea prevails extensively that his *forte* lay in that line. This is an egregious mistake. It was when surrounded by an auditory exclusively Catholic, to whom "the reasons of the hope that is within them" were fully known, that, like a father in the bosom of his family, he lavished the riches of his imagination in illustrating the goodness and glory of his God, and poured out in torrents of gratitude and love the abundance of one of the greatest and the kindest hearts that ever beat in a human breast. He reminded me, in his intercourse with other men, whether allies or opponents, of a good-humoured giant moving among pigmies; whom he was careful not to tread on, but would sometimes dandle playfully between his fingers. I never knew a person who had so much consideration for the errors and prejudices of other men. He knew the mysterious structure of the human mind, and felt that, most frequently, they were more sinned against than sinning.—The only class of adversaries for whom he sometimes seemed to forget his usual charity were deliberate liars; and he ranked with these, not less the man of sense, who reiterates a refuted objection, or advances what he is conscious is a sophism, than the miserable libeller who invents a stupid tale to catch the credulity of the vulgar. His liberality was not limited by the Christian pale.—Many of my readers must remember the deep solicitude he felt for the admission, to the entire rights of citizens of Maryland, of the scattered children of Abraham; and which he expressed in a letter to a gentleman of our own city, who had distinguished himself in the Legislature, by his eloquent advocacy of their claim.*

* John S. Tyson, Esq.

But, if he were opposed to all coercion of the conscience, he was as free from that *indifference*, which, under the mask of liberality, affects to subvert all distinction between contradictory systems of religion, either of which, if a God of Truth be its author, must in its nature be exclusive of all that differ from it. During one of his visitations, he had been obliged with the loan of a Protestant Church, for the purpose of delivering a course of lectures on the Catholic religion. On Saturday evening, the regular pastor came to him "to ask a favor." "I am sure," said the Bishop, "you would not ask what I would not gladly grant." "Occupy my pulpit then to-morrow! I have been so much engrossed by your lectures, through the week, that I have utterly forgotten my own pastoral charge, and am unprepared with a sermon!" "I should be most happy to oblige you, but are you aware that we can have no partnerships?" "I have thought of all that—regulate every thing as you think proper." "At least," said the Bishop, "I can promise you, that nothing shall be said or done, which you, or any of your congregation, will disapprove." On the morrow, the novel spectacle was seen, of a Catholic Bishop, arrayed in his ordinary episcopal vesture, advancing to the pulpit of this Protestant congregation. He invited them to sing some hymns he had previously selected from those they were accustomed to; read to them from the Doway translation of the Bible; recited appropriate prayers, such as all could freely join in, from a book of Catholic devotion; preached them a sound, practical discourse, and dismissed them with a blessing; wondering if such could be the doctrine and the worship they had so often heard denounced as "the doctrine of devils."

Such was his punctuality in his business, his practical accuracy in accounting, that his credit was better than that of many who are wealthy; and he exerted it, on some occasions, for the general benefit of the community, (as in one case where some poor, Irish laborers, defrauded by a railroad contractor, were disposed to be riotous,) as well as for peculiar institutions. But his judgment was so accurate, that, though he assayed things appalling to those who knew his limited resources, he never failed. His powers of rapid combination, unequalled in my experience, would have rendered him, in a different walk of life, a consummate financier, or successful general.

His courage neither quailed before "the pestilence that walketh in darkness, or the noonday devil." When forewarned of an intended assault on him, by an individual whose misapplication of a trust estate he was compelled by duty to restrain, he quietly proceeded on his pre-determined way.—When his nuns were menaced by a mob, who thought to degrade the proudest city of the South to the level of another which has blasted a similar name, he calmly examined every flint of the gallant band that hastened to their defence.

He was the author of our Provincial Councils. Long resisted by some, who judged them inexpedient and premature, in existing circumstances; but inflexibly bent on seeing established here the true Catholic principle of governing by episcopal legislation, instead of that episcopal dictation, which had been forced on particular portions of the church, by the jealous policy of earthly rulers; he lived to see fulfilled his dearest wish for his adopted country, in repeated meetings of his brethren of her hierarchy, assembled to become acquainted with each other, to communicate information of the progress of the great cause in which they are engaged, and, by their united wisdom, to obviate the difficulties which embarrassed it, and assimilate the discipline of their respective dioceses, for the prevention of abuses, and the edification of their flocks. He has told me of the envy expressed to him by European prelates, of our political institutions, which allowed our Bishops to meet in Council. Their language to him was, "Ah! you are free!" And the moral influence of the assembled American Hierarchy has already been felt, in the Old World, in those magnificent letters, the production of his pen, to the Pope, and, to the oppressed Prelates of Prussia.

His journeyings were incessant. He visited Europe four times after his elevation to the episcopacy, traversing his native country, England, France, Italy and Germany. The high esteem in which he was held at Rome may be gathered from his mission as Apostolic delegate to Hayti, which country he visited twice in that capacity, from which he was relieved only at his own strong importunity, stimulated by the inconvenience sustained by his diocess in his absence, and the delicacy of his position as a Prelate in a slaveholding state. Open the Map of the United States, and you will form some idea of his ordinary labors.—Neither inclemency of weather, nor badness of roads, nor inconvenience of lodging, could arrest his progress. He would announce from the Chambers of the Propaganda, the day on which he would confirm in the interior of Georgia. The good Cardinals could hardly comprehend him. They called him "il Vescovo a vapore." I believe that is the Italian for "the steam Bishop." An honor-

able release from these toils, in the enjoyment of the highest ecclesiastical honors, and every worldly comfort, among his friends and relatives in Ireland, was affectionately tendered him; but he never faltered for an instant in his devotion to his poor, obscure See of Charleston.

His death was the consequence of continued exertion when he needed repose. He had suffered from the disease that tormented his existence, for several months, during his last visit to Europe. The vessel in which he returned was fifty-two days at sea. The Superioress of the Ursulines, who had been to Ireland to recruit candidates for her house in Charleston, and the Order of Mercy corresponding to our Sisters of Charity, was desperately ill. He was her physician, and for several nights never went to bed; expecting her hourly decease. A malignant dysentery broke out among the steerage passengers; he was physician and attendant there, and contracted the disease himself. He landed at last in Philadelphia, fitter for a sick bed than for active duty, preached seventeen nights in succession, and sometimes, I believe, by day; besides assisting at consecrations, and attended to the despatching homeward of large numbers of persons, who had accompanied him for his institutions.—In this city, he stayed four days, and preached five times. When he arrived here, his throat was raw with continued exertion. I discovered the insidious disease that was sapping his strength. I saw his constitution breaking up. He was warned, with the solicitude of the tenderest affection, against continuing these destructive efforts. The weather was dreadful. But he felt it his duty to go on. He said only, "I hope I shall not drop at the altar—if I do, bring me home!" His was not the zeal that desires an exit of *eclat*. He wished, to do the work he was sent to perform. Exhausted by fatigue, overwhelmed with visitors, he was yet ready, at the last moment, to give audience to a stranger, who begged admission for the solution of a single doubt, and never did I listen to so precise, so clear, so convincing an exposition of the transubstantiated presence of our Redeemer in the Holy Eucharist! His auditor was a person of intelligence and candor, and the Bishop exhausted, for his instruction, the resources of philosophical objection to the sacred tenet; to show how futile are the cavils of man, in opposition to the explicit declarations of God. A momentary alleviation followed his return to Charleston, but the citadel of life was undermined, and he is gone.*

I might sum up the evidence of his greatness and his virtues, by the fact, that in that city where he had lived so long, had encountered so much opposition, had been constrained to so many painful duties, the apprehension of a fatal termination to his malady involved the whole community in anxiety and affliction; that the Hebrew and the Protestant, as earnestly as the Catholic, sent up their prayers to God that he might be spared to earth a little longer; and that when the pulsations of that mighty heart at last stood still, the occupations of society were suspended too—while those who had assailed him in embittered controversy, and those who sincerely believed him the advocate of error, as well as they who regarded him as a glorious messenger of truth, came together in the sense of a common bereavement, all jealousies forgotten in the remembrance of his splendid abilities, his learning, his usefulness, his true-heartedness, his liberality, his charity, his kindly cheer, to incense his coffin with their sighs, and sprinkle it with the holy water of their unchecked grief. But I would rather exhibit him in the full effulgence of that heavenly light, that radiated from his soul throughout the closing scene.

When the prognostic of his physicians rendered proper his reception of the sacramental unction, he calmly summoned his afflicted clergy. They came. For the last time, "he put on the robes of glory, and was clothed with the perfection of power." The sculptured emblem of his dying God—that sacred symbol of the Christian's hope—was placed in his consecrated hands. Receiving it, he kissed the feet and said—"Sweet Jesus! who didst deign to die for ME in this ignominious manner, regard with compassion the condition of thy servant; and be with him in the succeeding hour of trial!" Then turning towards the Vicar, he inquired if all were ready; and being answered affirmatively, he enjoined in a voice of solemn command—"In the name of Almighty God, proceed!" The preliminary prayers having been recited, he thus addressed the clergy who were kneeling around the bed.

"*Gentlemen of the Clergy:* It is now many years since I was called by God to administer the affairs of his Church in this diocess. Throughout that period, I have encountered great difficulties; but he has assisted me with strength and graces for the performance of my duties, beyond my natural capability. On some occasions, fortunately for me, I have corresponded with those graces; on others, unfortunately, I have not. I commit all my deficiencies to the *advocacy of Jesus Christ the just; who is the propiti-*

* Obiit, April 11th, 1842.

ation not for my sins only, but for those of the whole world.

"Some of you have borne with me the *burdens of the day and the heats;* others have more recently joined us in laboring in the vineyard of the Lord. The relations which have existed between you and myself will probably soon be dissolved. On reviewing our connection, I remember many things which I deemed myself obliged to say and to do, which, to you, may have appeared harsh or oppressive. I can truly declare that, in many of those circumstances, I acted (however mistakenly) from a sense of duty; and in that manner which seemed best adapted to the end I had in view—your good. Let the motive extenuate whatever was unnecessarily severe in my judgment and conduct. I confess it has likewise happened, owing *partly* to the perplexities of my position, *chiefly* to my own impetuosity, that my demeanor has not always been as meek and courteous as it ever should have been; and that you have experienced rebuffs when you might have anticipated kindness. FORGIVE ME!

"Tell my people that I love them—tell them how much I regret that circumstances have kept us at a distance from each other. My duties and my difficulties have prevented me from cultivating and strengthening those private ties which ought to bind us together; *your* functions require a closer, a more constant intercourse with them. Be with them—be of them—win them to God. Guide, govern, and instruct them. *Watch as having to render an account of their souls, that you may do it with joy and not with grief.* There are among you several infant institutions, which you are called on, in an especial manner, to sustain. It has cost me a great deal of thought and of labor to introduce them. They are calculated to be eminently serviceable to the cause of order, of education, of charity; they constitute the germs of what, I trust, shall hereafter grow and flourish in extensive usefulness. As yet they are feeble, support them—embarrassed, encourage them—they *will* be afflicted, console them.

"I COMMEND MY POOR CHURCH TO ITS PATRONS—ESPECIALLY TO HER TO WHOM OUR SAVIOUR CONFIDED HIS IN THE PERSON OF THE BELOVED DISCIPLE: 'WOMAN, BEHOLD THY SON—SON, BEHOLD THY MOTHER.'

"I could wish to continue speaking with you even to the end; but a proper consideration of other duties, yet to be discharged, admonishes me to conclude. Prostrated though I be, I believe that God could restore me to health and to strength, did he choose to employ me longer in his service: for it is not more difficult to heal, or to preserve alive, than it is to create or to reanimate. *With him all things are possible.* Should he order that I again shall occupy my station amongst you, I will (he assisting me) endeavor to set you an example of a more perfect following after Christ than my past career affords: should he decree otherwise, I must prepare to *be manifested before the judgment seat of Christ, that I may receive the proper things of the body, according as I have done, whether it be good or evil.* I rely upon the all-sufficient atonement, which Jesus has made for my sins, for cancelling the guilt and eternal punishment thereof. Still, there may be some things against me, unrepented of, for which satisfaction must be made in that *prison out of which there is no going forth till the last farthing shall have been paid.* In this case you can aid me by your prayers and your good deeds; for, although separated by death, we shall continue united by those bonds of charity which bind together the different divisions of the Church of Christ. *Remember me, I beseech you, in your devotions; remember me particularly when the holy and unspotted Victim shall be offered on our altars, in expiation for the sins of the living and of the dead. I am confident that you will.*

"It is the privilege of each of you to write to the Archbishop of Baltimore, and to the several Bishops of the province, suggesting whom you may esteem the best qualified to fill my vacant chair: it is your DUTY to pray that the Pontiff may be directed by the Spirit of divine wisdom in appointing as my successor one, who, though he will not, cannot, surpass me in firmness of faith and devotion to the cause, yet may excel me in those Christian virtues by which that cause would be advanced. (*Asking for the Pontifical, he turned to the confession of faith.*) Situated as I am, it surely is not requisite that I should read through the profession in the manner which is prescribed, twice, entirely. My faith is too well known to you and to my people to make this necessary—moreover I am too debilitated for the effort.—'I acknowledge the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church, for the Mother and Mistress of all other Churches. I owe true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles and Vicar of Jesus Christ. I receive and embrace all things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons and general Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent. I believe with a firm faith, and profess, all and singular the articles of that Creed which the Holy Catholic (Roman) Church maketh use of, in their plainest,

simplest, fullest, strongest, and most explicit sense.' "

"He closed the volume, and signified his desire that the ceremony might proceed. The administration of the rite was accordingly completed: he gave his benediction and kiss of peace to each one present; and having been divested of the episcopal insignia and sacerdotal vestments, sank exhausted on the pillows."

He is gone! We may not think to "look upon his like again!" But we would not call him back to toil, to privation, and to care. "He has gone," we may humbly trust, "to repose in that eternity where his soul lived in advance," for he seemed to do his Master's work well. "He continued an immortal dogma. He was a bright link in an endless chain of faith and virtue. He communicated to ages to come, a religion, a law, a God."

From the Catholic Miscellany of April 16th, 1842.

DEATH OF THE BISHOP.

OUR BELOVED BISHOP IS NO MORE!

After a long and distressing illness, he expired, last Monday morning, at 10 minutes past 5 o'clock, in the 56th year of his age, and 22d of his Episcopate. We cannot give expression to the feelings of our heart, overwhelmed with grief at this irreparable calamity.

The fatigues of body and anxiety of mind attendant on his late journey to Europe, and his arduous exertions in the cause of Religion immediately on arriving in America, were too much even for his powerful constitution, and he returned to this city in December last, in ill health. It was soon found necessary to call in medical advice. As his disease seemed slight, and we knew his constitution to be vigorous, we did hope that in a short time his health would be re-established, and our sadness would be replaced by that joyful alacrity in the performance of duty, which his zeal and example never failed to inspire. But alas, we were doomed to bitter disappointment. His disease could not be arrested, and from the middle of February he was confined to his chamber. He became daily more and more feeble, and tho', frequently, favorable symptoms would lead his friends to believe he was recovering, those hopes would ever be soon depressed by some unfavorable change; but still there appeared no reason to apprehend a fatal termination of his disease.

On the Thursday of Holy Week, however, it became alarming—but he soon rallied, and for nearly a week, we cheered ourselves with hopes that he had at last past the crisis. They were soon blasted. Towards the close of Easter week he relapsed, and his physicians pronounced his case dangerous in the extreme. On Tuesday, the 10th, a solemn High Mass was offered in the Cathedral in his behalf, at which all the Catholic clergy then in the city attended. Immediately afterwards they assembled around his bed, to assist at his receiving the last sacraments of the Church, according to the rites of the Pontifical. He had already privately received the Easter Communion. Never shall we forget that scene.. Arrayed in his Episcopal robes, his countenance pale indeed and emaciated, but only sufficiently so, to enhance the venerable appearance of his features,—the Priests and attendants struggling in vain to repress outward manifestations of the grief that wrung their hearts—he alone calm and collected, suggesting the slightest particulars that might be omitted, and correcting any mistake which they, overpowered by their emotions, might fall into—it was indeed a scene worthy of a Bishop's death-bed. On this occasion, he addressed his clergy for near half an hour, and in a strain of eloquence rarely equalled, never surpassed, by himself, in his happiest moments; with words burning with zeal and charity, adverted to their past relations towards himself, and his and their duties to their congregations, and gave them the most solemn, paternal injunctions for their future conduct. We hope that some one may commit his words to writing, and that we may be enabled to publish them, for they must be a memento dear to the heart of every Catholic in the Diocess.

A few days afterwards, he again received communion, and in the prayer he addressed aloud to the Saviour in the Eucharist, gave expression to that deep faith, that willing resignation and joyful confidence in the Providence of God, which ever characterized him during life. Death found his soul not unprepared.

It had been his invariable custom never to leave the city, for any time, without having fully settled all his temporal affairs; and from the moment his sickness was judged serious, he devoted part of each day to this object. It was indeed moving to see him employing every moment of respite from the pain of his malady in the most fervent communion with his God, or in elucidating and arranging the most complicated affairs, with the same clearness and strength of mind he possessed in perfect health. He endeavored not to leave a single item unsettled. On Sunday, the last day of his mortal existence, he turned to his physician and enquired if he thought he had strength sufficient to sustain a long and perhaps a trying interview. The Physician represented his weakness,

The affair is of importance, he answered, *and though I expire under the effort, I feel that I must make the attempt.* Such was his heroic constancy in the performance of duty, and his resignation, to the last, Sunday night, his sinking pulse betokened his approaching departure, and at a few minutes past 5 A. M. he expired. His last effort was an inarticulate attempt to join in the prayers of the assistants. Two minutes afterwards, he was no more.

The body, arrayed in full Pontifical robes, was visited at his residence by weeping crowds, during the whole of Monday. At 6, P. M., it was borne by the Priests to the Cathedral, and laid in the Grand Aisle. Vespers of the dead were chaunted. Next morning, the Office of the dead was recited, High Mass was celebrated, and the proper funeral ceremonies were performed, by the Very Rev. R. S. Baker, and Vespers again chaunted in the afternoon. The same has been done every day since. The vault not being finished, and other preparations remaining to be completed, the body was not interred at the usual time. We understand it will be consigned to the tomb this afternoon, at 4 o'clock. The body is enclosed in a cedar coffin bearing a Latin inscription, and outside of this is a leaden coffin, on which the coat of arms of the Diocess, and other appropriate emblems, are painted.—It will be buried at his especial request, in a vault beneath his Episcopal seat, to which place also the remains of his sister, Miss Joanna M. England, will be transferred from the cemetery of St. Mary's, (Hasell St.)

Thus has the Catholic Church lost one of its strongest defenders,—the American Hierarchy a bright luminary in its galaxy—the Diocess of Charleston, a wise and zealous pastor, who, for more than twenty-one years, laboured faithfully in the vineyard of the Lord. Thus have we all lost a tender and loving father, and a kind and devoted friend. But even in our grief, religion is not wanting to give us motives of consolation:—we have sustained a great and irreparable loss—but he whom we loved is a gainer. Every faculty of mind or of body which he received from his Maker, he dedicated in life to his service,—and he completed the oblation by dying the death of the missionary—death because of the zealous performance of arduous duties. He fought the good fight, he completed his course, has reached the goal and is now receiving the reward exceeding great, laid up in store for him.*

We have written as Catholics. On the loss which the community at large have sustained in his death we say nothing; their feelings are fully expressed in the extracts we give below. On a future occasion we hope to present to our readers a Biographical Sketch of this truly great man.

MAY HE REST IN PEACE.—Amen.

*[This is, of course, to be understood only as an expression of affectionate *hope*, not of certainty.]

RT. REV. F. P. KENRICK.

This distinguished prelate and eminent theologian arrived in this city yesterday morning, to attend the obsequies of the Bishop. He will celebrate High Mass this day at 9 A. M,—and will officiate at the concluding funeral ceremonies this afternoon.

THE DIOCESS.

The Holy See having empowered the Bishop to appoint a delegate, who should be administrator of the Diocess after his demise, until the appointment of a successor—by a document bearing date, March 13, signed by himself—countersigned by the secretary and sealed with the seal of the Diocess, he appointed the Very Rev. R. S. Baker, V. G. to that office. All letters therefore on the business of the Diocess, must henceforward be directed to him.

From the Charleston Patriot of Monday Afternoon, April 11.

DEATH OF THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. ENGLAND.

This eminent Prelate breathed his last this morning about 5 o'clock, in the 56th year of his age, having undergone a lingering and painful illness, his disease being inflammation of the intestines, exhibiting throughout unabated courage and strength of intellect,* with an unwavering reliance in the promises of a steadfast faith. Bishop England has been a resident of our city for 22 years, during which period he has presided over the Diocess committed to his charge, comprising the States of South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia, with singular talent, for both civil and ecclesiastical administration, and with a paternal regard to the interests of his church, while in the civil relations created by allegiance to his adopted country, he ever exhibited respect for her institutions, zeal for her interests and sensibility for her rights.

Thus has been extinguished, in its meridian lustre, one of the most brilliant lights of the Catholic Church in the Western hem-

*Among the proofs of this intellectual power, even when near dissolution, and the interesting incidents attending his death-bed scene, was his address, only two days before his demise, to those more immediately attached to his communion surrounding the couch of sickness, when in a strain of exhortation to the observance of their duties, he poured out for upwards of half an hour, a tide of touching, impressive and beautiful eloquence, in which he was rarely surpassed, even by himself in his happiest moments.

isphere—a divine who illustrated the duties of his lofty calling by his personal example,—whose religious zeal was ever fervent—whose philanthropy knew no discrimination of class, sect or country—whose ability was unquestioned—whose learning was ample—whose energies knew no abatement by adverse influences—whose eloquence was prompt, enriched with the treasures of thought, and enforcing the truths of religion with equal force of argument and fervor of diction, and who has gone down to the tomb with the profound regrets of the community in which he lived, the intense sorrow of his afflicted congregation, and the agonizing grief of a large circle of friends.

Honor to his memory and reverence to his virtues.

THE OBSEQUIES OF BISHOP ENGLAND were yesterday solemnized at the Cathedral of St. Finbar, near the altar of which he is to be interred, amidst the absorbed feelings of the crowded auditory, who came to mingle their tears and regrets with those of his sorrowing friends, and where the spectacle of a sublime charity was exhibited in the assemblage of the Clergy of almost every religious denomination, who appeared to pay this spontaneous tribute of respect to his virtues, thus attesting the depth of those emotions with which his unlooked for demise has impressed a sympathising community, while it gave additional poignancy to that distress into which this melancholy event has plunged those with whom the deceased was in friendship and religious association.

Patriot of Wednesday.

From the Charleston Courier of Tuesday, April 12.

DEATH OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

We announce with unfeigned regret the death of this eminent and distinguished Prelate. He breathed his last about 5 o'clock yesterday morning, after a protracted and painful illness, in the 56th year of his age. He was a native of Ireland, and for the last 22 years resided in this city—during which period he presided over the Diocess comprising the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. He was distinguished for strength of mind, power of argument, deep and various learning, and a bold and impressive eloquence; and was justly ranked among the intellectual and literary ornaments of our city. As a Prelate, he conducted the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his church, (the Roman Catholic,) with consummate ability, and has left behind him many monuments of religion and benevolence, the fruits of his successful administration and unwearied zeal. Devoted as he was to the interests of the Church to which he owed his mitre, he was yet a man of liberal principles and feelings, alive to the impulses of public spirit, and to the influences of universal charity. During his long residence among us, his high and merited influence over his flock was ever exercised for good, and his deportment was such as to win for him the esteem and regard of the community. Although his native country was ever green in his memory and dear to his heart, his allegiance to his adopted country was recognized as his highest duty, as well from inclination as principle. He sympathized deeply with the free institutions and the glorious destinies of the American Union, valuing it as the home of his oppressed and exiled fellow-countrymen, and the chosen temple of rational liberty. Of the South he was a true friend and an able champion; fearlessly throwing the weight of his character, influence and intellect, in favor of her much misunderstood and much reviled domestic institutions, and vindicating them both at home and abroad. In the death of one thus eminent in his calling and useful in his generation, his Church has sustained a loss, which can scarcely be repaired, and our community owns the bereavement of a gifted and valued citizen.

The funeral obsequies of this lamented Prelate will be celebrated at the Cathedral of St. Finbar, at 10 o'clock, A. M., this morning; and the clergy of all denominations, the different societies of which he was a member, his friends and acquaintances and the citizens generally, are invited to attend the solemn ceremony, and pay the last sad tribute to departed worth.

The bell of St. Michael's tolled yesterday, and the shipping in the harbor wore their colours at half mast in honor of the deceased; and as a farther testimony of respect to his memory, the general review of troops which was to have taken place this day, is postponed, by order of his Excellency the Governor, until to-morrow.

From the Charleston Courier of Wednesday, April 13.

BURIAL OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

We have this day witnessed a solemn, an impressive, a beautiful, an interesting spectacle—the burial service of the Catholic Bishop of this Diocess. Around the grave of this worthy prelate, were assembled the Catholic, the Hebrew, the Lutheran, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Congregationalist, the Universalist, the Methodist, and the Unitarian, the various sects into which our community is divided, to bury with him, as we trust, in one common grave, their memories of past dissensions and antipathies. * * * * *

In the death of Bishop England, true religion has lost a friend—for true religion is not in form, but of the heart. And if we doubt as to the outward forms of his Church, we all feel that his heart was right with God. It had the true signet in its benevolence—the dews of Heaven had washed it, and the flowers of truth and love and benevolence had sprung up and blossomed there. His general character we hold as the sacred property of his friends, and would not officiously tread on such forbidden ground were we able to give it a portraiture, which we confess we are not. It will no doubt be done justice to by them. It is questionable whether a richer opportunity has been ever offered for the exhibition of the higher sympathies in man. The country! one where the door is open to all, to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. The city! renowned in our republic for its liberality. The place! consecrated as a Temple dedicated to the worship of God, and the promulgation of the religion of Christ. The season! that of spring, when flowers are smiling and shedding their perfumes around us, and the birds are chanting the matin song of the year. The day! bright and beautiful and richly gilded with the rays of the blessed sun. The time of day! morning; before the world had oppressed the mind with its baseness and cares; while the feelings are yet fresh and open to strong impressions. All conspired to render it in unison with the character we have above given it. May it be a morning of resurrection to us from prejudice and error; to him a new life beyond the grave, where he will "see as he is seen—know as he is known," and meet the welcome of "well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." P.

Tuesday, April 12th.

From the Charleston Mercury of Tuesday, April 12.

DEATH OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

This eminent Divine, long the head of the Catholic Church, in this part of the Union, expired yesterday morning in the 56th year of his age. His illness had been long and painful—even at the time of the death of the late Mayor, we heard it said, his recovery was hopeless. But he preserved his faculties to the last, and on his death bed, lost none of that zeal in the cause of his Church, which had so distinguished his life. To the Catholic Church, his death will be a deep and lasting affliction.

Bishop England will be sincerely lamented by all our citizens. He was a man of rare talents, of various learning, eloquent, public spirited, one equally capable of adorning the walks of private and meeting the emergencies of public duty. When such men die, they leave a wide gap in society, and we wait long before we see their places worthily filled. Bishop England has resided among us for more than twenty years, and during that time he has conciliated an esteem so general, that that class must be small indeed, which will not sympathize with his more immediate friends, in this melancholy bereavement.

SAVANNAH, April 13.

Death of Bishop England.

We regret to learn that letters were received from Charleston yesterday, announcing the death of this distinguished divine and theologian. He died at about 5 o'clock on Monday morning. The Bishop was well known in this country and in Europe, not only as an enlightened and zealous prelate, but as a profound and elegant scholar, and one of those men whose courteous deportment and easy address, recommend them to society, and enable them to wield an important influence. His loss will be severely felt by that Church to which he was so devotedly attached. We shall probably receive the particulars of his death, through Charleston papers this morning.—*Republican.*

With feelings of unfeigned regret, we announce the demise of this distinguished prelate, accomplished gentleman, and excellent citizen, after a protracted illness, which denied to the skill of eminent physicians and the anxiety of admiring friends, the pleasure of his restoration to health. He died at 5 o'clock, A. M., on Monday last, at his residence, in Charleston, S. C., aged about 56 years. Of him it may well be said, that he united untiring zeal in the fulfilment of his arduous, official duties, to intense solicitude for the promotion of a chaste style of scientific and literary attainments; and to an ardent desire for the preservation of social order, and the wide diffusion of a correct knowledge of our civil institutions amongst the countries of Europe, which he frequently visited during years past, in the discharge of his diocesan duties. It is not our object at present to do more than sympathize in the sad bereavement of that Church, of whose ministry he was a highly gifted and revered dignitary, whose profound and varied learning, glowing eloquence, unostentatious piety, indomitable exertions for establishing a system of moral and useful education, and uniform liberality to his fellow citizens, endeared him alike to those whose spiritual destinies he guided according to his faith, to the observance of the Christian

code, and all others without distinction of creed or country, to whom he was known, for the eminent wisdom of his counsel and the active benevolence of his heart.—*Georgian.*

From the Catholic Miscellany of April 23d.

OBSEQUIES OF THE BISHOP.

We announced in our last, the arrival of the Rt. Rev. Francis P. Kenrick, in this city, to assist at the obsequies of our late, lamented Bishop. Accordingly, on Saturday, after the chaunting of the Matins and Lauds of the Office for the dead, he celebrated Pontifical High Mass, after which he addressed to the congregation a brief but eloquent discourse, appropriate to the occasion. The morning offices were concluded by the appointed impressive funeral ceremonies around the bier.

During the afternoon, the body was transferred to the vault, beneath the Episcopal Seat. After Vespers, and another discourse from the Rt. Rev. Prelate, equally moving as that of the morning, the last funeral rites were performed, the coffin containing the remains of Miss Joanna M. England, was lowered into the vault, and it was immediately closed.

At last Mass on Sunday, Bishop Kenrick delivered the eulogy which a correspondent of the Southern Patriot has made the subject of the able communication our readers will find below.

He again preached at Vespers, and on Monday morning consecrated the Holy Oils, as that ceremony could not be performed last Holy Thursday.

He left this city for Philadelphia, by the Wilmington boat, on Monday afternoon. The Catholics of Charleston will never cease to recur with feelings of the most lively gratitude to his kind and consoling visit, during this season of grief.

From the Patriot, of April 18th.

BISHOP KENRICK.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, preached the funeral sermon of Bishop England on Sunday, in St. Finbar's. The Church was thronged by persons of every rank and denomination. Among the distinguished citizens, we noticed the Rev. Mr. Poznanski, the liberal and learned Priest of the Hebrew congregation; the text was from St. Paul, and in substance, that while the death of the Prelate was mourned, we should not forget that his faith was steadfast—his conversation with God, and his instruction to prepare for the last end. Bishop Kenrick remarked, that he did not appear there as the panegyrist of the departed, but rather to impress upon the faithful a lesson which the occasion furnished. All those mournful offices, which the Church performed during the week, were offered as supplications to the throne of the Most High in his behalf—for he like all, from him who filled the chair of Peter down to the humblest member who bowed in the porch, stood not justified before the Creator—*all were sinners*—God alone was great. The Bourbon as well as the Peasant was as nothing in his sight. But if we were filled with sorrow, if the unbidden tear flowed at the recollection of the name, the services and virtues of this prelate, let them honor that memory by adhering to the faith, by frequenting the sacraments, by cultivating that universal charity with persons of all climes, denominations and conditions, which it was the great object of his life to see consummated; that his name was dear to humanity; that it was cherished by the philanthropist; that philosophy honored him; that patriotism cherished him—he appealed to them to bear witness. But it was his (the venerable speaker's) more meet and fitting province to exhibit him as connected with religion. He then went on to show the young priest of 23, the zealous Secretary of Bishop Moylan of Cork, appointed to a parish, and from thence at the age of 34, selected by his Holiness the Pope to be the founder and the apostle of a new Church in the New World; of the abilities that fitted him for this post—of his trials—his privations—his self denials and his success—of his standing in the Episcopal College—as the author of many of those able documents between this province and Rome—of the ardour with which he sustained the connexion with the Father of the faithful—of the force with which he maintained the doctrines of the Church, and of his unequalled power and eloquence in maintaining them against all gainsayers; yet in the moment when he was energizing all minds and filling all hearts with fortitude and ardour, his prudence nor his suavity were ever forgotten. At an early age, he was taken by his grandfather to the cavern, where his ancestry were forced to offer in secret the adorable Sacrifice. Can we wonder he loved not the oppressors of Ireland? The zeal of the young patriot was deepened by these recollections, and hence the ardor of his indignation attracted the hostility of a government, whose perfidy is proverbial. He loved Ireland, but he loved America not the less. He defended the honor of the South in nations where his authority was respected—nor could this be unexpected, for he found indeed here an asylum, home and friends. If he had been ambitious, his tal-

ents were of that order which would have insured him success in any of the scientific pursuits followed by men, but no, he chose the altar for his lot, and God for his inheritance. The eminent theologian next referred to the scenes that closed in his death. How particular he was, to the last, in all the minute observances sanctioned by religion, and prescribed discipline, of his charge to the clergy—of his piety, resignation and humble hope—of his unconquerable faith—calling for and reciting the formula, drawn up by Pius IV. The learned and eloquent prelate concluded a discourse of about an hour's continuance, by reiterating his injunctions to the people, to hold to the faith—to cultivate charity—to uphold the character of their holy religion, by frequenting the sacraments and practising the moral virtues, and thus to adorn their lives not so much by the wreath of human learning, as by the "*well done*," of another life. Bishop Kenrick has much of the appearance of Bishop England, as to size and courtesy of manners—less animated perhaps, but there is an apostolic dignity—a gentle firmness—a pure bearing about him that is at once engaging, and calculated to inspire and to sustain a reverence and regard—his reputation as an eminent theologian had been long known, and his presence among us was hailed with joy and respect.

LEO.

VESTRY PROCEEDINGS.

On Monday last, the Vestries of the Church of St. Mary's, Hasell-street, and the Church of St. Patrick, on the Neck, were invited to join that of the Cathedral, in the Library of the Seminary, to give expression to their feelings on their late bereavement. A committee of three from each of the Vestries, (to which the clergymen of the respective Churches were added), was appointed to report at an adjourned meeting, to be held the next evening at the same hour and place, when the following Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted. The *Very Rev.* THE ADMINISTRATOR, being unable through illness to attend, he appointed the *Rev.* DOCTOR LYNCH to preside on both occasions.

PREAMBLE.

As time rolls on its troubled stream into the peaceful waters of eternity, it occasionally happens to bear as its burden, some being more valued, more beloved and more useful than those whom every day life presents to our view, whose loss leaves a void in the community which cannot be easily filled up, casts a gloom over those prospects which were brightened by his labors, takes from a fond and devoted people, the object of their admiration, their respect, and their love, and leaves behind but the memory of his virtues, his piety, and his usefulness. Too well and truly have we experienced this during the past week, in the demise of our pious, learned and much beloved Bishop—an event as unexpected as it is mournful, bringing sorrow and sadness to all who knew him in public and private life, and making desolate the hearts of his own affectionate children, who from his lips were gladdened with the joyful tones of a Redeemer's promise, and by his hands were fed with that bread which sustains man on his earthly journey. The child mourns the loss of a dearly beloved parent, and the burning tear of sorrow starts to his eye at affection's call, as he beholds his father's dust restored to its parent clay. The friend breathes forth the silent, sad sigh of affectionate remembrance, as he gazes on the cold remains of one united to him in the bonds of mutual attachment. But our father, our dearest father has left us; our friend, our best of friends has gone from this world of many trials; he in whom we centered all our confidence, on whom we depended for strength and support, whose voice was ever ready at duty's call, to be raised in the vindication of ourselves, our country and our religion, the pride of our hearts, the object of our love, has gone, gone forever.

Oh, bitter thought! Oh, sorrowful recollection! Three months ago, as the rich tide of his eloquence was poured forth in portraying the glories, the justice and mercy of God, calling man from the ways of sin, and holding before his view the pardon obtained by a Saviour's blood; who could form the opinion that at this day his remains would lie cold beneath his own Episcopal Chair; and that the voice which so often edified and delighted thousands with the fascinating tones of its own peculiar melody, should be hushed forever in the silence of the mouldering tomb? But such is the lot of man, such the uncertainty of human speculation.

"Man proposes, but God alone disposes."

United with us in the sacred bonds of the Holy, Catholic faith, endeared to us by years of the most indefatigable exertions to promote the spiritual welfare of ourselves and our children, and connected with us by all those social ties that link man to man, he has gone to the home of the blessed, there to reap the reward of his labors from the hands of that God whom he so faithfully served, whilst he leaves behind him on earth a name that will not be forgotten as long as virtue, piety and talents are respected and revered. As a Catholic, his faith was as strong as the rock of ages on which Chris-

tianity is founded; as a patriot, he was trained in the school of a Fitzgerald and an *Emmet*, where the fiery ordeal of persecution was the test of his sincerity; as a scholar, his mind was profound, his imagination fertile and productive, his acquirements various and extensive; and last, but not least, as a friend, he was one of those friends in need who are friends indeed. Never during his long and eventful career, whilst he defended his own, did he interfere with the religious opinions of others—the burden of his preaching, more fully developed in his actions, being "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." How well then may we say that we all suffered on his demise—the community in losing one of its most virtuous, eminent and useful citizens; the social circle one of its greatest ornaments, whose racy wit charmed whilst it brightened all around; religion, one of its ablest defenders; and humanity one of its warmest supporters; the widow, her guardian and protector; the homeless orphan, its father and preserver. Difficult will be the task to find his like again. The funeral bell has tolled his requiem dirge, the Church has chaunted her sublime but mournful "*Libera*" o'er his remains, the incense of the Holy Prayer for the repose of his soul has ascended to the altar of the Deity—all now is silent, sad and still; but though his star has forever set, still, will his memory ever remain green in our souls, and though his spirit has fled from its tenement of clay, still will he live in our hearts' best affections. But while we mourn for the dead, the illustrious dead, never can we be forgetful of those who differ from us in faith, but unite with us in charity—those whose souls are above the influence of prejudice, and who are ever ready to pay a deserved tribute to learning, piety and religion; and whilst we in conscience steadfastly adhere to the holy and venerable creed of Catholicity, we must fully appreciate the liberal conduct of our dissenting brethren, and the high respect shown by persons of all denominations to the memory of our deceased, illustrious Bishop;—Therefore, be it Resolved—

1st. That the altars of the three Catholic Churches of this city and the Neck, be hung for one month, with some distinguishing badge of mourning, to testify publicly, the sorrow and respect of their respective congregations, for their much beloved and ever to be lamented Bishop, whose untimely death is to them, in common with their Catholic brethren in the South, an irreparable loss.

2d. That as another mark of the grief and respect of the aforesaid congregations, on this melancholy occasion, each member of them is hereby requested to wear for at least one month, some badge of mourning; and that each member of the three vestries do wear a crape on his left arm for the same period of time.

3d. That we hereby tender our grateful thanks to the Right Rev. Dr. Kenrick, the distinguished administrator of the Diocess of Philadelphia, for his kindness in visiting us on this sorrowful occasion, and for the consolation he afforded us, by his eloquent and heart-touching eulogy on the character and labors of our beloved and zealous Bishop.

4th. That the thanks of the three Catholic Congregations of the city and Neck, are due, and are hereby tendered to the dissenting clergy of the State, to his Honor the Mayor, the Judges of the Courts in session during our affliction, the Collector of the Port, and the citizens generally, for the respect paid, and liberal feeling shown by them, on the death of our highly gifted and much esteemed Prelate.

5th. That these proceedings and resolutions be published in the daily papers of this city, and in the Catholic Miscellany.

P. N. Lynch, D. D., Chairman.

A. Lafitte, Secretary.

Columbia, S. C., St. Peter's Church.

To the Editors of the U. S. Catholic Miscellany.

On Sunday last, the Vestry of St. Peter's Church, Columbia, S. C., met for the purpose of giving a public expression of their sorrow, at the death of our lamented Bishop. Messrs. John W. Brady, James M'Caffrey, and William M'Guinnes, were appointed a committee, to which the Pastor was added, to draft a preamble and resolutions, which were adopted at an adjourned meeting, held this evening, in the vestry-room, a copy of which is herewith enclosed for publication in your valuable paper.

J. S. O'Connor, Secretary.

Columbia, 26th of April, 1842.

Proceedings of the Vestry of St. Peter's Church, Columbia, So. Ca., 26th of April, 1842.

In the dispensation of an allwise and merciful Providence, it often happens, that whatever affords the greatest source of earthly happiness to his creatures, is snatched from their embrace, at the moment they are least prepared to give it up. Whether we regard individuals or communities—nations, or all mankind, we have all some one engrossing object, which administers comfort and consolation, and to which we cling with fondest affection, in preference to number-

less others, no matter how strong their claim to our gratitude and regard. This we find sanctioned in the sacred record of Divine truth: Among the twelve apostles, with whom the Saviour shared his power, there was one specially called—"the disciple whom Jesus loved."—*John* xx. 2. Jacob was filled with tender affection for his whole family, yet "he loved Joseph above all his sons."—*Gen.* 37, v. 3.

Since, without injustice to any one, this partiality is common among the children of men, where there is equal claim to favor,—it must be heightened beyond comparison, in regard to one who has outstripped even his equals in apostolic authority, and stood without a rival, when he "finished his course." Such was the great and good Bishop of Charleston—who is no more—who now sleeps the long sleep with the illustrious dead.

In this sad event, we feel the chastising hand of God. He has summoned away the dear—the cherished object of our affections, and surprised us at the moment when it seemed almost impossible for us to endure a separation. Great God! How hidden and mysterious are thy ways! Had we not known thy holy law, we might murmur, and declare: how hard—how cruel are thy decrees. But this wicked thought is spurned by the Christian, who has no other hope but in Thee—who sparedst not thy own beloved Son. We are grieved, but do not murmur! We are sad, but "not sorrowful, even as others who have no hope."—1 *Thessal.* iv. 12. In the spirit of resignation taught by our divine Redeemer, we bow to Thee, and say: "Not our will, O God, but thine be done!

Should we still need the encouragement of human example, to reconcile us to our bereavement, what greater example—what words of stronger import than the memorable expressions of our lamented Bishop: "I had hoped to rise, but I bow to the will of God; and accept what he appoints."—This sentence of his resigning spirit is lettered on his coffin, and will mingle with his mouldering body, when reduced to its original dust. As in life he taught us with the fervor and ability of the primitive fathers—so in death, he continues to instruct us—and speaks to our hearts from his abode in the tomb.

Of him it may be truly said: "he was a faithful and wise servant, whom his Lord hath appointed over his family, to give them meat in season." Conscious of his responsibility, he sustained his flock with the food of instruction, and fed them with the bread of heaven—the flesh of Christ, who has himself declared: "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."—*John* vi. 56.—Thus vigilant, and thus faithful over his charge, we hope that he is now enjoying the benediction which our Saviour promised: "blesssed is that servant, whom, when his lord shall come, he shall find so doing."—*Matth.* xxiv. 45, 46.

When we look through the diocess of Charleston, we are lost in astonishment: we see a pious and learned clergy inured to hardship and labor, and trained by him to make every sacrifice for God and their neighbor; we see religious institutions, where piety, and learning, and female refinement, progress together. The orphans have an asylum and a home; and in the "Sisters of Mercy," they have the care and attention of fondest mothers. All these have sprung up before our eyes within a few years, and stand as living monuments of piety and untiring zeal.

But what shall be said of his defence of Catholicity? It was altogether unsurpassed in our days. The learned of all professions—the liberal of every creed—the wise and the unwise, have heard the "ancient faith" defended with reason and argument and eloquence of the highest order. They have been taught how wide is the difference between our faith, and the spurious doctrines which misrepresentation WOULD MAKE *us believe.* In combating prejudice, there was none more courteous. He was ever desirous to strike the error—leaving the feelings of the possessor unwounded and unhurt.—Through all his controversies, he was mindful of the charitable admonitions of the Apostle, who has prescribed a rule to be observed by those who defend the truth:—"Avoid foolish and unlearned questions; knowing that they beget strifes. The servants of the Lord must not wrangle, but be gentle towards all men, fit to teach, patient, with modesty admonishing those who resist the truth."—2 *Tim.* ii. 23, 24.

Ours, however, is not the language of panegyric, we meet to feel and briefly speak, as Catholics, the sentiment of our afflicted congregation, who mourn the loss of our illustrious Bishop. Therefore, be it resolved—

1st. That the altar of St. Peter's Church, in Columbia, be hung for two months with some distinguishing badge of mourning, to testify publicly, the sorrow and respect of our congregation, for our beloved and lamented Bishop—whose premature death has left a wound in our hearts, which only God and religion can heal.

2d. That as a personal mark of grief and respect, from our congregation, on this sad occasion, each member is hereby requested

to wear some badge of mourning—and that each member of the vestry wear crape on the left arm, during six weeks.

3rd. That we unite with the Catholic congregations of Charleston and the Neck—and hereby tender our grateful thanks to the dissenting clergy of that city—to his Excellency the Governor of the State—to his Honor the Mayor—the Judges of Courts in Session during our affliction—the Collector of the Port—and the citizens generally, for the respect paid, and the liberal feelings shown by them at the death of our gifted and esteemed Prelate.

4th. That this preamble and resolutions be published in the papers of Columbia, and in the Catholic Miscellany, Charleston.

T. Birmingham, Pastor—Chairman.
John S. O'Connor, Secretary.

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT.

Charleston.—At an extra meeting of the Washington Light Infantry, held on the 25th of April, the following resolutions were offered by S. A. Hurlbut:

Although it may seem in some degree incongruous to mingle the name and the functions of a Clergyman with those of a Military body such as ours, yet in view of the close connection of feeling which united this Company to the Rt. Rev. Bishop England, our deceased Chaplain, and inasmuch as the services he has rendered us, and the inscription of his name as an Honorary Member of this Corps, give us the right publicly to express those sentiments of respect and regard which we all, as individuals, feel for his memory: Be it, therefore,

Resolved, That it is with no ordinary feelings of sorrow that the Company thus publicly recognizes the loss from among its members, of the Right Reverend Bishop England. The eloquent tones that have stirred our hearts as with the sound of a trumpet, shall no more command and arrest our attention. The lips ever devoted to the advancement of virtue and religion are forever mute, frozen into silence by the icy hand of death. The earnest vindicator of the liberty of his native land, the devoted admirer and constant advocate of the institutions of this, his adopted country; the man of unimpeached and unimpeachable character, of intellect and acquirements wide and far reaching, of imagination fervid and poetic—the priest of self-denying and self-sacrificing virtues, whom all men of every sect and faith delight to honor—the careful and sleepless watcher over the flock committed to his care,—has finished his earthly course. The good Soldier of the Cross, he was ever girt with his armor, and ready to defend from assault the truths he conscientiously believed, and how widely soever we may differ from his doctrine, we all admit that he fought the good fight, and performed the task that was set before him.

To us he was endeared by the relation he bore to us, by the recollections of the eloquent address which he delivered before this Company, and by the readiness which he evinced to render us any service that circumstances might require. We presume not on this occasion to analyze the character of this lamented Prelate. No panegyric upon his virtues becomes this meeting. In life he courted not the applause of men, and his memory does not require their praise: For his eulogy is in the deep grief of his friends, in the passionate mourning of the thousand hearts to whom he was the star of hope, the light upon their thorny path of life. His epitaph is written on the enduring affection of the widow and the orphan, the homeless and forlorn, whom, in life, he cherished and sustained. Their prayers are the incense around his tomb, their tears the libation over his ashes.

Be it further Resolved, That in the death of our lamented and revered Chaplain, this Company has suffered a bereavement, which deprives it of one of its brightest ornaments, and that as a mark of our sorrow for his death, and our respect for his virtues, the usual badge of mourning be worn for thirty days.

On motion of J. Bryan, Jr., it was

Resolved, That the above Resolutions be adopted and published in the papers of this city, and that a copy be transmitted to the relatives of the deceased Bishop England.

Extract from the the minutes.

D. McQueen, Secretary.

From the Catholic Herald.

PHILADELPHIA.

Death of the Right Rev. Dr. England.

It becomes our painfully melancholy duty to announce the death of this lamented Prelate, which happened at Charleston on the 11th inst. in the 56th year of his age.

No eulogy to which we could give utterance, could add to the elevation of character of this truly eminent Divine, nor could the expression of our deepest regret and sympathy, do more than commingle in that one universal sorrowing, so deeply felt for such a bereavement.

In his death, not only has Catholicity to mourn one of her purest and ablest champions, but Christianity one of its most brilliant ornaments, and justly proud boasts; for who, that ever listened to his defence of his faith, and explanation of his doc-

trines, but felt "That truth from his lips prevailed with double sway!"

And even while those who differed from him in their mode of worship, either from education or prejudice, denied their acquiescence in the truth of his powerful reasoning, yet were these truths put forward in such accents of love, of charity and brotherly affection, that bigotry itself fell powerless before his mighty mind, and from the most strenuous of his political opponents he forced, if not their willing regard, their reluctant admiration.

Attached as he was by the most boundless affection to Ireland, the land of his birth, and anxiously as he evinced at all times the most intense interest in her welfare and in her struggle for freedom, yet he never, for a moment, forgot his duty and allegiance to the land of his adoption, and Republican Institutions ever found in him that advocacy and powerful sustainment, which talents, and eloquence, and a mind like his, could so usefully exert, and indomitably wield.

As his philanthropy was extensive, so is his loss deplored, [with a grief] not circumscribed or limited to sect or party, but reaching in its course across the wide Atlantic, where his loss will be deplored as here; for there too were his virtues known, and the blessed effects of his charity and talents felt and acknowledged.

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We were gratified at receiving from the Philadelphia Repeal Association, through their excellent Secretary, Mr. Doyle, the Resolutions which will be found on our 8th page, expressive of their regret for the demise of the venerated Bishop England, and are happy that the Association have paid to his memory so deserved a token of affectionate regard.

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PHILADELPHIA REPEAL ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the Association held at their room, 278 Market street, on Monday evening the 18th inst.—Wm. A. Stokes, Esq. President, in the chair.

Benjamin Pemberton Binns, Esq. offered the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published in all the daily papers.

Resolved, That the Repeal Association of Philadelphia have heard with feelings of deep and solemn mourning and sorrow of the death of their venerable fellow member, the Right Reverend John England, Bishop of Charleston, in South Carolina. Attached to his person by his true nobility of nature—grateful for his generous devotion to the great cause of human liberty—they will hold in enduring remembrance his virtues for imitation—his genius for admiration, and his piety for example.

Resolved, That in his death the country has lost one of her most valuable citizens, Republican Institutions have been deprived of one of their ablest champions, and the holy cause of Christianity has to lament a servant and advocate, whose entire zeal for the principles and interests of his own faith never caused him to violate the charity, which in a land of freedom protects all, but injures none.

The President, Mr. Stokes, having vacated the chair, which was taken by Mr. Benjamin P. Binns, proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the lamented Bishop England, the Association do now adjourn.

Mr. Stokes in offering this resolution remarked that it was under feelings of no ordinary emotion, for none who knew Bishop England could fail to feel towards him an almost filial affection. He was one of those great men, the splendor of whose glories commanded the admiration of all—while the goodness of his heart and his amiability of manners made warm friends of all who were so fortunate as to enjoy his acquaintance. He was a remarkable example of one, who by the mere force of his native intellect, had caused his name to be known and revered throughout Europe and America—known and revered not only as a Christian Prelate, firm in the faith which he held—but as an illustrious champion of human rights—as a powerful advocate in Europe for that system of government in America, which recognized in him a citizen most useful and constant, and as a scholar of rare attainments—a writer of singular purity—an orator and reasoner who had triumphed whenever his powers had been called into action. His own deeds were his best eulogium—his memory would, he trusted, be the virtual prolongation of a life valuable for the pure example which he set to all—an example which might live and which he hoped and believed would live in the breast of every repealer, exciting him to the practice of virtue, guarding him from the temptations of vice, and strengthening the resolution to persevere in that good work of Repeal, the entire devotion to which was one of the brightest and best points of the character of Bishop England. Mr. Stokes spoke at length and with great effect of the character of Bishop England, and when he resumed his seat the Association imme-

diately adjourned, and in silence left their Hall.

From the Boston Pilot.

DEATH OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

Gloom, deep, impenetrable gloom, has gathered upon the brow of the Catholic! The sombre habiliments of mourning and melancholy send their darkening shadows around their altars! Tears come swelling up from the heart's fountain of sorrow, and the solemn chant and mournful dirge tell that the great, the good, the beloved and the lamented, has been gathered to the dust; that a light has gone out from amongst us, which had guided us in the path of virtue and Christian faith; that the shepherd hath been called from his flock, and they are buried in sorrow and affliction. Bishop England is dead! None shall again hear him with a monarch's voice proclaim the great doctrines of the Catholic Church. No more shall we see that glorious countenance radiant, with the halo of Divine inspiration.—Never again shall we listen to his exalted precepts, no more shall the mind bow captive to the masculine power of his logic, or the perspicuous and overwhelming splendor of his reasoning. That proud and towering intellect that seemed to reach heaven in its flight, and draw proofs of the immaculate purity of his creed from its eternal throne, hath left its earthly tenement, and ascended to its kindred element. God hath taken to himself the brightest and purest of the land! him, who, like some Christian Jupiter wielded the thunder of truth, and went forth to illumine the path of the desponding mortal; who spoke but to convince, and who shed a glory refulgent with hope, around the sceptic heart.

It is the death of such a man we mourn. All feel that one has gone down to the grave, the greatness of whose mind, and whose benevolence and eloquent example has ennobled human nature. That the earth has closed over one who stood a pillar of immovable power to the Catholic Church of America; whose resplendent genius, mellowed with the sacred influences of his high and holy mission, shone forth in the beauty and majesty of a mind endowed with more than human intellect. None can feel the terrible calamity that has fallen upon the ministry of truth and religion, but those who have listened to him when pouring forth the reflections of his lofty mind, who have heard his masterly and convincing reasoning, and felt the power of his sublime oratory. Far from the land of his kindred, which he loved so well, he slumbers in the tomb, over whose dust ages may roll, but not produce one so GREAT, SO PURE, SO GOOD.

From the Catholic Telegraph.

DEATH OF DR. ENGLAND.

Our readers will deeply regret to learn that the Right Reverend Dr. England, Bishop of Charleston, died in that city on the 11th inst. after a severe illness. This news, which we had but too much reason to anticipate from recent announcements in the Miscellany, will not only fill the American Church with the gloom of mourning, but will be lamented throughout the entire Church; for the fame of the illustrious Prelate, arising from his valuable writings and distinguished services, was spread far and wide. An Irishman by birth, his gigantic and comprehensive mind, and his merits as an orator and a writer, reflect honor upon his native land, to which also he was ever bound by the most generous and lively sympathies; for he wept over every degradation of her servitude, and rejoiced for each chance ray of sunshine that lighted up the night of her bondage. An American by choice and adoption, he loved America and her free institutions; he watched the flight of her eagle with as much interest and gratification as if he had stood by her, when she first plumed her wing, and beheld her rise and battle with the storms and tempests of her first sky.

A Bishop of the Catholic Church in the United States, amid the talented members of a young but distinguished hierarchy, he had no superior in intellect, and stood the very first as a controversial orator and writer. Devoted to the pious discharge of the sacred functions of his office, he never spared himself, but wherever he went, presented abundant proofs of his zeal for the glory of God, the spread of truth and the increase of virtue. Only fifty-six years of age, he is called away from us in his prime. While we lament his loss, we must bow submissively to the inscrutable decrees of heaven, and unite our prayers with those of his widowed Diocess, that God will deign to install him in the full enjoyment of that happiness which, while on earth, was the chief of his desires.

From the Catholic Miscellany of May 14.

THE SEMINARY.

A remark or two will at once explain why this title is prefixed to the following:—

In apprising a true and valued friend in Baltimore of the demise of our beloved Bishop, the Administrator of the Diocess, in a hurried notice, incidentally mentioned the precarious condition in which his death left the Seminary. It is a fact well known, that holding nearly a dozen students, it has nothing like a permanent fund for their future support—or in fact any other resources save what may result from the exertions of a

Society established some years back to aid principally in the support of such an institution. With that spirit of active benevolence which has ever marked the character of William George Read, Esq., he immediately, under the sanction of the Archbishop, took the measures of which we here copy the Report as found on a Baltimore paper.

"A large meeting of the friends and admirers, including both sexes, of the late Bishop of Charleston, the universally esteemed and lamented Dr. England, was held on Friday evening, 22d inst., in the commodious room in the basement of St. Vincent de Paul's Church.

Mr. Read then rose, and previously to stating the object for which he had requested them to assemble, spoke in a most feeling and eloquent manner of the humility, charity, piety and talents—the labours, trials, sufferings and martyrdom of Bishop England—several times during which, his utterance was choked by gushes of tears. The object, he said, was to lay before them a letter he had received from the Very Rev. R. S. Baker, administrator of the Diocess of Charleston, and by which he was informed that several youths, whom the late Bishop had supported himself, and was preparing for the Church, were now, by the death of their benefactor, left destitute—and would ere long, it was to be feared, be without the common necessaries of life. To contribute, then, some relief, and to make arrangements to solicit the aid of others for those poor students, he had ventured to call them together, and because, too, he felt that those who would contribute their mite, would perform an act of charity, and at the same time pay a tribute of respect, more acceptable than monuments of brass or marble to the memory of the great and good Prelate, who had been taken from them. Many a moistened eye might have been seen, as Mr. Read concluded his pathetic remarks, by offering the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, a letter from the administrator of the See of Charleston has been read to this meeting by Mr. Read, from which it appears that, in addition to the deep affliction of the Clergy of that bereaved Diocess, at the loss of their late, inestimable Prelate, they are involved in great pecuniary embarrassment, for the present support of several pious youths, whom he was assiduously training to usefulness in the Church—

Be it resolved, that in testimony of our sympathy with that stricken people, and of our tender veneration for the memory of their beloved and admired Bishop, we will endeavor to assist them at this emergency, as far as the depressed condition of business will permit.

Resolved, That a committee of six be appointed by the Chair, for each ward in the city, to solicit contributions, however small, in aid of the Theological Students of the Catholic Seminary at Charleston—and that they be requested to commence operations without delay; and to return the amount of their collections to the Rev. John Gildea, for the purpose of being remitted to the Very Rev. R. S. Baker, administrator of the Diocess of Charleston.

After the reading of the resolutions, the Rv. Mr. Schreiber briefly addressed the meeting on behalf of the object—touching in appropriate and beautiful language on the transcendant talents and truly apostolic virtues for which Bishop England was eminently distinguished. And the Reverend gentleman, before taking his seat, presented Z. Collins Lee, Esq. to the meeting.

Mr. Lee, on coming forward, said, that having seen the call in the morning papers, as an American and Protestant he attended to offer his tribute to the memory of one whom he had admired and reverenced—not as a Catholic Bishop—but for his great powers of intellect, his exalted character as a public teacher, his untiring zeal as a herald of the cross, and for the brilliant attainments of his vast and mighty mind. Mr. L. spoke for a considerable length of time in a strain of rich and glowing eloquence, and concluded in seconding the resolutions offered by Mr. Read.

The preamble and resolutions were again read by the Secretary, and adopted unanimously by the meeting. On motion of Mr. M. Connolly, a committee of three was appointed to assist the Chair in selecting the committees for each ward. Several contributions were then made, after which the meeting, at about 9 o'clock, adjourned.

JOHN B. GILDEA, Chairman.

TIMOTHY J. AHERN, Secretary.

N. B.—The chairmen of the different ward committees are requested to assemble the members of their respective committees, and commence operations as soon as possible.

In the course of the present week, the following letter was received from the Rev. Chairman, enclosing a draft for $200—for which on the part of the students of the Seminary, as well as on his own, the administrator returns the due acknowledgments of gratitude and thanks, begging at the same time of the giver of all good, a return of a hundred fold, on those who aided towards our relief in this to us truly trying crisis.

BALTIMORE, May 17th 1848.

Very Rev. and Dear Sir—The object of the present, few lines, is to remit to you a small amount, placed in my hands by the

friends of your much lamented Bishop. Hearing through your zealous friend, William George Read, that your infant Seminary was in a rather destitute condition, and unless assisted, must probably be abandoned, your friends, sympathising with you in your loss, and interested in the prosperity of the Diocess entrusted to your care, unite together in sending you this small sum, hoping to add to it hereafter. Have the kindness to accept it, and our best wishes for your happiness and that of those entrusted to your care.

Sincerely your friend and Brother in Christ.

JOHN B. GILDEA.

Very Rev. R. S. Baker, &c., &c.

Whilst this interest is manifested towards us, by those upon whom we have no claim whatever, save that which mere humanity may dictate, or—as in the present instance—a more tender feeling, hallowed by the recollections of him who is no more, to aid us may suggest, can we be censured if we urge more earnestly upon those more immediately interested, the discharge of a duty founded on the claim of stern justice. We would solemnly invite the Catholics of the Diocess to consider the circumstances under which they are placed, as regards the future prospect of a permanent ministry, and our word may be relied on—they are more than critical.

What is the object of this Seminary? Is it to pamper in idleness and luxury its inmates, whilst preparing by a long and severe course of study to take their places in the Missionary field as "workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth"—or when there, to gather "gold and silver" as the reward of their toils? Catholics of Charleston, you, and your scattered brethren of the Diocess, know otherwise. Its object, as you are well aware, is to send out Priests to those very missions, many of which are not even able to support a missioner: to send them out, that at every risk, and under the pressure of trials and privations well calculated to test spirits the most resigned, they may still administer the consolations of religion to those who would otherwise be totally abandoned: it is to perpetuate amongst yourselves, at large, that body of commissioned teachers, who may guide you whilst living in the paths of virtue, and strengthen you when dying by the institutions of your religion, themselves, meanwhile awaiting patiently the return of the good Samaritan who is to mete out to *them* their own recompense. In this view of the case, whose interest is it to maintain a Seminary? Dissolve it to-morrow; compel, either by your indifference or a neglect equally criminal, its inmates to seek refuge in the very law of nature by seeking admission into other Diocesses of the Province—they would be the gainers; but what, in the mean time, becomes of the ministry of this Diocess? A very few years would find your altars without Priests or Sacrifices: your Churches closed: your children growing up in utter ignorance of the religion of their fathers: the old amongst you living, like Juda of old, in exile—when dying, deprived of the strengthening graces of the Sacraments, and when dead, buried without even the solace of that ritual which sheds its rays of hope even over the darkness of the tomb. The Priests now ministering at your altars cannot live forever. You have been taught a frightful lesson of the instability of that tenure by which, with all their affection for you, they hold their places, and when summoned away, in their turn, leaving none behind to succed them, is the prediction of the result merely visionary!

We would then seriously draw your attention to the duty peculiarly imposed on you, at this trying period. We neither crave nor beg for ourselves aught at your hands. But we respectfully yet firmly tell you your duty in the premises: that if it be your wish—as it is your duty—a duty which you cannot evade, save by becoming apostates to your faith—to perpetuate during your own day amongst yourselves, the blessings of religion, and transmit them to your children, you must, by renewed exertions, aid in the support of that institution by which alone, under the blessing of God, you can reasonably hope to find those wishes fulfilled.—With this view it was first established. Under circumstances the most trying, as you can testify, it was, throughout, sustained by him who was willing "to spend and be spent," and who *was spent* amongst you.—Amongst the other evidences of his zeal, he has left it to your care; and deprived of his protection, it must look first to the blessing of God, and next to your exertions through your society for its continuance.

The above was in the printer's hands, when we received the Boston Pilot, on which we find the following touching sketch, from the pen of its Baltimore Correspondent:—

Death of Bishop England — Solemn High Mass at the Cathedral—Mozart's Celebrated Requiem.

BALTIMORE, April 29, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—The death of Bishop England, although it was expected for some weeks previous, has thrown a gloom over the Church of this Catholic city, almost of despair; for, cast our eyes where we will, select the man where we may, still *his* place will be vacant, and the American Church

must continue to mourn the death of her protector; sorrow is seated in the hearts of all, clergy and laity, and the bare mention of his name, will cause the tear to start, and the lip to quiver. We would try to believe him alive; but, alas! the wailings of his afflicted people, his distressed clergy, sound too distinctly in our ears; the truth is too plain; the mighty man has fallen. How *did* he fall? With his "armor on, and at his post." Baltimore will long mourn his death, for she is indebted to him for long and arduous labors. It was here he delivered his last public sermon, and that, at a time when he was more fitted for the sick chamber, than for the labors of the altar. The last night he preached here, his friends tried to persuade him to take rest, but he replied—"*I must do my duty; and if I fall at the altar, all I ask of you is that you will take me home.*" It was his last effort in public; for the disease he contracted on board the pestilent ship in which he returned from Europe, was deeply seated. He returned to his flock, diseased and worn out. The melancholy termination you know.

A meeting was held on last Monday night, in the spacious chapel of St. Vincent de Paul, which had in view the philanthropic object of extending pecuniary aid to his distressed clergy. At this meeting, a letter was read from the administrator of the diocess, the Very Rev. Mr. Baker, by William George Read, Esq., to whom it was addressed. It drew tears from every one present; Mr. Read frequently burst into tears during his remarks. The meeting was eloquently addressed by the Rev. Mr. Schreiber, who, in concluding, introduced Z. Collins Lee, Esq. (Protestant). Mr. L. spoke at much length. He came, as an American citizen, to pay his acknowledgments to the services of a public benefactor—to one who had done so much for the support of the institutions of our common country—one who had given birth to some of the finest literary establishments we possessed; the ornament of his religion, the defender of American institutions, and the father to the orphan. Committees were appointed to collect in the various wards of the city; and I am happy to add, that their labor is successful. The chair was filled by the Rev. Mr. Gildea.

On Thursday last, there was a solemn service in the Cathedral, the Most Rev. Archbishop as celebrant, with the usual assistants. The clergy from the several churches, and from the seminary, were present. The sanctuary was hung in black, also the front of the singers' gallery, and the large edifice was densely crowded with those who had so often listened to the eloquence of him who was now no more. The services were deeply impressive; and if prayers were necessary, they were offered up on that occasion with a fervor which must have reached heaven. The grand Requiem, by Mozart, which has drawn forth such wonderful admiration in all parts of the world, and which even the "flippant Willis" describes so well, was performed in masterly style, by the choir of the Cathedral, with full orchestral accompaniments, under the direction of Mr. Geogan, (an Irish gentleman who stands at the head of his profession in this city.) To describe it would be vain; for, since it has never been equalled, as a composition, by any composers, how could I give you a description of it? It must be heard to get even the faintest idea of it. The sermon was a masterly display of oratory, and Boston may truly feel proud of her Donelan. At the close of the Mass, the Rev. J. P. Donelan, who is stationed at Washington, ascended the pulpit. He took as his text, 1 *Machabees*, chap. ix.; verses 20 and 21. "And all the people of Israel bewailed him with great lamentations, and they mourned for him many days, and said:—How is the mighty man fallen that saved the people of Israel?" The preacher dwelt with much feeling on the melancholy duty which assembled the congregation. He then sketched the early life of the illustrious deceased; his patriotism for his country while a priest in Cork; his defence of his downtrodden, persecuted, but unbending countrymen; his unflinching opposition to Government's paying (bribing) the Catholic priesthood, at a time when many were ready to swallow the "gilded bait." He came forth to rescue the Irish Church from the gilded fetters of government corruption. He was successful; and the priesthood of Ireland are yet wedded to their people alone. (During this part of the sermon, the preacher gave vent to a flow of patriotic enthusiasm, worthy of the Republican and the Christian. He seemed as if to enter into the same feelings which actuated the Bishop in his endeavors to raise Ireland to her proper position.) He then traced his subsequent career in the United States, the difficulties he surmounted, the prejudices he subdued, the victories he achieved, the privations he suffered (often having been seen walking the scorching sands of Carolina barefooted*—the soles of his shoes being literally worn out), his self-denial, the benefits he conferred on the state, &c.; and concluded by recommending the lamented England to the prayers of the faithful, in a strain truly touch-

* [Carolinians must make some allowance, here, for rhetorical exaggeration.]

ing. During this beautiful discourse, the vast assemblage were frequently in tears; and at times, loud sobbings could be heard in every direction. The services commenced at about half-past eleven, and were over at half-past two. Truly, indeed, may we bewail him with great lamentation, for many days. How is the mighty man fallen! JUVENIS.

VESTRY PROCEEDINGS.

SAVANNAH, GEO.

At a meeting of the Vestry of the Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist, Savannah, held on the evening of Tuesday, the 3d instant, Messrs. Dillon, Prendergast, and Condon, were nominated a committee to draft a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the grief and sorrow which overwhelmed the congregation, at the irreparable loss of its ever dear and beloved Bishop.

The following were offered, and approved of by the Pastor:

How sad, how melancholy, and how difficult is the duty which we are called to perform, to give expression to our sorrow for the death of our beloved Bishop, and to delineate his virtues, though it be but a mere attempt: our grief is too deeply seated in our hearts; it is unalterable: his virtues are indescribable, who can delineate them; our sorrow is founded on general and special principles. Christianity has lost an indomitable champion; Catholicity its most powerful advocate; the Apostolic chain one of its brightest, purest links; the Militant Church a noble, brave, and valiant soldier; America, a defender of her rights, and the South a vindicator of her institutions.

Our father and friend has departed from us—we are orphans; the fold is without a shepherd; the diocess without a Bishop!—The episcopal chair is vacant; the sable emblems show where the venerated tenant lies; the Sanctuary is without its ornament; the widow mourns the loss of her support; the orphan weeps for him who gave him food. Oh! Father of the faithful and Supreme Pastor of souls, listen to the sighs of the bewildered virgins; behold the tears of the young men; listen to the sobs of the aged, and have regard to the heart-stricken throes of all thy people. In the accommodating and deferential sense which usage sanctions, has there ever been a people who may apply to itself with greater propriety, the lamentable words of the Prophet, than the flock of the diocess of Charleston, in its present, melancholy bereavement:—*O, all you that pass by the way, behold and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow!*

Blessed Redeemer of mankind! for the iniquities of the people have you been stricken—the sons of the fold have called for your death.

Have our indifference, our neglect and apathy, in thy service, provoked the blow just dealt to us? Have our sins incurred the heavy chastisement?

We fear for ourselves—we tremble, and humbly bow down as culprits in thy sight, and penitently sue for pardon. *In sackcloth and ashes* shall we endeavor to atone, and our future conduct shall be the evidence of the sincerity of our expressions.

Spare, O Lord, spare thy people, and give not thy inheritance to reproach. If in anger thou hast taken thy servant from a sinful people, in clemency and compassion leave not thy fold without a Shepherd; send one according to thy own heart, and worthy of him who was our first pastor. In testimony of our grief, and as an external manifestation of how sensibly we feel our irreparable loss; Be it

1st. Resolved, That at the approaching Month's Mind, our Church be suitably decorated, and as long afterward as our Pastor shall deem necessary.

2d. Resolved, That the Vestry and members generally be requested to wear the same badge of mourning, for thirty days.

3d. Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to forward these proceedings for publication to the U. S. Catholic Miscellany, at Charleston.

J. F. O'NEILL, Pastor.

John Murphy, Secretary.

To the Editors of the U. S. Catholic Miscellany.

GENTLEMEN:—In compliance with the above third and last resolution, I take leave to transmit these proceedings. In addition, I am requested to state the cause why we have not long before this date given public expression to our feelings, for our late and lamented loss. Our Pastor was unavoidably detained in Charleston, and in our grief we were truly bewildered until his return. On his arrival, he was prevented by fever, and it is but a few days since he has been restored. Believe me, gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN MURPHY, Secretary.

We copy the annexed from the "Domestic Intelligence" of the "Cabinet."

BISHOP ENGLAND.

"A burning and a shining light" has gone out in the house of the Lord! That busy brain, that ever teemed with vast conceptions, is at rest! That great heart, always responsive to the piercing cry of distress or the sweet accents of affection, is still! That eloquence, which charmed while it instruct-

ed, that convinced without offending, is hushed! That powerful frame, that never wearied in well doing, "in journeys often, in labors and painfulness," in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in many fastings, is stark in earth! and the master mind that irradiated whole hemispheres, is lost in the blaze of infinite intelligence.

We may not describe our desolation. We may not estimate the bereavement with which Almighty God has been pleased to afflict his Church. It is only left to us to hope that one who seemed to do his Master's work so faithfully, may, through the blood of Jesus, have found mercy, in his sight "before whom angels veil their faces," while many a gushing heart pours forth its orisons for his eternal rest.

At some calmer moment, we may attempt to commemorate this apostolic man.

"When hearts whose home is heaven,
Like thine are called from earth,
There should a wreath be woven
To tell the world their worth.

"And I, who 'woke each morrow
To clasp thy hand in mine,
Who shared thy joy and sorrow,
Whose weal or wo was thine,—

"It should be mine to braid it
Around thy faded brow,
And I've in vain essayed it,
But feel I cannot now." R.

OBSEQUIES OF THE BISHOP.

Mr. B. W. Ford, of New-York, a young Artist of merit, intends publishing as soon as possible, a Mezzotinto engraving of this impressive ceremonial. We have been favored with a view of the preparatory sketch. The time is happily chosen—that when at the conclusion of the office, the clergy in their different vestments, are gathered around the body, and the fumes of incense ascend—alike emblematic of the piety of him who has departed, and of their prayers in his behalf. The church is well lighted, and its beautiful, (though, alas, frail and perishable) Gothic interior, itself designed by the Bishop, is shown to the best advantage. Beneath the engraving, will be a correct likeness of the Bishop. No expense will be spared to have it executed in the best style, and when finished, it will be a fitting memorial of him who was beloved in life, and will never be forgotten in death.

For the U. S. Catholic Miscellany.

MONTH'S MIND OF THE BISHOP.

At Savannah, on the 13th inst.

An interesting, though a melancholy scene, presented itself to the Catholic congregation, and many others of our fellow-citizens, this day. The church of St. John the Baptist exhibited a mourning gloom, which silently spoke the deep sorrow of the flock, and the dignity of the venerable Pastor, of whom death has deprived it. The altar, tabernacle, the sanctuary and the confessionals within its precincts, were fully shrouded in black. The front of the galleries was covered with black cloth; the supporting pillars, and the organ were enveloped in similar costume.

In the centre aisle, at a proper distance from the front of the sanctuary, a catafalque was erected, four feet high, covered with black cloth, hanging to the floor. This was surmounted with a coffin, covered with a rich, black velvet pall, decorated at the angles with the usual emblems of death. From the head of the catafalque arose a board three feet high, and on cloth, covering it, were beautifully painted, a crosier and a cross, obliquely intersecting each other; at the intersection, a mitre with an emblematic dove on its front. On the cloth, depending from the foot of the catafalque, were painted an inimitable scull, crossed bones, and hour-glass, all exhibiting the mournful occasion, as well as the science and taste of the artist, Mr. —— Serveau. Never have I witnessed so dolefully mournful an exhibition, and never, I believe, has a similar ritual—taking all into account—made a deeper impression on the congregated multitude. To the choir of the church, whose performance at all times is deemed very creditable, several distinguished members of the Union Musical Society, very kindly gave their valuable aid. To the latter, our requiem music was strange; yet after a few rehearsals, the performance was excellent, and much admired. Mr. Nutting's, (President of the U. M. Society) beautiful tenor voice appeared conspicuous, and Mrs. Fletcher's solo in the Agnus Dei, was enchanting. The appropriate *O Salutaris* was sung, in solo, by Mrs. Blois, formerly Miss Thomasson, daughter of our late lamented French consul at this place.

I need not describe the style in which the Mass was chanted by the Pastor, nor will I attempt a report of the eulogy, the delivery of which occupied two hours. I will merely state that the text was taken from the epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews,—"Remember your Prelates who have spoken to you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation."

Here the principle was exhibited, on which the admonition of the Apostle was founded, and a clear demonstration given of the continuance, the perpetuity and present existence of the self-same principle, in the venerable Hierarchy of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, the pillar and ground of

the truth. The promise of infallible duration was made to the original commissioners—the Apostles—and confirmed by Heaven on the day of Pentecost. They were men, and though clothed with the episcopal and teaching authority, they were, in their time, consigned to the tomb; but the word of God must continue to the end of time. "Behold I am with you to the consummation of the world." The sacred commission of teaching the WORD was to continue in their successors—the Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church. He, for whom we have offered the unbloody Sacrifice this morning, and whose departure from the militant church we deplore, was a bright and brilliant link of the Catholic Hierarchy—he was a lawful successor of the Apostles; to that venerable order was he called in the New, as Aaron was in the Old Law.

The zeal, the wonderful powers of mind, the transcendant talents, and the perseverance; in weal and in woe; in evil report and in good report; with which the lamented Prelate discharged the sacred duties of the episcopacy, were now brought forward, in a chain of enumerations which edified all, and certainly softened many a heart into tears.

From the profound veneration and respect, with which our pastor always spoke to us of our ever dear and beloved Bishop, and the manifest attachment which existed between them, the eulogy did not surprise us, but the detail of events in the early life of the Bishop, and the missionary incidents of which the speaker was a witness, afforded an indescribable interest.

But when the speaker introduced us to the couch of the dying warrior, the faithful soldier of his Lord and Master; truly, the scene—of which he himself was a sorrowing, but edified witness—was overpowering.

I must desist, and let others report. From several sources, Mr. O'Neill was requested to furnish a copy for publication; but his reply was, that not a line of what he delivered did he reduce to writing.

ST. MARY'S, CAMDEN COUNTY, GEO.

At a meeting of the trustees of the Ecclesiastical District of St. Mary's, Camden County, Georgia, held on the 26th of April, for the purpose of sympathizing with their Catholic Brethren in Charleston and throughout the Diocess, in the deepest regret, for the irreparable loss which they all have sustained in the demise of their respected, venerable, beloved, and ever to be lamented Prelate, the following preamble and resolutions were submitted and unanimously adopted:—

THE occasion which has assembled us here, is one of the most melancholy in the annals of our infant church. It is to condole with our Catholic Brethren in Charleston, and throughout the Diocess, in the very great affliction which we, together with them, have suffered in the death of our learned, pious, highly gifted, and ever to be lamented Bishop. The lips from which, on the few Episcopal visitations he made us, flowed such torrents of learning and eloquence in the exposition and defence of our holy Faith, to the delight and admiration of our fellow-citizens, are now cold and lifeless in the silence of the tomb;—but although his body lies mouldering in the grave, still we hope his soul is in the mansion of eternal bliss. To this hope, both his excellence during life, and his edifying death, invite us. From the knowledge we have had of him, during the portion of his life which he spent among us in this Southern land, and the authentic accounts which have reached us of the fortitude, courage, and patience, truly Christian, with which he bore his last illness, we know not whether to admire him more in life or in death; his, truly, was the life of a good man, in the purest, the holiest, and most sublime sense of the word—in him, the nobler and sterner qualities which give dignity to our nature, were harmoniously united with the gentler virtues; as you may on some occasions have witnessed the brilliancy of the setting day, commingling with the beautiful light of the newly risen moon, bestowing and receiving beauty—the one deepened and strengthened, the other softened and purified in its hue. To behold how a Christian can die, is indeed a sublime view, and an admirable lesson. But from the authentic accounts which have reached us of the truly edifying and Christian death of our venerable and ever to be lamented Bishop, the spectacle presented by him, the lesson inculcated in nearly his last moments to his Clergy, *in a strain of eloquence and beauty, rarely equalled, and never surpassed by himself in his happiest moments*, as the Editor of the Catholic Miscellany, writing his obituary, remarks, are of still greater beauty and moment. We hope with the Editor, that some of his clergy who were present on the occasion of that, his last, most beautiful, eloquent discourse, whom we know to be quite competent to commit it to writing, will do so, and give it publicity, both for the edification of his clergy, who had not the happiness to hear it, and the consolation of his people, whom he so paternally loved, even to his last expiring breath. The death of the Christian may be exhibited by one whose life has been a

stumbling block and a scandal. A Magdalen was received to the embraces of forgiveness on the moment of repentance, but the actual presence of a God, made man, inspired her with the thought of conversion, and conducted her to the way which leads to eternal life. It is in viewing religion in the manner in which she was presented in the life, character and career of the Right Rev. Bishop England, that her beauties and powerful influences are seen, felt and admired. On the monument erected by human ambition, to perpetuate the memory and achievements of him whose views are limited by the horizon of this sublunary world; whose actions were all performed to gain the applause, honors, high encomiums of his fellow mortals; the eminent and noble qualities displayed by our lamented Prelate in his unobtrusive but holy career, would have written, in indelible characters, the pompous inscription of Great: for where shall we find the warrior who exerted more vigour, fortitude and courage than he possessed; the Statesman who evinced more power of self-control, more tact in winning the affections of others and directing their actions, and even their thoughts? But it is on the unfortunate mortal, who for the indulgence of criminal passion by which he is enslaved, gains a complete victory over his fellow creatures, and not on the noble being, who has the greatness, the sublimity of mind, to make use of equal, if not superior faculties for the holiest, most sublime and amiable objects, despising all earthly and terrestrial things; that the world bestows the title of great. Thus while a Cataline or a Bonaparte will glide down the stream of time in a golden bark, the small vessel which wafts the reputation of an England, will, after a few years, scarce be an object of admiration, except to those few who look beyond the boundaries of the grave. But we cannot reflect upon the life he has led, the many sacrifices he has made, in separating himself from the dearest friends of his bosom, and from his native land, to labour for our salvation in this new world:—the privations which he has suffered in the cause of Religion and of Truth, the expositions which he has solemnly and powerfully given of our holy Faith, the controversies which he so victoriously, yet charitably sustained, the fidelity with which he adhered to the constitution of this his adopted land, and the powerful manner in which he defended her institutions both here and in foreign lands, without being fully persuaded, that although the memory of those whom the world calls great may be the most emblazoned, still there is something in the actual presence of the virtue which our lamented Prelate preached in life and death, which must make a more powerful and lasting impression upon those within his sphere, than any supremacy of which the world can boast.

With our Catholic Brethren in Charleston, and throughout the Diocess, we feel, that in the demise of the Right Rev. John England, we have lost one of the most tender Fathers, one of the most enlightened and zealous Bishops, one of the most able champions of our Holy Faith, one of the best and most patriotic citizens.

Never could it be said of any one with more truth and justice, than of him, whose irreparable loss is so sincerely felt and so heartily deplored, that goodness and he filled up one monument, that "orphans' tears and widows' sighs have wept a tomb upon him." It is after contemplating the life, labours, self-denials and sacrifices of such a man, in the cause of Religion and Truth, that we can deeply feel our loss, in his being called so early from among us. At this affliction of Divine Providence, a feeling of regret cannot but be awakened in the breast of every Catholic, still accompanied with submission to the will of Heaven. But, what brightens the gloom which his demise must necessarily cast around the heart of every sincere Catholic, and high-minded citizen, is his death-bed scene, in harmony with the existence which it terminated, in the view of his Clergy, and other friends, who surrounded his bed of death, with veneration and with love, beholding him gradually sinking into the arms of death with an unshaken faith and reliance in the merits of his adorable Redeemer. The last words and thoughts of such a man, when he beheld himself on the confines of eternity, must have been a treasure of great pride; and what felicity triumphing over bodily suffering must then have been his, as he cast a look back upon his life, spent in endeavouring to give glory to God on high, and peace on earth to men:—the retrospect must have enkindled in his soul that celestial flame which enlightens the "dread unknown, the chaos of the tomb:" how truly then must his mind have been, a mansion for all lovely forms, "his memory a dwelling place for all sweet sounds and harmonies." May we all make it our daily prayer, that we may be prepared, as he was, to attend the summons of our God, and that our last moments may be like unto his.

Be it therefore Resolved, That we sincerely sympathise with our Brethren in Charleston and throughout the Diocess, in the deep affliction with which we, in common with them, have been visited, in the demise of our

truly eloquent, highly gifted and ever to be lamented Bishop, whose name and virtues will be ever dear to the heart of every sincere Catholic, and high-minded citizen.

Resolved, That in testimony of our most profound regret and grief for the death of our good Bishop, each member of the congregation is requested to wear, at least for one month, some badge of mourning, and that each member of the trustees do wear a crape on the left arm, for the same length of time.

Resolved, That this preamble and these resolutions be adopted and entered on the minutes, and published in the Catholic Miscellany, Charleston, South Carolina.

ANDREW DOYLE, Chairman.
Augustus Baratti, Secretary.

(From the New England Reporter.)

BISHOP ENGLAND.

We are delighted to perceive that the memory of this illustrious, but, alas! departed Prelate, receives that honor and veneration which it so eminently deserves.—His was the glory of enumerating, among his admirers, the great Protestant body of America. From its press, tributes, eulogistic yet sincere, have burst upon us, and left a mournful pleasure to our hearts. It will be perceived, that that excellent association, the Mutual Relief Society, have not been backward in recording their veneration and esteem for one of Ireland's noblest sons.

At the regular, monthly meeting of the Boston, Roman Catholic, Mutual Relief Society, held in the Saloon of the Odeon, on Monday evening last, the following resolutions, offered by James B. Clinton, were unanimously adopted:

With sincere regret for the demise of one of the most illustrious Prelates of the age, we would, in unison with our Catholic and Protestant fellow-citizens throughout this Republic, evince, as a society, our profound esteem and appreciation of the piety, genius, and splendid ecclesiastical and secular services of the Right Rev. Dr. England. It is therefore

Resolved,—That, in the death of Bishop England, religion has lost a luminary who, by the influence of his genius, erudition, and toleration, was rapidly consummating that union of all creeds, which would give to Christianity that grand basis—and to Christendom one faith—one orison—that freedom has lost her most sage, consistent, and eloquent advocate, and that mankind have been bereaved of a brother, in whose character were beautifully blended the most high and holy attributes of their spiritual nature.

Resolved,—That, as the death of this great Prelate was caused by a too zealous performance of the vast duties of his sacred office—it has shed upon his memory another glorious ray—reflected the highest honor upon the prelacy, and endears him still more to our remembrance.

Resolved,—That the career of this venerable and distinguished Prelate was too grand and stainless to be delineated by our feeble eulogy—that the closing scene of that career was singularly sublime, in its Christian faith, dignity, and mildness; and that if bigotry shall ever asperse Ireland as intolerant in her religious creed, she will point to the last star which has disappeared from her galaxy, as an immortal refutation of the slander.

THOMAS MURPHY, President.
JOHN ROWAN, Secretary.

BOSTON.

YOUNG CATHOLICS' FRIENDS' SOCIETY.

At the regular, monthly meeting of the Young Catholics' Friends' Society, Sunday, May the 8th, the following resolutions, on the demise of Bishop England, were unanimously adopted:—

To the name of Bishop England, halved, as it is, with the glory of his sublime virtues and memorable deeds, we can offer no commensurate tribute; but, being solicitous to attest our esteem for all that is pre-eminently beautiful, pure and grand in the human character, and our mingled veneration and regret for the splendid virtues and brilliant genius which have passed from amongst us to a more congenial sphere, it is therefore

Resolved,—That, in the decease of this good Prelate, our Church has been deprived of a glorious light—the Catholic hierarchy of a divine, eloquent, pious and erudite; and Christendom of a luminary whose rays were confined to no sect, but beamed upon all, dispelling bigotry, and giving a universality to Catholic faith, which will be honorable to his name.

Resolved,—That we proudly claim the illustrious dead as a native of that land, which, though enslaved, is still glorious in her bondage; and that in his death, Ireland has been deprived of a pure and fervid patriot, whose voice was ever ready to assert her claims to independence, as well as to uphold the glory of her religion.

Resolved,—That the testimony of Bishop England, when recently visiting this city, to the excellence and utility of this institution, is considered by us, as attaching the highest honor to the name of Young Catholics' Friend, and that it will ever be the proud boast of the society, that Bishop England gave it his warmest approbation.

Resolved,—That, although he, esteemed

and beloved by us, now slumbers in the cold and silent tomb, his genius, his virtues, and piety, shall live for ever in our affections, and be enshrined in our memories, and hearts.

PETER E. BLAKE, President.
J. GERVASIO, Secretary.

Boston Pilot.

We copy the annexed notice of the death of our lamented Bishop, from the Cork Southern Reporter, of May 12th. The fatal tidings of his death caused in Cork—his native city—an excitement such as may be imagined, but not asserted.

DEATH OF THE RIGHT REV. DR. ENGLAND—BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.

In our last, we copied from the American *Catholic Miscellany*, an account of Dr. England's alarming illness. It was but the short precursor of far sadder tidings, and it is now our painful task to record the death of this gifted and venerated Prelate. He died, after a lingering illness, on the 11th ultimo. Thus has it pleased Providence to remove from his toils and christianizing labors, one of the noblest spirits that ever animated the human frame. Chosen by GOD as an instrument for working out his beneficent designs, he commenced his career of usefulness in his native land; and Ireland, in those days when his physical strength and energy equalled the untiring powers of his mind, was the scene of his labours, and the cherished object of as devoted patriotism as ever warmed a generous heart. We now look back to those days with painful interest, when his proud and lofty nature had to wrestle with the iron despotism which then chained down the minds and spirits of the Irish people—when the law gave power to, and stamped with superiority, every clayey soul and craven heart, that happened to be nursed in anti-national prejudices, or to obtain a factitious elevation by anti-Catholic Apostacy. It was then, when all was difficulty—when every look was supercilious or dubious—when the Nation's step was timid—when faction triumphed, and the people crouched—it was then that Dr. England stood forth, the undaunted champion of Ireland and of her religion. Animated with the loftiest impulses, he looked neither to the right nor the left; the craven Catholic who would barter his religion for a mess of pottage—who would give power in spiritual affairs to the enemies of his Holy Faith, he encountered with irresistible eloquence, and was mainly instrumental in silencing the *Veto* agitation. With the Orange bigot, fenced round as he was by bad laws, he wrestled with an energy and zeal which will be long remembered in the city of Cork. Shut out by his sacred profession from any prospect of temporal benefit from Catholic Emancipation, he laboured, from the highest motives, to cheer on the desponding spirits of the Catholic community, as well as to extend the influence of the religion he professed; and, mingling with this religious enthusiasm, could be easily discerned that daring patriotism which, under other circumstances, and in another sphere, would have made him one of the most successful agitators that ever pressed forward a Nation's claim to civil and religious freedom. With a masculine and impressive eloquence peculiarly his own—with a depth of thought and boldness of action for which few men were his equals—with a characteristic resoluteness—

"Which saw no danger and confessed no fear,"

he was peculiarly suited to the times in which he lived; and, had he remained amongst us, would have assisted in the mighty triumph of religious principle over bigotry and faction. But destiny traced the remainder of his career in other lands, and, two-and-twenty years ago, he was called to exercise his Sacred Ministry in the country where civil liberty was in the ascendant, but where religious feeling was then at the lowest ebb. In obedience to the commands of his Spiritual Superior, he cheerfully abandoned the land of his affection—the scene of his labours, and where, had he remained, he would have reached the highest station in the Church, of which he was at once the strength and the ornament. In the centre of an unhealthy climate, unsupported by the religious sympathies of the people, he laboured to spread the truths of the Catholic Religion over the Southern States of America. Wonderfully successful were his efforts, and had he been spared some years longer, the triumph of his Ministry would have been complete. But his health fell a sacrifice to his zeal; and after having done good service to religion in Ireland, in Hayti, and in America, it has pleased GOD to call him to his reward, amidst the tears of his American flock, and the heart-felt sorrow of every honest Catholic in this country, who either recollects his former efforts, or who has heard of the generous devotion to his country, which, in those days distinguished this great man.

We subjoin from the American papers received since our last, several tributes to the brilliant talents and virtues of the lamented Bishop. One so honoured, even in death, must indeed, have been prized when in life; and, if thus appreciated in the country of his

adoption, how must his memory be revered in the land of his birth.

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(The Reporter here copies the notices which appeared in the Patriot and Courier, of this city.)

SOLEMN HIGH MASS AND OFFICE.—This day, a Solemn High Mass and Office were offered up in the North Parish Chapel, for the Repose of the Soul of the Right Rev. Dr. England. Considering the shortness of the notice, the attendance of Parish Priests, Vicars Foreign, and Coadjutors, from this and the neighbouring Dioceses, was very numerous, as was also the attendance of the laity, who wished to mark by their presence at this last tribute to the memory of so excellent a Prelate, their estimation of his worth and their sorrow for his loss. The Right Rev. Dr. Murphy officiated as High Priest, assisted by the Venerable Archdeacon O'Keeffe, as Archdeacon; Rev. Messrs. Murphy and Brown, Deacon and Sub-Deacon; Rev. Messrs. Falvey, P. P., Glanmire, and Barry, P. P. of Bantry, Choristers; and Rev. Mr. Foley, Master of Ceremonies. The Offices previous to the commencement of offering up the Sacrifice of the Mass, were sung by the whole body of the Clergy, below the rails of the Altar, and were joined in by many of the laity present.

NARRATIVE OF THE BISHOP'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH.

To the Editors of the United States Catholic Miscellany.

GENTLEMEN, I have been urged to record some passages of that final act of the drama of our illustrious Bishop's life—his illness and approaching death—of which I was a witness. Provided you can spare me a corner of your paper for the publication of my recollections, I am willing to attempt the task; encouraged by the hope, that their perusal may animate others, if not myself, to

'Live o'er those scenes, and be what they beheld.'

As both time and memory would fail me, did I undertake to relate all that I heard and saw, I must endeavor to attain the desired end, by delineating, however feebly, a few of the most remarkable circumstances which preceded the concluding event.

I premise my narrative, by stating that the disease of which Bishop England died, was Typhus Fever; which, in its earliest stages, displayed many of the phenomena of that variety, which has been described as '*blood fever*,' and throughout the latter, resembled the more ordinary forms of '*abdominal typhus*.' In his case, the operation of the efficient causes of this fatal disorder should be traced to a period considerably remote from the commencement of his illness. He remarked to his physicians, that for several years his circulation had been uniformly rapid, his pulse averaging not fewer than ninety strokes in a minute; and that he regarded its acceleration as now habitual, and as a physiological condition of his system. This will not surprise those who consider the way in which the last twenty years of his life were spent. To foster a feeble and despised branch of the Catholic Vine, planted in inimical soil in a foreign clime—to weed out the prejudices which impeded its growth—and to train it, when sufficiently vigorous, into further recesses, he obeyed the summons of the Chief Steward of the Vineyard. Leaving the land of his birth and his strong attachments, (in the cause of whose political and religious emancipation he was a young though already a noted champion), he came with great constitutional ardour, with unconquerable courage, and invincible perseverance, in full strength of body and of mind, to the scenes of his after toils and triumphs. For more than the fifth of a century, he devoted himself in an apostolic manner, to the accomplishment of the holy purposes for which he had been selected and commissioned. *In journeyings often—in labour and painfulness, in much watchings, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often and in cold—continuing in those things which he had learned, and which had been committed to him—being vigilant, labouring in all things, doing the work of an evangelist, fulfilling his ministry—in all things shewing himself an example of good works, in doctrine, in integrity, in gravity—preaching the word—exhorting and rebuking with all authority—letting no man despise him*—burning under every scandal which was cast upon his beloved and venerated Mother, the Church; *reproving the disobedient, vain talkers, and seducers; convincing the gain-sayers*—

'And waging with error an eternal war.'

Such has been the course which quickened the organic actions, generated a predisposition to disease, excited its attack, and exhausted vitality.

In the summer of 1841, he visited Ireland and France, on business relating to the prosperity of his Diocess; encountered danger and fatigue in going; travelled and toiled unceasingly whilst there; and returned in Autumn to the United States. During the homeward voyage, which was very protracted, much sickness prevailed among the passengers, to whom he administered, both as friend and physician. He was, besides, subjected to a serious cause of uneasiness, by the extreme

and protracted illness of the Superioress of the Ursulines, who had accompanied him, and who was returning, with several ladies under her care, to her community in this city. Worn with watching and anxiety, he arrived at Philadelphia, where he was obliged to tarry, in consequence of the continued debility of his sick charge. Stimulated by the zeal which was consuming him, he almost immediately commenced a course of lectures in explanation and defence of Catholic doctrine and practice:—it was then observed that his general health and his voice were impaired. One of the first controversies in which he was engaged, in this country, originated in his endeavoring to prevent a schism, which threatened to divide the Catholics of Philadelphia: they have now another reason gratefully to remember him, in the fact that his last public efforts were expended in maintaining in their favoured city, the simplicity of the Church's principles, the truth of her doctrine, the wisdom of her discipline, and the purity and utility of her institutions. As soon as it was practicable, he resumed his journey, and was conducted safely by Providence to the centre of his Episcopal jurisdiction: not again to appear as the patriotic, enlightened and benevolent advocate of our political institutions—no longer to offer through the Press the "simple explanation and temperate maintenance of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church," in reply to wanton insult, deliberate misrepresentation, or innocent, because uninformed mistake,—no more to rouse us by his early and his late invitations to *come and adore*,

'Reproving each dull delay'—

Never again to demand *why we stand all the day idle, beseeching us and we would not hear;* but seemingly, that he should *finish his course* on the very field where he had *fought the good fight, contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints. And that by witnessing a good profession before many witnesses—by holding fast the form of sound words which had been committed to him*, he should complete the argument of his life: thus furnishing us with holy reasons for *remembering our Prelate who had spoken the word of God to us;* that by *considering the end of his conversation*, we might be encouraged to *follow his faith;* and finally, that we who have known, although not fully, *his zeal and his labors, his works and his tribulations, his poverty and his patience*, might have a satisfactory ground of hope that *as to the rest, there is laid up for him a crown of justice, which the Lord, the just judge, will render to him on that day.*

A report of the Bishop's indisposition preceded his return to Charleston. When he arrived, increased uneasiness was felt concerning his health, and I several times urged him to consult his Physician—one by whom he had been repeatedly attended, and between whom and himself a brotherly affection existed. For a length of time he declined doing so; believing that his disorder was not more serious than what he had often experienced, and which he had heretofore removed by domestic physic and dieting. After some perseverance in his accustomed plan of treatment, finding that he became worse, he desired a medical friend to prescribe for him; who deeming it important to seize the moment of his willingness to be treated, began a course of medicine and appropriate regimen, and very soon procured the attendance of the gentleman to whom I have alluded. Subsequently, a third Physician having been so requested, gave his assistance in the management of the case; and during the last week of his continuance, in compliance with the wishes of many of the congregation of St. Mary's Church, a fourth was invited to the consultations. Among the advantages which accrued from these additions to the number of medical attendants, has been the relief afforded to those who were first engaged, by having their general views of the nature of the case corroborated, and the responsibility of its management lessened by division among a large body.

For several weeks after the treatment was commenced, it was considered not advisable to confine him to bed or even to his chamber; he descended daily to his Library, and attended to matters of business, which could not be postponed, or to those duties that he could still perform. When symptoms arose which made it necessary, rest and seclusion were enforced. He complied with the many restrictions which ensued, in just that manner, which might have been anticipated—submissive to the decrees of Heaven, and tractable under the requirements of his medical advisers. His demeanor throughout the whole of his sickness was a living imitation of the Saviour's in the hour of his approaching trial—*Father all things are possible to Thee, remove this Chalice from me, but not what I will, but what Thou wilst.* He never condescended to dissemble his anxiety respecting the issue of his case; yet that anxiety was compatible with perfect acquiescence in the plans of Providence with regard to his death or recovery. He desired to live, only that he might prosecute the great work in which he had spent himself; and the only subjects which gave him any concern, were those which were intimately connected with the advancement of *religion clean and undi-*

filed before God and the Father. To maintain a Seminary which could furnish recruits for the clergy—to sustain a Convent which might attach successive generations to knowledge and to virtue—to support a Sisterhood who should *visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation, keeping themselves unspotted from the world*—to train up a people who would *adore God in spirit and in truth;* who would *stand fast holding the traditions which they had learned, whether by word or epistle;* who would *not be weary of well doing;* and whom he prayed *our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God and our Father to confirm in every good word and work;* such were the noble ends, for the attainment of which he had devoted his prime of manhood to a life of hardships—for the completion of which he desired still to struggle—but only the first glimpses of which he was allowed to see. The magnitude of those objects seemed now more vast than they ever did; and more solemnly impressed with their importance, he spoke with animation of the greater earnestness with which he would (if permitted) strive to promote them. He appeared to deprecate the displeasure of his Lord and Master for having been remiss in their prosecution; and implied that he considered as unprofitable, what we regard as labours, privations, trials, temptations, and self-sacrifices, worthy of being compared with the zeal and the works of the *good and faithful servants* of the Church of Christ.

Perceiving that although the progress of his case was slow, and notwithstanding that it was chequered by periods of seeming improvement, and stages of temporary retardation, its tendency was onward towards an unfavorable termination, he expressed a wish to arrange his temporal concerns, so as to provide for their management after his decease. Of course, he was not dissuaded from doing so; and accordingly a gentleman of the Bar was requested to wait on him, and receive his instructions. Those instructions were condensed and conveyed in the following terms:—"In *this* matter, I know neither friend nor kindred; I wish my Will to be so drawn, as to cut off any expectations from either quarter—Every thing which I possess, or to which I have a claim, I give to the cause for which I was sent here."

The Bishop often adverted to the subject of the last Sacraments. He informed the attending physician, that those rites would be administered at an earlier period in his, than in the case of a private member of the Church; yet that they should not be performed, while there remained a reasonable expectation that his disease might be arrested by medical treatment. That expectation still appeared well founded; and the result of these conversations was a mutual assent to the opinion, that the crisis to which he alluded had not arrived. He however believed that it was approaching; and anticipated its occurrence, not merely without uneasiness, but with a degree of satisfaction, hoping that the mind, if not the body also, would be refreshed and invigorated by partaking those observances, with which the Church comforts her children in extreme illness, and prepares them for walking courageously through the midst of the shadow of death. At length, on the morning of the 5th of April, the medical attendants coincided in the prognosis, that, although the struggle would be prolonged for several days, the issue must be fatal. About that time, the Bishop was more oppressed than he had yet been; passing successive hours in a heavy, dozing state, and appearing unconscious of his actual condition. This caused one of the physicians to remark, that as the Bishop trusted to their candidly apprizing him of the arrival of the time beyond which the administration of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction should not be postponed, it might be necessary to rouse his attention to that fact, and even distinctly to suggest what he desired. I had watched the progress of that oppression, and by occasional trials had ascertained the extent to which his faculties were affected; and had discovered, that, whenever any subject was introduced which usually interested him, he completely threw off that lethargy, and could discuss and decide in his habitually clear and prompt manner. I therefore replied to the above remark, that I felt sure the Bishop would divine when the critical moment had come, and act accordingly.—The medical consultation being finished, I ascended to his chamber, never before so reluctantly. He always expected me after those consultations; and was again ready to review, as on former days, the progress of his case. He considered the importance and bearing of his previous and present symptoms, contemplated their probable effects and termination; and pausing thoughtfully, seemed to expect that I had some communication to make. I hesitated,—hoping that he would conjecture, and save me the embarrassment of announcing what was on my mind. Still he seemed afraid to ask explicitly the result of our recent consultation Just as this disparaging suspicion began to assume a definite shape, and I to be intensely watchful to discover the faintest indication of dread or of indecision, he composedly remarked, that he now considered himself in danger of death; and that unless he could

be assured that they might safely be delayed, he would direct that preparations should be immediately made for administering the Sacrament. I assented that the necessity existed; and he desired that all of his clergy who were in the city, might be summoned to attend at mid-day. At that hour, they entered his apartment, habited in surplices. A Crucifix, which had been hanging from the bed-post, was handed to him: upon receiving it, he kissed its feet, and said,—"Sweet Jesus! who didst deign to die for me in this ignominious manner, regard with compassion the condition of thy servant; and be with him in the succeeding hour of trial!" Then turning towards the Vicar, he inquired if all were ready; and being answered affirmatively, he rejoined in a voice of solemn command—"In the name of Almighty God proceed!" The preliminary prayers having been recited, he addressed the Clergy, who were kneeling around the bed. I beg that I may not be supposed presumptuous for attempting, by recording a few scattering sentences, to furnish a nucleus, around which the memory of each who was present may deposit what he recollects of that exhortation, which, for simplicity of style; for natural arrangement and logical consecutiveness of its several parts; for touching allusions; for "plain, unvarnished," forcible, and appropriate phraseology; for unaffected humility and mild dignity of tone, excelled any oration or sermon which we ever heard. Although I can recall only a small part of what he said, that I report almost in his very words:—

"Gentlemen of the Clergy,—It is now many years since I was called by God to administer the affairs of his Church in this Diocess. Throughout that period, I have encountered great difficulties; but He has assisted me with strength and graces for the performance of my duties, beyond my natural capability. On some occasions, fortunately for me, I have corresponded with those graces—on others, unfortunately, I have not! I commit all my deficiencies to the advocacy of Jesus Christ, the Just; who is the propitiation not for my sins only, but for those of the whole world.

Some of you have borne with me the burthen of the day and the heats—others have more recently joined us in laboring in the vineyard of the Lord. The relations which have existed between you and myself will probably soon be dissolved. Oh reviewing our connexion, I remember many things which I deemed myself obliged to say and to do, which to you may have appeared harsh or oppressive. I can truly declare, that, in many of these circumstances, I acted (however mistakenly) from a sense of duty; and in that manner, which seemed best adapted to the end I had in view—your good. Let the motive extenuate whatever was unnecessarily severe in my judgment and conduct. I confess it has likewise happened, owing partly to the perplexities of my position—chiefly to my own impetuosity, that my demeanor has not always been as meek and courteous as it ever should have been; and that you have experienced rebuffs, when you might have anticipated kindness. Forgive me!

Tell my people that I love them—tell them how much I regret that circumstances have kept us at a distance from each other. My duties and my difficulties have prevented me, from cultivating and strengthening those private ties which ought to bind us together; your functions require a closer, a more constant intercourse with them. Be with them—be of them—win them to God. Guide, govern, and instruct them—watch, as having to render an account of their souls, that you may do it with joy, and not with grief.—There are among you several infant institutions, which you are called on, in an especial manner, to sustain. It has cost me a great deal of thought and labor to introduce them—they are calculated to be eminently serviceable to the cause of order, of education, of charity—they constitute the germs of what, I trust, shall hereafter grow and flourish in extensive usefulness. As yet they are feeble, support them—embarrassed, encourage them—they will be afflicted, console them.

I commend my poor Church to its Patrons—especially to her, to whom our Saviour confided his, in the person of the beloved disciple: Woman, behold thy Son—Son behold thy mother.

I could wish to continue speaking with you, even to the end; but a proper consideration of other duties yet to be discharged, admonishes me to conclude. Prostrated though I be, I believe that God could restore me to health and to strength, did he choose to employ me longer in his service; for it is not more difficult to heal, or to preserve alive, than it is to create, or to reanimate. With Him all things are possible. Should he order that I again shall occupy my station amongst you, I will (he assisting me) endeavour to set you an example of a more perfect following after Christ, than my past career affords. Should he decree otherwise, I must prepare to be manifested before the judgment seat of Christ, that I may receive the proper things of the body, according as I have done, whether it be good or evil. I rely upon the all-sufficient atonement, which

Jesus has made for my sins, for cancelling the guilt and eternal punishment thereof.—Still there may be some things against me, unrepented of, for which satisfaction must be made in that prison, out of which there is no going forth, till the last farthing shall have been repaid. In this case, you can aid me by your prayers and your good deeds: for, although separated by death, we shall continue united by those bonds of charity which bind together the different divisions of the Church of Christ. Remember me, I beseech you, in your devotions—remember me particularly, when the holy and unspotted Victim shall be offered on our altars, in expiation for the sins of the living, and of the dead. I am confident that you will!

It is the privilege of each of you, to write to the Archbishop of Baltimore, and to the several Bishops of the Province, suggesting whom you may esteem best qualified to fill my vacant chair; it is your duty, to pray that the Pontiff may be directed by the Spirit of Divine Wisdom, in appointing as my successor, one who, though he will not —*cannot* surpass me in firmness of faith, and devotion to the cause, yet may excel me in those Christian virtues, by which that cause would be advanced. (Asking for the Pontifical, he turned to the Confession of Faith.) Situated as I am, it surely is not requisite that I should read through the profession, in the manner which is prescribed —twice, entirely. My faith is too well known to you and to my people to make this necessary—moreover, I am too debilitated for the effort. *I acknowledge the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church for the mother and mistress of all Churches. I owe true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles and Vicar of Jesus Christ—I receive and embrace all things delivered, defined, and declared by the Sacred Canons, and General Councils, and particularly by the Holy Council of Trent. I believe with a firm faith, and profess all and singular the articles of that Creed, which the Holy, Catholic, Roman Church maketh use of, in their plainest, simplest, fullest, strongest, and most explicit sense.*"

He closed the volume, and signified his desire that the ceremony might proceed.—The administration of the rite was accordingly completed: he gave his benediction and kiss of peace to each one present; and, having been divested of his episcopal insignia and sacerdotal vestments, sank exhausted on the pillows.

From this time, the Bishop devoted himself zealously to giving instructions, and otherwise providing for the government of the Diocess, and for the management of his own, and of the affairs of others, which were commingled with his. When fatigued by attending to those matters, he passed the hours in meditation, or in a heavy sleep; from which he would awake, eager to renew his suggestions and consultations. The three days which immediately succeeded the reception of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, were spent in this manner. He was quite aware of the exhaustion which was very gradually taking place; and appointed a time for a farewell interview with the members of those religious communities, in whose establishment and permanency, he was so deeply interested. It was about this period, that he consulted one of the Physicians relative to the most expedient time for conferring with the Head of one of those Sodalities: informing him, that he regarded his doing so as an indispensable duty. He said: "I wish to have some private conversations with———: They may be short and successive; and you can regulate the times and their duration. Should I expire in the effort, I must make it; for much depends upon that Institution—in that Institution every things depends upon her." After such a representation, and the exhibition of so firm a resolve, no dissuasions were employed; although it was believed that he was too feeble to accomplish what he intended.

On Saturday, according to his own arrangement, he was visited by the Sisters of Mercy, in a body. He had promised the Superioress that they might come to him for his benediction before death: and the notices which they received to attend, served to apprize them that 'hope the charmer lingered' no longer with the sick. He viewed them, ranged around, in silent grief; and seemed rapidly to read their history. He remembered when *four* only, constituted their whole force: and compared their former inefficiency with their present numbers, resources and usefulness. Gratitude to God for the benefits, which, through their instrumentality had already been, and would hereafter be conferred upon the community, co-operated with his debility to deprive him of utterance. At last, he succeeded in addressing to them a single sentence:—"You know *what* I would say, if I could—fulfil your obligations." Each received the sign of a special blessing, and retired.

Next he summoned the Students of the Theological Seminary, and in a few words, persuaded them to continue in the course upon which they had entered: reminding them that only by zeal, discretion, and knowledge, could they expect to be useful to mankind; and through holiness of life alone, might they hope to see God.

He likewise desired the satisfaction of once more inspiriting the Ursulines, for whom he felt a peculiar sympathy and concern. At the call of religion, they had relinquished the many advantages of an establishment in which they might, amidst fewer cares and distractions, have emulated the services and sanctity of their Foundress, and of many of their order. They had heroically persevered in the face of difficulties; and, undismayed by the death of their Mother, with whom, it was feared, the prospects of their success had perished; they were preparing, by additional exertions, and with increasing numbers, to advance the cause of education and piety, to which they are devoted. Under the impending calamity, he was anxious to rally them, as on a former occasion, to the immediate discharge of their duties; and to fix their minds upon the noble purposes, for which they should be sustained. Calling them unto him as an anxious parent gathers her offspring, when dangers threaten, he discoursed eloquently, though silently—with the eye, with all the features. 'Twas a time, when mind communicates with mind, independently of language. A glance conveyed a lesson—a look imparted instruction—a gesture signified warning, or encouragement. Words were superfluous; yet that 'swift and ready tongue' likewise vindicated its function, uttering the following beautiful and delicate exhortation. "Observe that rule, which, with the blessing of God, will enable you to attain the perfection at which you aim. Ruin—ruin of no ordinary description is on the one hand: knowledge, literature, virtue, modesty, all the graces which become the sex of the Blessed Virgin, are on the other."

After those exciting scenes had ended, he asked that the office of *Visitation of the Sick* should be read; and referring to the *Benedictio in Articulo Mortis*, said "*That*, I shall not want until to-morrow." On the next day, which was Sunday, he had relapsed into that state, which I have once before described, when it seemed that he had forgotten much which had occurred, and was unconscious of his actual condition. At this crisis, some of the Clergy entered the chamber, for the purpose of offering the prayers just mentioned: attracted by their approach, he demanded, with much animation, "what they intended to do?" One replied, that according to his directions of the preceding day, they were about to read the "*Benediction for the Article of Death.*" He again inquired, in a tone of voice which betokened surprise: "Is it necessary?" Appealing to the physician who was present. "Are the symptoms worse?" His manner convinced all who heard him, that for the time, he had no correct perception of the severity of his illness nor of his hopeless prostration; no recollection of the series of deliberate preparations for death in which he had participated; nor of the affecting interviews in which he had recently borne a part. The words and tone of the answer which was returned to his last interrogation, impressed him vividly with the reality, that he was already overshadowed by the 'coming event.' For an instant, his features worked with an expression of humour, as if he were amused at his great misapprehension of his situation: but, in a moment, his gravity returned, and in a solemn manner he remarked: "I HAD HOPED TO RISE—BUT I BOW TO THE WILL OF GOD: AND ACCEPT WHAT HE APPOINTS. GO ON, SIR!"

He then requested, that for some time, he might not be disturbed: desirous, as the hour of dissolution 'nearer came, and yet more near,' to direct his thoughts and feelings solely to recollection, and to the contemplation of the ensuing change. He spent some time in those exercises: and when refreshed in body and mind, he confided to a faithful listener, in the hearing of one who was already acquainted with many of the circumstances, the particulars of an attempt which had been made to stain his reputation.—Speaking on the verge of eternity, and almost in sight of that Just Judge who tries the hearts and reins, he refuted the slander; without however, applying a single term of reproach or epithet of obloquy, to the conduct of his concealed maligners. Not that he was indifferent to the effort to stigmatize; for we saw *the anguish of his soul*, when referring to the possibility that these misrepresentations might, even temporarily, have lessened him in the regards of the Head and Counsellors of the See of Rome—those high and holy personages, whom next to God, it had been his delight to honour, and his endeavor to please.

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon, a sudden failure of pulse occurred; which being regarded as an immediate precursor of death, the Clergy assembled to recite the *Recommendation of a Soul departing*. He received a Crucifix; and turning the Image towards the suppliants, as representing the attention of Christ to their petitions, he desired that the "usual and ordinary prayers of the Church" should be read. He joined, with a steady voice, in the worship; and at the appropriate responses smote his breast with feeble blows, and called upon the Lamb who taketh away the sins of the World, to have mercy upon him. When the formulary

changed to prayers offered *by* the sick, he directed the Image upon the Cross towards himself: and whilst

> 'Looking upon that sign
> Of the Redeemer's love divine—
> Thinking of Hope and Bliss,'—

he surprised every one by the firm and devout manner with which he assented to the acts of Thanksgiving, of Resignation, and of Contrition, which constitute that portion of the Office which is read for a dying person, who is in his senses. After the prayers had been concluded, it was discovered that a degree of re-action had commenced which would sustain life for several hours longer. Thus the evening wore away, night came on—and still those powerful lungs continued to respire, and that stout heart to pulsate, whilst Death was stamping his signet upon every limb and feature. At midnight, one who wished to be remembered by him hereafter, and who had 'waited the last flash of nature's fire,' as the moment for asking that boon, gave him some drink, and inquired in a distinct voice: "Bishop, do you know me?" "Certainly, I do."—"My name?" "SULLIVAN."—The interrogator, in a sharp tone of disappointment which struck the Bishop's sensibility so as effectually to rouse him, again demanded: "What?" He instantly corrected his former answer, by pronouncing the proper name of the querist; who promptly and entreatingly asked: "you will not forget me?" The bishop made no verbal reply: but by a significant gesture and expression of countenance, intimated as intelligibly as words could have conveyed his meaning, that the request was superfluous; as it ought to have been taken for granted, that it was impossible for him not to remember. Soon after this, he became restless and talkative, but it was difficult to understand what he said, as his articulation was imperfect, and his phraseology inappropriate. A few broken sentences (such as, "Tie me up—fix me as they should find me, who will come for me,") gave us the hint, that he desired to be arrayed in his episcopal garb. Those investings were partially and quickly made: he was evidently satisfied; and we concluded that his wishes had been correctly divined. He rested for a few minutes, and mustering his strength as for a considerable exertion, commanded authoritatively that he should be "put on board, for he was ready." Life ebbed slowly away; and he ceased to breathe, about sunrise of Monday, the 11th of April.

I forbear to dwell upon the devotion with which he was served throughout his illness, especially during the last days of his existence—upon the intense anxiety and sustained hope of his people, whilst he yet lived, and their overwhelming grief, when at length he died—upon the public demonstrations of sorrow which followed his decease; upon the respect and affection with which his remains was visited by crowds of mourners—upon that 'gush of voice, that burst of feeling' which rent the sacred stillness of the House of God, as his body was borne by the Clergy into the Cathedral—upon the unwearied faithfulness, with which Priests and Students

> 'The much loved remains of their master attended,'

watching beside them, without intermission, by night and day—upon the offices, which for successive days were performed for the repose of his soul—upon the conclusion of those obsequies, and the entombing of his body, beneath his episcopal chair—or upon the noble eulogy, and other suitable addresses, which were pronounced by Bishop Kenrick.

Having thus complied with the wishes which engaged me in this undertaking, I must ask the indulgence of my friends, for the rough manner in which it has been executed. They should remember that the task has been performed amidst incessant occupations, which have allowed only momentary intervals for recollection, and no leisure for the revision of what I have written. I also suggest that we should be mindful of the injunction, which, although addressed to the Clergy, is equally obligatory upon the Laity; to pray, that the Supreme Pontiff, in the appointment of a successor for this Diocess, may be directed by the Spirit of Divine Wisdom. Let us add, that he may nominate one, who will be a follower of JOHN OF CHARLESTON, as he was of the Apostles, and they of Christ. N. N.

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT TO OUR BELOVED AND DECEASED BISHOP.

According to public notice, the Hibernian Society of Charleston, convened at their Hall, on Monday evening, the 18th inst., to pay the proper tribute of respect to the memory of their distinguished brother member, the Right Rev. Bishop England.

In the absence of Mr. Wm. A. Caldwell, the President of the Society, Mr. Thomas Stephens, the Vice President, called the meeting to order. In a feeling and touching manner, he introduced to the Society the painful occasion which had called them together. He bestowed a rightly merited compliment on the many virtues of the deceased, and revived the recollection of many occasions, where the cause of humanity and the most striking social qualities were hap-

pily illustrated in him, whose loss had occasioned such general grief.

After Mr. Stephens had concluded,

A. G. Magrath, Esq. said—He had been requested to prepare some expressions of the feelings of the Society, in the deep loss sustained in the death of Bishop England. He had undertaken the duty, because to him it was a pleasing task, to pay respect to the memory of a man so good and so great. He then read to the Society the following

TRIBUTE TO THE

MEMORY OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

A mournful occasion has convened us! A chair is vacant in our hall! A voice that was loud in the admonitions of the Christian and the patriot, has died away on the ear! A spirit that seemed the embodiment of kindness and charity—that hung around this hall with a zeal that enchanted, while it instructed, has departed forever! The minister, whose religious devotion lent sanctity to his character, and influence to his councils; the member, whose heart responded to the call for relief; and gave to wretchedness that sympathy more consoling than wealth; the Patriot whose eloquence in the cause of a suffering country, hailed the event of laying the corner-stone of our hall, and baptized its completion in the same rich and feeling strain*; has been taken away from us forever, and reposes in the calmness of death, in the sanctuary he so long dignified and supported. In our wide community, where all sects are zealous in the support of their peculiar tenets, there is now no feeling save that of deep sorrow. Controversies and disputes have been hushed into silence before this manifestation of divine omnipotence—and the Hebrew, whose heart was opened by a generous liberality—and the Protestants, who combated with him the doctrine of the Church—and the Catholic, who listened to him as the oracle of the living God; have alike crowded around the coffin which encloses his mortal remains—and offered the deep and touching tribute of tearful sorrow to his many virtues. While all, however, mingle their tribute of sympathy in the loss of that distinguished Prelate, the Rt. Rev. Bishop England—to us, his death is a matter of peculiar bereavement.

The descendant of those, who are able to number many of their name among the distinguished sons of the land of their birth, John England, at an early age, gave evidence of that power of mind, and devotedness of purpose, which eventually developed themselves so eminently and successfully in the administration of the affairs of this Diocess. At an early age, he became possessed of the influences of religion, and unheeding the enticements, which to one so gifted, might easily have been supposed potential in directing his attention to pursuits, where success in the eye of the world seems more gratifying than the quiet duties of the Ministry; he yet gave to the Church the full energies of a young and daring spirit—a heart filled with the gentlest charities of life—and an intellect even then commanding the respect of those distinguished by age and station. At an early age he commenced the duties of his Holy Ministry, and his efforts were gifted with the most gratifying success. The attention of the Catholic Church being turned towards the Southern portion of the United States, the position and promises of usefulness already displayed by this distinguished man, recommended him to the appointing power. And, although he had not attained the age which the Church prescribes for the possession of the office for which his services were required, a dispensation was obtained;* and he was invested with the high and responsible position of Bishop of a Diocess composed of our own, and two of our Sister States. He came among us with many prejudices to surmount—many difficulties to overcome—much dissatisfaction to assuage. But the edge of prejudice was soon exchanged for confidence—the difficulties of his position yielded to his labor of love—and the discontent of all was exchanged for the harmony and fellowship which has bound the members of his Church in the strong bonds of confidence and affection.

In our body, where charity, the first of human virtues, stands the consecrated pledge we hold to suffering abroad, without profanity it may be said, he was the chosen Priest who ministered at her altar. His hand was ever ready to grasp with fellowship the hand of a brother in distress—his tear fell, and mingling, united itself with the tear of sorrow—while his belief in religion, and his character as a Minister of the true God, prompting him to seek misery wherever it was wont to hide itself, cherished with the mantle of faith and hope, the agony it could not always remove. He came to us a friend, he lived with us a brother. He died among

* Bishop England was unanimously selected by the Hibernian Society, to deliver the address at the laying of the corner stone of the Hibernian Hall, and again, at the first public opening, after its completion.

* The talented writer has fallen into a slight mistake in this sentence. Our lamented prelate was ordained Priest at the age of 22, a dispensation of two years having been granted in consideration of his piety and learning. The canons of the Church require that no one be consecrated Bishop, until he has completed his thirtieth year. Bishop England received Episcopal consecration on the 21st of September, 1820, the thirty-fourth anniversary of his birth-day.—EDS. MISCELLANY.

us, with all the love that virtue so distinguished can command.

To the memory of one so eminent and good, the tribute of panegyrick can add nothing to [extol] his merit. No tongue can even be eloquent in his praise—for virtue speaks loudest in the memorials of her own works. Nor can human pen trace his character with the fervor it should command, for the narrative of his qualities, reminds all of his loss; and the highest strain of eulogy is lost in the loud wail of lamentation and sorrow that echoes throughout our city.

As the Patriot—the lover of the land of his birth, no superior could be found to him whose loss we deplore. He was born where the iron hand of despotism ground to the dust the noblest of his race. He lived where he could see the scaffold reeking with the blood of those who prized the honor of their country more than they feared death. He suffered with those who, conscious of the then fruitless effort they were making, felt that religion of the Patriot, which makes him hug the chain in triumph, he cannot break in the hall of the oppressor. In all his efforts connected with the cause of suffering Ireland, he gave full evidence of that high and dignified zeal—that fervid, because sincere eloquence, which recalled the scattering senses of the weak—chastened the daring, and excited the timid. Careless of the consequences so far as he was concerned, his voice echoed from the gatherings in his own land, and told the oppressor in a tone that could not be unheeded, the *tale* of *tyranny* and suffering, that millions of his countrymen were compelled to undergo. It was not the wild and untamed cry, that burst from lawless caprice, from unregulated ambition, or licentious passion—but the deep soul-stirring utterance of a man—who felt for the sufferings of those who were made after the image of the God they worshipped: who believed that when men submit in acquiescence to improper rule, they debase the divine origin they claim from their Ruler and Master. And when he came to this favored land, his heart did not then cease to beat for Ireland. To her he still turned with all the fondness—the undying, undimmed lustre—of early affection and devotedness; and though rich and beautiful were the pearls of his eloquence at all times—yet never were they richer and more beautiful, than even when "at random strung," they adorned the expression of his intense, deep seated, all-powerful Love of Country.

As a citizen of the United States—the adopted son of our Republic, there never breathed one more fervent in his admiration of the institutions he had sworn to protect—more religious in his observance of the duties which devolved upon him, as a citizen of a country, whose laws knew no distinction of classes—whose soil cherished and supported alike all sects in religion. His intimate acquaintance with the excellencies which shine out in bold relief, amid the vices of the many models of Republican Government, made him at once the zealous advocate of a well regulated liberty—the antagonist of all lawless and revolutionary feeling. His long experience in all the intricacies of the human heart, taught him at once the possibility of man's government of himself, and the evil inseparable from boundless dominion, when power is concentrated in the hands of one. His perception of the countless blessings which we have enjoyed under our present system of government, accordingly, made him the earnest expounder of its purposes and benefits. In foreign climes, the information he communicated, and the influence and authority, which his residence and character gave to the institutions under which he lived, have tended to do much towards extending a proper conception of the system of government we now support. Superior to the excitement of the day—looking upon the peculiar structure of the system of our government at the South, with the calm and philosophic eye of a statesman; his character, his religion, his authority, have been unceasingly and successfully exerted in behalf of those institutions, so peculiar to us as a Southern people, and against which the tide of relentless fanaticism has been so long and wildly beating. His even and well-tutored mind bore him above the false zeal which the frenzy, not the philosophy, of religion, will lend to her votaries, and the authority and precepts of Christianity were made to support the cause of peace and humanity. True to himself, and true to Truth itself, he did not hesitate to enter the lists, even when the most powerful seemed disposed to lend their influence to swell the onward course of bigotry and violence. Disdaining the chance of the sacrifice of some portion of his popularity abroad, he did not fear to stand forth the advocate of justice at home. And in the eloquent and conclusive vindication of her rights, the South can boast no one more devoted and unbending, than he, whom the cause of religion wafted to our shore, and the cause of religion enlisted in our support. Nor have his services been forgotten. Every where in our land, have the testimonials of respect and confidence been frequently bestowed—and as in life he merited, so in death he received—the profound and grateful remembrance of a people, who received him with kindness as an exile, who treated him

with fondness as one of them—and who have testified in his death, the deepest regret and most profound sorrow.

As a Minister of religion, who can adequately portray his excellencies? Sincere in his belief of the faith he preached, he practised towards all that mild and meek charity its principles so strictly inculcate. Loving all men, he yet loved with the most intense affection those who were under his protection. No circumstances, no season, no hour, was to him unsuited to the exercise of the functions of his holy ministry. When the pestilence has swept through the streets of our city—when the stranger seemed doomed to death—when human nature would scarce enable us to endure the idea of the voluntary self-sacrifice he seemed about to make—yet even then, a stranger—subject to the sickness—in the most fatal season—at the dead hour of the night—in the lowliest dwelling, he held the cross of his Saviour to the fast dimming eye of the dying, and lightened the suffering of expiring humanity, with the consolations of religion. The hand of God was manifest in the deliverance. He went forth unharmed amidst disease and death, confident in the hope of the cross he bore in his hand. He bore it as a Soldier of the Cross; and was happy in the reflection, that whenever his journey in life should cease, that Cross would mark the spot where his last foot-print was made.

For many years after this eventful season in which his life had been so miraculously saved, with the most unwearied zeal, he gave the powerful resources of his mind to the advancement of the Catholic religion. He came to our shore, and found the members of his Church few and unconnected with each other. His efforts, blessed by the hand of Providence, have brought them all again to the altar at which they worshipped. He came to our shore, and found the principles of his religion imperfectly understood. He devoted himself to the enlightenment of all, in the belief in which he had faith, and lived to see the respect of all given, even where they did not agree.

In the many controversies in which he was engaged, he has perhaps left no antagonist entertaining unkind feelings. Always bent on truth, he needed not the poisoned weapon of abuse or invective. Rich in the learning of his Church; his talents, his urbanity, his liberality, gave to all his discussions, a character the most edifying and dignified. Religion, with him, was not a terror, but an affection. He won his way to the heart, as the Minister of God, by the unobtrusive simplicity of his feeling—the unaffected goodness of his heart. And so patient, so uncomplaining, so persevering was he in the doing of good, by the establishment of his Church, that privations, now scarcely credible, were cheerfully undergone, in order that he might the better effect the grand object of his mission to the new world. To qualities so striking and rare, there could not fail to be paid the tribute of admiration—of respect. To such nobility of heart, kindred generosity would pay its homage, even if a difference existed. And few could witness without the deepest sensibility, and none who witnessed will ever forget, the mute yet eloquent tribute to his worth, which a distinguished antagonist paid to his cold, senseless remains. When life's struggle was over and his body was about to be interred, one who had combated with the doctrines of his Church, stood gazing upon the marble features, now sleeping in colorless repose. The eye that was once bright with zeal, was shut forever upon the world—the tongue so eloquent and convincing, was hushed and still in the narrow limits of his coffin—the frame so strong in life, was cold and powerless in death. *There* was the victory of death—*there* the triumph of God's will. And he who gazed upon that body, had now come to change the excitement of contest, for the meditation of death.* In that coffin, was written the awful commentary of a superior power, and the burning tear that coursed down the cheek of him who yet survived, was the most beautiful and affecting tribute from the generosity of the living, to the merit and excellence of the dead.

It is the hour of approaching dissolution, that is the test of the sincerity of the conduct which one exercises through life. And never has there been chronicled a death-bed scene more impressive than that of the Rt. Rev. Bishop England. The kind solicitude of friends had secured for him the best medical attendance, and long after the hope of the physician had gone, their devotion could not bear the idea of eternal separation from a friend so true—a pastor so beloved. Not so, however, with him. Neither desiring nor yet fearing death, he awaited his fate with that calm and dignified composure so well fitting one, who served a Master of Omnipotence. And when the last solemn offices of his Church were performing—though weighed down in sickness—his spirit rose superior to the body—and the servant of God was faithful to the last! His dying instruction to those who were associated with him, fell upon the ear of the assembly, like a voice from another world. It was the pure, unearthly spirit of religion, that, supplying all else, seemed to play around his death-bed—

* The Rev. Richard Fuller.

and consecrate the last moments of one of the best, brightest and purest of her votaries. He was a Soldier of the Cross! Even to his last moment, the emblem of faith was firm in his grasp—and the last motion of his hand was to raise to his lip, and seal there with a kiss, the sign of Redemption he had preached to man. As he lived his life according to the law of his God, he was able to exclaim in the last word he uttered, "Ready!" As he died, a Christian, aware of the imperfection of all that is mortal, his last breath scarce sufficed to allow him to exclaim in his prayer of penitence, "Have mercy!"

Thus lived—and thus died—this distinguished Prelate. Thus has departed from us, the ornament of our Society. Thus has religion lost a devoted servant — philanthropy an untiring advocate. The temple which he reared to God is now hung with mourning—our Hall, but more our hearts, are dull with the gloom of sorrow. In that temple, another may supply his place—but in the hearts of his friends, there can be no substitute for him. To them, a brilliant light has been for ever extinguished—and they must grope their way along the pathway of life, guided by the memory of the religion he preached—the charity he inculcated—the virtues he practised.

Be it therefore *Resolved*, That the Hibernian Society of Charleston have, in the death of the Rt. Rev. Bishop England, sustained the loss of a member and companion, whose eminent learning adorned the virtues of charity and benevolence—whose character gave dignity to his Society—his country—and his Church—whose name will be ever dear in the memory of those who love and admire the excellencies of our nature.

Resolved, That in testimony of our profound respect, the members of the Hibernian Society will wear crape on the left arm, for the space of thirty days.

Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings be entered on the minutes, published in the papers of this city, and transmitted to the family of the illustrious deceased.

After Mr. Magrath had concluded the reading of his tribute—

On motion of the Hon. James S. Rhett,

It was unanimously *Resolved*, That the same be adopted by this Society.

On motion of Mr. Moreland,

Resolved, That this Society do now adjourn in silence, and without comment.

The Society then adjourned.

THOMAS STEPHENS, Vice President,
Acting President.

W. N. HAMILTON, Secretary.

From the Savannah Georgian.

HIBERNIAN SOCIETY.

At an extra meeting of the Hibernian Society of the city of Savannah, held at its Room at the City Hotel, on Saturday, 14th of May, 1842, the President, Geo. B. Cumming, Esqr., in the Chair; the journal of the last meeting having been read, the President arose and addressed the Society, in substance, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN—I discharge a duty devolved upon me by official station, in announcing formally to you the death of John England, D. D., Bishop of Charleston. This bereavement was sustained by that Diocess, on the morning of the 11th ult. Bishop England was an honorary member of this body, it having conferred its Diploma upon him, on Saint Patrick's Day, of the year 1824, on which occasion he pronounced before it an oration, which its minute of that day characterizes by the one emphatic word "admirable!"

"A great man has fallen in Israel!" If the possession of a high order of intellect, constitute an enviable distinction in the character of a man, and entitle him to prominence among, and to influence over his fellow men, it derogates nought from his merit, that he had no agency in the acquisition of this faculty: whether innate or implanted, it is manifestly the design of his Creator, that he shall have control over mind, and he is held responsible for the manner in which he wields this power, to the Creator. We therefore state it as a meritorious attribute of Bishop England, that he was immeasurably in advance of his competitors, in intellectual force. Acute in his perceptions, he at once comprehended the idea presented to the mind, and he was instantly prepared to transfer the image from his own, to the minds of others, in apt and beautiful illustrations. But, the gigantic power of his mind was seen and felt in the strength of argument, which he brought to bear upon the subject. Annihilating sophistries as they were thrown in his path, he rescued truth from the meshes of fallacy, and conducted her triumphantly to the demonstration. Bishop England possessed, in an eminent degree, an attribute, the merit of which belonged exclusively to himself. It was his varied and extensive knowledge, intense study and deep research, [that] had accumulated in his mind a mass of acquirement, which enabled him to grasp every subject, and to treat it with a master's hand. For this distinction, he was indebted to the most untiring industry, and to the most patient investigation. It was a peculiarity of his learning, that it was rather useful than polite;

and consequently, its effects were displayed in practical results, and not in hypothetical benefits. With such a mind and such attainments, it is no marvel he should have acquired a sound and discriminating judgment. This he ever exercised in that just and equal degree, which rendered him faithful to himself and faithful to others, but always tempering itself with the charity that "hopeth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things."

It was not possible that a man endued with so noble an intellect, with such extensive erudition, and with that ripened judgment, should fail to occupy a large space in the public eye, and when such a man falls, may we not exclaim, "A great man has indeed fallen in Israel." The occasion which has convened us, is mournful in the extreme. We have a property in the memory of Bishop England. He was our brother. For eighteen years, he was associated with us in habits of the closest affection; and can the fraternal tie be sundered without a pang? He came to us from unhappy Erin, whence he was exiled by the unrelenting tyranny of her oppressor. He sought, under the auspices of true liberty, the only consolation that can remain to the exile, thrust out of his beloved country by persecution and oppression. He found it in the open hearts of Southern men, and the tears which bedewed his grave, testify how well he deserved it. A seat is vacant at the festive board, where we are wont, on the day of our Patron Saint, to assemble in social harmony, and there remember Erin—where the tears of sympathy, (let the scoffer who knows nothing of the luxury of grief, taunt us with [our weeping,]) are shed, as we contemplate the woes of sweet Erin. The voice that once proceeded from that chair is hushed. That manly form, which as it rose, inspired awe and veneration, has collapsed under the chill of death. That eye, once speaking with expression, is closed forever. "He rests from his labors, and now his works do follow him."

In the death of Bishop England, Ireland has lost a defender, second in ability and devotion to none of those worthies who are now dazzling the world by their intrepidity in the assertion of her rights, and in the declaration of her grievances.

He was a pure, Irish Patriot. He sought, alone by constitutional means, to redress her wrongs, and to restore her to her rank in that empire of which she is so distinguished a constituent. He considered the Act of Union, by which she was deprived of her legislature, to be the master grievance in the catalogue of impositions. He knew that union had been procured by fraud and treachery, and therefore held it to be a sacred obligation to his country, to clamor for its repeal, unceasingly. But, in the spirit of that religion, of which he was a minister, he deprecated all resort to violence, teaching the maxim withal, that he who commits a crime, strengthens the enemy. He saw that the Government of Great Britain, whether Tory or Whig, would exult in being able to drive the Irish into insurrection, and hence the wisdom of his counsel, to be obedient to law, and to abstain from outrage.

In the death of Bishop England, this country has lost a patriotic and devoted citizen. He was an enthusiastic admirer, and a zealous supporter of Republican institutions. He held as unquestionable, the political doctrine, that the many are not made for the use of the few, and that the best government is that which diffuses the greatest amount of happiness among a people. He was warmly attached to our system of government, and defended it when assailed by the aristocracy, with a cogency of argument, and a power of eloquence, which demolished its opponents. In the death of Bishop England, his native countrymen have sustained a loss which no time can repair. No man in this country exercised a greater personal influence over them, and no man was, perhaps, so meek under the consciousness of it. He was eminently skilled in all the workings of the passions, and thoroughly understood the intricacies of the heart. He knew how to allay the irritations which too often grew out of competition in the race for advancement; and his calm temperament qualified him, at all times, to hear and determine appeals to his arbitrement.

Possessing the unlimited confidence of his countrymen, they hastened with eagerness to lay their controversies before him, and felt secure in the wisdom and justice of his decrees. He was emphatically their father and their friend, and whether involved in differences with each other, or with their adopted countrymen, they were confident in the safety of his umpirage. They were proud of his talents and his station; and they gloried in his fame.

In the death of Bishop England, his Church has sustained a bereavement, which we have its own authority for pronouncing "irreparable."

Entering into holy orders at the age of twenty-three years, we find him eleven years afterwards attracting the attention of the Pope, and selected by him to wear the mitre, and to bear the Cross to the new world. For the ability and fidelity with which he discharged the high functions of the Episcopate,

we can appeal to the Church. Witness his elevated standing in the Provincial Council; mark him as the aptly chosen organ of the Episcopal College, in its communication with the Holy See; listen to the ardor with which he urges the protection of the Father of the Faithful over his transatlantic flock. See him encountering trials without number; enduring privations acute; practising self denial severe; traversing oceans and continents, to fulfil and make proof of his ministry. Hear him defending the doctrines of his Church against misrepresentation, with a dignity, a logic, and an eloquence unsurpassed, if not unequalled. See him conciliating the respect and esteem of all denominations, and yet maintaining, unimpaired, the integrity of the principles of his own.

No more shall we hear from his lips the distinguishing doctrines of his Church, nor will that Church ever again listen to his sublime precepts. We condole with it, in its bereavement. Would we could console it, under its loss.

Such was the man, whose death we are called to mourn. It is for you, Gentlemen, to prescribe the mode in which you will pay a tribute to his memory.

The President having concluded his address, Col. James Hunter, the oldest member of the Society and an ex-President, rose and addressed the Chair as follows:

Mr. President—A life already prolonged beyond the span usually allotted to man, and somewhat eventful in its history, has brought to my knowledge a great variety of character; but among all whom it has been my privilege to call my friends, for none did I entertain a higher personal respect, than for the distinguished gentleman, whom you have so happily and justly eulogized; in the address now delivered.

I had the honor to preside over this Association, at the period to which you have referred, when he was invested with his diploma. Then, and for some years previous, and afterwards in his visits to this city, I was intimate and familiar in my intercourse with him; I was cognizant of his feelings in relation to this Institution, and can therefore state with confidence, that they were always illustrative of the warmest attachment to it; but, sir, his acts shall speak for himself, to sustain my declaration. When invested with honorary membership, he replied to the deputation that tendered it in behalf of the Society, after making his acknowledgments:

"Believe me, when I assure you, that my gratification is enhanced at being thus admitted into a Society, which contains brethren in affection, though not united in the same creed; and when I see mingled together, with the sons of Ireland, for the celebration of our national festival, the fellow countrymen of Washington, the friends of the oppressed, the lovers and advocates of liberty, to this Society I feel deeply indebted, to its interests I am warmly attached."

Bishop England was greatly sensible of the kindness and attention he constantly received from citizens of this place, and he felt a deep interest in every matter that affected the prosperity of this city; he lent his valuable assistance to the promotion of the interests of the Savannah Free School, though under Protestant management, and appointed an annual sermon to be preached in the Roman Catholic Church of St. John's, and a collection of money to be made, to aid the funds of that important and valuable Institution. On one occasion, although much pressed for time, at the instance of the Directresses, he prolonged his stay in the city, to plead in a public discourse, the cause of that School, before the Congregation of the Roman Catholic Church. He thus attested his disregard of sectarian distinctions, when the object to be attained was the improvement of the mind. This disposition consisted admirably with the views he held of true religion and enlightened freedom. He became endeared to all who knew him, by those virtuous ties that enfibre and ennoble the human character.

An inscrutable decree has gone forth, and he who was the sage advocate of religion, and the untiring friend of intellectual refinement, has been translated from the scene of his temporal usefulness, to that celestial home, where the faithful enjoy the reward of their fidelity. But, Mr. President, it is not my intention, by an appeal to your sensibility, to awaken those sacred feelings that are silently and affectionately enwreathing themselves around the hallowed memory of this benevolent prelate and illustrious patriot; my design is, to give expression to our associated feelings, under the poignant bereavement that we, as a Society, have sustained in the death of the Right Rev. Bishop England. Gifted with a comprehensive and discriminating mind, that mind embued with a delicate philosophy, enriched with the varied lore of ages and of nations, and illumined by the sanctifying light of revealed religion, his motives were guided by the dictates of his conscience, and his conduct was illustrative of the rectitude of his motives. While as a sagacious statesman, he defended the Institutions he admired, and as an erudite theologian, he powerfully advocated the doctrines he believed, he ever cheerfully awarded to those who honorably dissented from his views, whether of political or ecclesiastical

economy, the meed of candor and the palm of merit. That this was the estimate of his character, may fairly be inferred, from the gentle assiduity and disinterested solicitude of those noble minded citizens of other religious persuasions, who generously competed with those of his own faith, in soothing the close of his militant existence. Of Bishop England, it may truly be said, that his deportment was consistent with his profession; a review of his life will show, that from the moment when, with buoyant hope and fond anticipation of the ultimate liberation of his own beloved green Isle, and rejoicing in the constellated glory of his adopted home, he first saluted with a son's affection and a patriot's devotion, "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," to that on which, in the rich and honored autumn of his years, encircled by sincere and sympathizing friends, he calmly bade farewell to this probationary scene, the pulsations of his mighty heart, the productions of his classic pen, and the impressive fervor of his graceful and glowing eloquence, were united for the regeneration of Ireland, the perpetuity of American Institutions, the promotion of the sciences and useful arts, and the universal diffusion of social harmony, morality and religion.

Such is a faint outline of the fame of our distinguished and lamented associate, and now it only remains that I ask you to place upon the journal of your association, this preamble and these resolutions:

WHEREAS it has pleased Almighty God, in his inscrutable providence, to remove from the sight of our eyes, and to tear from the embrace of our hearts, his eminent and distinguished servant, and our venerable and beloved brother, the Right Rev. John England, D. D., Bishop of Charleston; and whereas a void is thus created in our Association, which never can be filled,

Resolved—That the Hibernian Society of the city of Savannah, have heard with the deepest sorrow and most solemn mourning, of the death of their cherished and gifted fellow-member, Bishop England.

Resolved—That in his death, his country has lost an able defender; his adopted country, a patriotic citizen; his Church, a bright and shining light; and this association, a beloved companion.

Resolved—That the banner of this society be enshrouded in mourning, and that the members wear crape upon the left arm, for the space of three months.

Resolved—That the entire proceedings of this meeting be published, and a copy of them be transmitted to the Very Rev. Richard S. Baker, Vicar-General of the Diocess of Charleston, and another copy, through him to the relatives of the late Bishop England.

Resolved—That the President of this Society be charged with the duty of carrying the last resolution into effect.

After the President's address, and the preamble and resolutions, were read, the following remarks were offered by Mr. Thos. D. Rice:

MR. PRESIDENT, I approach you most respectfully for the purpose of advocating the adoption of the preamble and resolutions offered by our excellent friend, Col. Hunter, and to solicit your kind permission for the publication of the luminous address with which you have introduced the proceedings of this meeting. I do so, with mingled feelings of sadness and delight; of sadness—that the demise of an illustrious associate is the cause of our convention; of delight—that the mental nobility and eminent piety of that associate entitled his memory to those sentiments of social regard and veneration, so hapily delineated in your graphic portraiture of his character, and so admirably expressed in Col. Hunter's preamble and resolutions. Sir, in your felicitous exordium, you observed that, as we appreciated his virtues, we should deplore the bereavement occasioned by the death of the Right Rev. Bishop England; and you also said, that "a great man had fallen in Israel." We fully accord with the justice and liberality of your views, and sensibly feel the irreparable loss of our distinguished associate: for, as true greatness is found in the practice of social virtues, and as the virtues are based upon the observance of divine laws, so none can be truly great who are not truly virtuous, and none can be truly virtuous, who do not revere the laws of the living God. Indulging this train of thought, allow me to inquire, who we are? what we are? and why are we here? These are plain questions, to which we may answer, that we are Irishmen, and the sons of Irishmen, imbued with the love of our native land, and dignified as citizens of this free and glorious Republic—we are members of the most ancient, benevolent, and literary society instituted by civilized man, and we are here to testify our affectionate reverence for the august memory of him who was great, because he was virtuous, and whose laudable ambition was to diffuse happiness, by inculcating those principles that enlighten the human understanding, and consequently elevate the soul to a knowledge of her own immortal destiny. May we, while we admire the tranquil splendor of his career, calmly and steadily emulate the transcendent virtues of his character, so that, when our day of final

separation arrives, we too may "bow to the will of God, and accept what he appoints."

"Die we may, and die we must,
But, oh! where can dust to dust
Be consigned so well,
As where heaven its dews shall shed,
On the sainted patriot's head,
Of his deeds to tell."

I conclude, Sir, with a hope that the preamble and resolutions, offered by Colonel Hunter, as a tribute to the memory of the late Right Rev. Bishop England, will be adopted by this meeting, and a copy of them deposited in the archives of our Society.

Aware of the long acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. O'Neill with the illustrious subject of our tribute, and that for two weeks of the period of his last sickness, he watched frequently by his bed-side, the President requested him to give some traits of the great man's early life, and during the close of his eventful life. Mr. O'Neill responded, and in substance gave the following detail:

From all that has already transpired, through the public press and other sources of communication, respecting the well marked life and transcendent virtues of Bishop England, I looked not for this call. But I respect the source whence it emanates, and though I approach the subject with diffidence, I shall endeavor to sketch, as briefly as possible, what I have heard from others, and those characteristics of the great Prelate which have come under my own observation.

This is not the time, it would be inappropriate, to exhibit the gloomy scene of Ireland's degradation, consequent on Saxon invasion, and atrocious penal laws by subsequent rulers. In sorrow, rather than in anger, I must say, that a short time prior to the birth of John England, there was no alternative between religious apostacy, and total ignorance, save in cases where death or transportation, beyond half the convex globe, was the penalty awarded to the cleric or laic who was discovered instructing the youth in the principles of science, or the elements of a moderate education.

Under the operation of those abominable and persecuting laws, the parents of the subject of our tribute suffered severely. In several passages of his varied essays, he frequently portrayed the calamities which his ancestors had endured, and in his late controversy with a neighbouring clergyman, he briefly enumerates the sufferings of his immediate family.

He was born on the 23d of September, 1786. Early in life, he entered the Lay College of Maynooth, in the vicinity of the Irish Metropolis, which he quitted, and placed himself with an eminent barrister, under whom he studied the principles of the civil law, for about the term of two years. A vocation to the ministry, induced him to relinquish the legal profession, and to prepare himself for the sacred calling. At his own particular request, and with the approbation of his ordinary, his friends placed him at the Theological College of Carlow, situate in the county of that name, about thirty miles from Dublin. His early and persevering piety was remarkable; but in the halls of his Alma Mater, his great virtues and superior talents manifested themselves to his superiors, and his fellow-students.—Monuments of his untiring zeal and benevolent heart are to this day seen in Carlow and its vicinity, [raised] by his efforts and success in providing an asylum for unprotected females, and schools for the free and correct education of poor boys.

Before obtaining formally the degree of a licentiate in theology, the Bishop of the diocess of which Carlow is a section, called into action his great instructive powers, in delivering moral lectures during the season of Lent, in the Cathedral, close by the Theological Seminary.

Called off by his own Bishop, the late venerable Moylan, the city of Cork became the theatre of his unrivalled talents. To this extended field of exertion, he was introduced before the usual age which the Canons of his Church prescribe, at which the order of Priest is conferred; and the subsequent zeal of the minister of God, and his usefulness in preaching his word, proved the discernment and wisdom of him, who, in this instance, exercised his dispensing powers in favor of the youthful, but extraordinary John England.

Diversified and important as were his duties in the Church, his unfortunate and bleeding country found in him a powerful defender, and her tyrannical governors an indomitable combatant. His acquaintance with the laws, and an intimate and friendly intercourse with O'Connell, enabled him to evade often the snares laid for both, by the spies and minions of government.

But the priest and patriot must be victimized. Neither the gold, nor the menaces of his country's oppressors, could close the lips of the unrivalled advocate of civil and religious liberty. At all times, he was ready for the sacrifice. Ever burning with zeal, he was more than willing to lay down his life on the altar of his religion and country, in sustaining the purity of the one, and the rights and liberties of the other.

The down-hill condition of an honest man, a citizen of Cork, excited the benevo-

lence and philanthropy of the noble-hearted Priest. The declining merchant was the proprietor of a newspaper, the Cork Mercantile Chronicle. It was the organ of the Liberal Munster party. The bankruptcy of the owner threatened its fall. For the sake of his friends and his country, the Rev. Irish patriot proffered his editorial services, without fee or favor. The corruption of the Judges and mal-practices of packed Orange juries, and consequent oppression during the administration of the Tory Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Talbot, brought the new editor in direful conflict with the government. The mal-administration of the laws, the horrible state of the Irish prisons, and the savage treatment of the unfortunate transports, became the subjects for animadversion. He gave to the world the truth, and nothing but the truth, and for this he was mulcted for a libel in the round sum of five hundred pounds sterling.

The patriot editor's defence of himself is memorable, and cannot but appear in the historian's life of the lamented England. *Gold and silver he had none;* the cell in which his grandfather had been incarcerated for teaching the elements of Euclid, must be the priest's state room until the fine shall have been paid.* * * * *

In a few years, subsequently to this event, the subject of our tribute was appointed Parish Priest of Bandon, a most important station by reason of narrow and illiberal prejudices which existed in that section of the diocess of Cork.

The inscription over the gate of that town, Bandon, must exist in the memory of some of the present members of the Hibernian Society.

> "Turk, Jew or Atheist,
> Welcome here; not a Papist."

Six years' incessant labors, his benevolence, his great powers of mind, his liberality, and *peculiar* manner of explaining the principles of his religion, enabled the young Parish Priest to remove the existing prejudices, and bring together in a social band of brotherhood, the Catholics and Protestants of the town and district of Bandon.

It was whilst actively engaged in this field of usefulness, he received from Rome the documents appointing him to the newly created diocess of Charleston. For this episcopal mission, the Roman Pontiff looked on him as one specially raised up. A republican in principle, a patriot, and a truly great man, there was none among the names transmitted for the nomination, on whom Pius the Eighth fixed his keen and discerning eye, as a fit and proper person, but the subject of my memoir.*

In 1820, on the 21st of September, he received the episcopal character in the Parish Church of St. Finbar in his native city Cork—and the city of Charleston was favored with his presence on the last day of December of the same year. Since then, he has been, to his ever memorable death, your own property. You have known him; his light has shone before you; in this he has been viewed by the enlightened, liberal eye of our glorious republic.

I saw him, and had the happiness of his acquaintance, when only clothed with the priestly character, in his native land. Like you, too, I have seen and known him well, in the land of his adoption, and though at an humble distance, I have been his co-laborer for eighteen years. His light was not hid; not placed beneath the bushel of indolence or silence. He wrote, and he spoke, and all were made acquainted with his greatness; yet, it was in his last days, those days that try men's souls, that exhibit in bold relief, the Christian and faithful soldier of the cross—when this nether world is about to recede from the earthly vision, and eternity is already appearing in the distance—when the voice of the supreme Pastor is heard falling on the ear, calling on the Priest to come to judgment, and give an account of his stewardship—it is in these awful moments, that the greatness of our eminent Bishop becomes transcendently conspicuous, and compels his attending physicians and all who witnessed the scene, to exclaim—"Oh! would that I might die the death of that man."

The preparation for the Easter Communion, and subsequently for the last sacraments of the Church, the moving apostrophe addressed to the sign of man's redemption, his address to the most holy sacrament, the *real* presence of Christ, which he, in his life time, so powerfully and peculiarly defended, his farewell sermon to his priests, his students, and the female religious, who sighed by his bed side, all has already been recorded and has come under your view. I shall not occupy longer your time in the recital, at this

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* See Note on p. 8.

* In the College of Carlow, Bishop England made a private consecration of himself to the Almighty for a foreign mission, under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, mother of Christ, and the will of his superiors. Before his nomination for the See of Charleston, he was requested by some of the Irish Bishops to permit his name to be transmitted to Rome as a candidate for a Bishopric. With this request he complied, but with the proviso—"that he would never wear a mitre in any country where the British Government exercised any control." No wonder, then, that the Pope had selected him as Bishop for a diocess in the United States.

advanced hour of our proceedings. Thus, Mr. President, have I endeavoured to respond to the very unexpected call you have made on me. Please to excuse the inadequacy of the narrative. It is but an outline of what I have heard, and what I have witnessed, in relation to one whom you have admired, and whom I respected, esteemed, and really loved, the truly great man, the late and lamented John England, Bishop of Charleston.

The Preamble and Resolutions were then put and carried unanimously.

On motion of Mr. Michael Dillon, seconded by Mr. Francis Shiels,

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed by the Chair to superintend the printing and publishing of the proceedings of this meeting in the Gazettes of the city.

Whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed: Thomas D. Rice, George B. Cumming, Mathew Hopkins, Michael Dillon, John Hunter.

Mr. Rice offered the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. M. Pendergast, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to George B. Cumming, Esq., for his lucid, interesting commentary on the character of the late Right Rev. John England, and also to Col. James Hunter, for the very appropriate preamble and resolutions with which he has favored the Society, on this occasion.

Mr. Matthew Hopkins, V. P., returned the Society's thanks to the gentlemen named in the above resolution.

After which, the meeting adjourned.

GEORGE B. CUMMING, President.

JOHN HUNTER, Secretary.

From the Catholic Expositor.

THE LATE RIGHT REV. JOHN ENGLAND, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.

INSCRIBED TO THE VERY REV. JOHN POWER, D. D.

BY J. A. SHEA.

Where, Zeno! is all thy philosophy now?
  Is thy doctrine less stern, or its nature more strong,
Than in days when the spirit that dwelt on thy brow
  Would frown down all feeling for right or for wrong?

Has the passionless principle perished with thee;
  Or can man not perpetuate torpor of heart?
No! nature is ever too faithfully free,
  That the tide of her griefs should be frozen by art.

Weep on! 'tis not weakness! weep fountains of tears!
  For that bright star is gone from the gaze of our eyes,
Which, like Beth'lem's but led to the Promise of years,
  Fulfilling the prophets—those men of the skies.

Thus Rama the voice of her weeping sent up,
  From the depth of her bosom, when Samuel expired;
And, in sorrow and bitterness, drank of the cup,
  Of her suffering, for him whom Jehovah had fired.

Nor less our bereavement—a chief of the cross—
  A shepherd of Christ, in the care of his fold!
His—his is the triumph, and ours is the loss;
  For the heart that could teach us, is silent and cold.

With what an impressive and hallowed sound,
  The thunders of eloquence roll'd from his lips,
Yet with hope, like the sun shedding glory around,
  When, at eve, in the mirror of ocean he dips.

The mercy and love which the gospel puts on,
  With truth's solemn power, were, with judgment, combin'd:
As truth, like the bolt of the Thunderer, shone;
  Around it, the olive of mercy was twin'd.

In friendship, as true as the sun to the globe!
  In wisdom, a mind that embraced at a glance,
Without dimming the beautiful light of his robe,
  The whole field of the faith, to its farthest expanse.

The heavenlier virtues, however so bright,
  In other men's breasts, were unseen, undefin'd;
But in him, 'mid the heav'n of his ministry's height
  They stood boldly relief'd by his sunshine of mind.

In him were the Christian and patriot blent,
  With so gentle and yet so distinct a dominion,
That the deep love of country but seemed to have lent
  A mellower lustre to charity's pinion.

Though he reached not what time calls the fulness of years,
  His life was a meteor, shining, tho' brief;
Which scattereth brilliancy as it careers,
  And leaves the beholder in darkness and grief.

Well—well may we contemplate every phase,
  It assumed in the transit for which it was given;
And, while lost in the Godhead's mysterious ways,
  Acknowledge 'twas His who is highest in heaven.

From the Charleston Courier.

ON THE DEATH OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

Oh! Erin—how sadly thy dirge is ascending,
  For ENGLAND, thy gifted, thy eloquent son;
While tears from the twin-Carolinas are blending
  With thine, for the pastor and patriot gone!
Now far from the "Emerald Isle" he is sleeping,
  By death to perpetual exile decreed;
But his tomb, round which memory's shamrock is creeping,
  Thy thought to the land of the stranger shall lead.

The genius of Catholic faith now is strewing
  The ashes of sorrow upon her pale brow,
For the pride of her temple, who e'er was pursuing
  Some good in fulfilment of piety's vow.
Her children in grief's bitter waters are steeping
  Their hearts, by true holiness oft purified;
The *Sisters of Mercy* in silence are weeping,
  The loss of their teacher, their friend and their guide.

Mourn not! for the angel whose title ye borrow,
  To sanctify the charities done upon earth,
Reveals to his spirit a glorious morrow,
  That but in eternity e'er can have birth!
Aye, e'en while the grave for its victim is yawning,
  The wings of that seraph in motion appear,
And mercy shall, where immortality's dawning,
  The soul of the righteous triumphantly bear!

M. P.

Note.—This measure is adapted to the Irish air, Cush la ma chree.

WORKS OF DR. ENGLAND.

PART I.

DOGMATIC AND POLEMIC THEOLOGY.

AN ESSAY AND LETTERS ON INFALLIBILITY.

LETTER.

SAVANNAH, MAY, 1825.

To the Editors of the U. S. Catholic Miscellany:

GENTLEMEN:—I have recently been one of the numerous auditors of the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Charleston, while on his visit to this city. His eloquent reasonings have done much towards removing my early prejudices against the Roman Catholic Church; but, before I could fully and freely adopt its faith, there are some questions which I could wish the Bishop, or some competent authority, would solve, through the medium of your paper. These questions relate to the *Infallibility of the Church.* By this, am I to understand a moral certainty that what the Church, in all ages, has held as Christian doctrine, must be such? Or, am I to believe, that by virtue of the Infallibility of the Church, what are now her doctrines must have been so from the beginning? If it be the former, I would embrace it with all my heart, and should in no case require a better proof of any article of Faith, than to be shewn a sufficient evidence that such an article was held by the Catholic Church in the beginning. But, if it be the latter, I should be gratified to be shewn the *evidence,* upon which my belief is required, that such Infallibility is an attribute of the Church. To illustrate these questions, I would select any one of the tenets by which the Roman Catholic Church is distinguished from other Christian Societies—say, the Primacy of the Pope in the Church of Christ. Am I required to believe this, because the Church, being infallible, declares it to be true; or, because the Church furnishes me with direct evidence that such a tenet or doctrine was held from the beginning? This inquiry, as you will perceive, might be extended to all doctrines, even that fundamental one, the Truth and Inspiration of the Sacred Scripture. Thus, am I to believe the Scriptures, because the Church, being infallible, declares them [authentic and inspired,] or, because the Church gives me direct evidence that they were so esteemed from the beginning? By inserting these questions in your "Miscellany," and assisting me to their solution, you will greatly oblige an honest inquirer after

TRUTH.

REPLY

TO INQUIRIES OF "TRUTH" RESPECTING THE DOCTRINE OF INFALLIBILITY.

§ 1.

IN answer to the above inquiry, we would suggest, that the doctrine of our Church regarding her Infallibility is generally misrepresented by her controversial opponents, and misunderstood by most of our separated brethren.

We shall endeavor to give a clear notion of its nature, before we proceed to shew our reasons for embracing it.

Our first principle is, that man is not bound to believe any doctrine as of Faith, unless that doctrine has been revealed by God. Thus, a Roman Catholic does not acknowledge any power or right in the Church, nor in any portion thereof, nor in any Angel, nor in any Being, except God himself, to require his belief of a doctrine which is above his reason's discovery. When, then, he says that the Church is infallible in giving her doctrinal decisions, he does not mean to say that she can make that which God did not reveal become an article of Faith. He does not

mean, that she can add to the revelations of God, and will be infallibly correct in this addition.

But man is bound to believe what God teaches. Yet, as man is a reasonable being, and must have a sufficient motive for his assent or belief, he is not required to believe without evidence. Thus, for his faith, evidence is necessary, otherwise his belief would have no foundation upon which it could rest.

We next ask, what evidence is required. Certainly, if our reason could discover the truth of the doctrine submitted to our minds, it would be quite superfluous for God to teach what we could discover without his teaching. Did we discover the truth of this doctrine, without the teaching of God, and solely by the exertion of our own intellect, our belief would be founded upon the evidence of reason, and further evidence would be superfluous. But, if we did not make the discovery by our own exertion—if no exertion of our minds could reach so far—and we received sufficient testimony of the truth from some persons who had *seen* and *known* and *testified*;—and, moreover, this witness was as incapable of deceit, as he was beyond its influence;—this testimony would be, to us, sufficient evidence of the truth of this doctrine.

We would, then, require evidence that *such a witness* gave *such testimony*,—and that evidence would be the sure foundation of our faith. Our belief would then be *rational*.

It will not be questioned that God is such a witness. It will be admitted that his knowledge is more *extensive* than ours; that his knowledge is not merely rational conjecture, [or] high probability, but is *undoubted, certain assurance* of fact; and, that it is *unalterable*;—so that what He once asserts as truth, will be truth—forever.

These *principles* are manifestly true. We come now to matter of *fact* and *deduction*. God did reveal his knowledge. They to whom he revealed it had evidence of the fact. They were bound. Why? Because they had an *infallible certainty* that the Lord spoke, and an *infallible certainty* of what he said. Thus, the principle of obligation is founded in the *infallible certainty* of God's declaration.

From this we perceive the indissoluble connexion of faith with an *infallible certainty* of truth. Take away the *certainty*, upon what will faith rest? Give the infallibility, and we see the basis of faith. *Conjecture* is not faith; *probability* is not faith; faith is *certain knowledge resting upon the testimony of God*. It must be founded upon an infallible certainty that God made a revelation—and upon an infallible certainty of what that revelation was. Suppose we ascertain that he spoke; and, moreover, that he revealed the contents of a certain book; but great doubts arise as to the meaning of certain passages of that book, and learned men give to the same passage contradictory meanings; so that, of these words—"*Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world*," one division asserts the meaning to be, that Christ would preserve the visible body of his Church, who were teachers of his doctrine, in his truth, all days, to the end of the world; and other divisions assert that such is not the meaning, but that, during ages in succession, long before the end of the world, this visible body would be false guides and teach the doctrines of Antichrist. Suppose an hundred such passages can be produced, upon which there are flat contradictions. Suppose the very copies were so called into question, that several passages of a most important nature, are by learned men said to have been introduced in dark and superstitious times, by cunning priests, to impose upon the credulity of a besotted people, and to bring persons to believe that God had taught what he never had revealed. Suppose equally learned and equally numerous and zealous men assert these passages to be genuine. We are left without any infallible guide to give us certain evidence. Upon what will our faith rest? Thus, we repeat, there is an indissoluble connexion between *faith* and *infallibility*.

This leads us to a correct view of what we hold, in the Roman Catholic Church, viz—that when God required man to believe mysteries upon his testimony, He furnished man with an infallible mode of knowing exactly what he taught, and what man was to believe; in other words, that God gave to man *evidence*, as the foundation upon which his faith should rest. And, if God did not furnish man with an Infallible Guide, it would be unreasonable to make faith necessary for salvation. It would be, as if God should say to man: "*You must believe firmly all that I teach; but, although I can establish several modes by which you can know my doctrine with infallible certainty, still, I will not furnish you with an infallible guide. I shall leave you to conjecture, to probability, to speculation, and to doubt.*

Our doctrine, then, is, that God did establish this Infallible Guide; and that, in the New Law, the great majority of the Bishops who succeed to the Apostolic Commission, together with the Bishop of Rome,—either in Council assembled, or teaching in their Sees,—form this Tribunal.

They have no authority to *change* what God has revealed; they have no authority to *add to* what God has revealed: but, they will, in all cases of doubt, lead us with infallible certainty to a *knowledge of what God has taught*. Individuals amongst them may err, and have erred, but the great majority will *infallibly* guide us to truth.

§ 2.

We now proceed to show the grounds of our assertion, that the great majority of the Bishops of the Church, together with the Bishop of Rome, form that Tribunal which will, with infallible certainty, give to us those doctrines which are of faith.

We feel that it is unnecessary to prove that there can be no faith without having an infallible certainty of what God has revealed. We cannot have this certainty, unless we can find a witness, whose testimony of that revelation will be infallibly correct. Thus we are brought to the dilemma—*There can be no faith, or there must be an infallible witness of doctrine.* Hence, we are reduced at once to total want of evidence of what God did say (for *conjecture*, or *opinion*, is not evidence); or, we must find an infallible witness. We must place upon the same level, the Pagan, the Deist, the Socinian, the Arian, the Macedonian, the Mahometan, the Roman Catholic, the Jew, the Nestorian, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Methodist, the Anabaptist, the Baptist, the Sabbatarian, the Church-of-England-[man], the Protestant Episcopalian, the Sub-Lapsarian, the Lutheran, the Swedenborgian, the Southcothonian, the Shaker, and the thousands of others, whose names and systems vary. Yet all profess to hold truth, and all contradict each other; still, truth is single and not contradictory.

Has God revealed truth, and commanded us to believe his Word, and yet placed it out of our power to know with certainty what he said? This, clearly, must be the case, if we have no Infallible Witness to tell us what he said. However, a thousand of those divisions will arise, and with one accord say: "*We have an Infallible Witness. God is good, and wise, and merciful. He has given us this witness — stand aside—move from amongst us, you Pagans, Deists, Jews, Mahometans, and Papists, you will not receive this witness—it is the Bible.*"

Obedient to the mandate, we move aside, with our companions. We ask not how they know that book to contain the doctrine of God to man, because the experience of centuries gives us the plain certainty of what will occur. At an humble distance we listen. One of the persons who remained now calls upon his fellows to adore the Lord Jesus; another protests against such idolatry. The book is produced; pages are read; each explains them in contradiction to the other. Their associates interpose, to allay the ire of the disputants. One voice is heard, calling on them to hear the opinion of an English Bishop; another voice asks whether his ordination can be proved good: a shrill rebuke of *tyranny* is now issuing from another quarter—whilst another solemnly advises reference to a Synod of Presbyters and Elders. "Why not each congregation decide for itself," cries another voice; "Scripture does not warrant the subjection of the freedom of the Gospel to such a yoke." Before the lapse of an hour, there will be as many contradictions as there are individuals. All appeal to the book; yet the Book is silent, but is made by each to speak in favor of his opinion.

The *Deist* calmly asks: "*Is this the consistency of the Christian Religion? Is this the manifestation of evident Truth? Is this the uncontradictory code to which I am to sacrifice my reason?*"

"*Great Allah!*" cries the *Mahometan*, "*I bless thee for the words of thy Prophet. They are light to mine eye; they are fountains in the desert; they are wafted in perfumes from Arabia; they are lovely as the houris of Paradise; they sound in my ears as the first music with which thou wilt greet my soul, when it will be borne from the Angel of Death.*"

The *Pagan* looks first at the crowd in mute astonishment, and [then] asks, whether the God of the Christians was he who sowed the teeth of the Dragon, and whether this Book partakes of the same qualities as were found in those teeth; and he runs to unlock the temple of Janus.

"*Friends of the old Christianity,*" said the *Israelite*, turning to us, "*when I shall be too idle to labor, or poor enough to become a hypocrite, and shall go to the new farm which the good Christians of America have purchased, to ameliorate my condition, which of those people shall I join?*"

"*Neither of them,*" was our answer.

"*Then are we to give up that blessed Book!*" asks the *Deist*, with a sneer.

"*No!*" was our reply.

"*Shall we go and join in the fray?*" said the *Pagan*.

"*Stop!*" cried the *Mahometan*, "*there is serenity in that man's countenance: lo! he is about to speak—the multitude is appeased.*"

There arose, indeed, a man who stilled the tumult; and, as the noise subsided, his words were more plainly caught. The following passages we plainly heard:

"*Let even the Catholic be invited to the holy work. We all agree that the Book contains the Word of God; so does he. Let each take and read it for himself—let us have no strife—let us send it to the Mahometan, to the Jew, to the Pagan, to the poor, benighted Deist. Let each read for himself—let each interpret for himself—let each believe as he likes—we will all be Christians—we will all agree. It contains one precept which we can all practise, 'Love one another,' this is enough.*"

"*Now,*" said the *Deist*, "*there can be no necessity of a Bible:* 'love one another,' *is, it appears, all the necessary part of its contents; why print any more?*"

"*Why,*" said the *Mahometan*, "*there is the great principle of Freemasonry. I have learned this in my Lodge; the Koran teaches more than the Bible. Alas! how ignorant are those Christian dogs!*"

"*And, brother,*" said the *Jew* to the *Pagan*, "*you know that in our Lodge we teach that Pythagoras, and Hiram, and Solomon, knew this principle as well as any sublime Master since the day of Noah, or even of Adam. Of what use, then, is Christianity?*"

To be serious: we must choose between an Infallible Guide to Truth, who can speak and decide, or we must give up the cause of Christianity, of Divine Revelation; and though it is fashionable to profess to be a Christian, we unhesitatingly assert, that a vast portion of the more intelligent and enlightened of those who make this profession cannot see their way through the difficulties which surround them, any more than could the Jew, or the Pagan, or the Mahometan, know what sect they should join, in the contest—and the peaceful plea of distributing the Scripture, leaving to all the interpretation, is but, in other words, making a very rational compact not to fight about what they do not understand. But this sentence destroys the authority of Revelation.

We want an Infallible Guide:—the Bible is not, and cannot be that Guide; because, although it contains the Words of Truth, those Words are susceptible of contradictory interpretations, and, in fact, are interpreted contradictorily.

We stated that we could leave unquestioned the fact that this book, which is thus triumphantly appealed to, was the communication of God's will to man. But why should we assume or admit this fact without evidence; and, if we have no Infallible Witness to testify this to be such a Divine Communication, how shall we have this evidence? Several of those divisions [above enumerated] contend, that this Book *differs in several places from the original which is supposed to have been given.* Several assert that it *contains books never given by God.* Several contend that it is quite *defective.* What authority have we to assert with one, in preference to the other, unless we have some motive superior to those which they adduce? They adduce *opinion.* We want *fact;* and fact which will be fully, indisputably established by infallible authority: because, if our authority be *fallible*, we might be led into error; and, if we are *liable* to be led into error, we have no certainty that we *are not* so led.

This view of the want of foundation for Christianity, leaves it as baseless as any chimerical vision of fancy. This view has produced, and still produces, more infidelity than any other cause that we know of. We avow, that if we had nothing more substantial than opinion to rest upon, we would not be Christians.

What, then, is our view?

We find an unquestioned fact; and upon that fact we build.

The fact is, that *there now exists in the world, one very large Society of Christians, spread through all its nations, and forming but one body.*

We build upon this fact, by a series of others, equally plain.

Fact 2.—That body has now an uniform code of doctrine.

Fact 3.—That body has existed during several centuries.

Fact 4.—All the other divisions of Christians have gone out from this body, either by separating from it, or by sub-dividing from some division which had previously separated.

Fact 5.—These divisions all oppose each other upon the matter of doctrine, i. e. respecting the fact of what God told man to believe and to practise.

Fact 6.—Though they all agree in asserting that the great body from which the separation has been made, did err in faith, no two of them are agreed, as to what those errors precisely are, though many of them concur in stating that the doctrinal errors of this great body are, in teaching a variety of articles which they contradict; yet, one of them will always assert that what the other calls error, is truth, in the doctrines of the original code which God has revealed.

Fact 7.—They all assert that her errors consisted in changing from what was originally given by God.

Fact 8.—They have never been able satisfactorily to point out the date of those alleged changes, nor, that at the period of such alleged change, there continued together any large body of Christians who condemned this alleged change, and who preserved the True Doctrine.

Fact 9.—This great body has clearly pointed out the *date* of all the changes which she alleged the separatists to have made in doctrines; also, the *special doctrines*, the *author* of the change, and all the *circumstances* of the separation.

Fact 10.—This great body traces its unbroken existence to the days of Jesus Christ.

Fact 11.—Such of the separated divisions as attempt to do the same, are obliged to graft themselves upon the stock of that great body, at the time that is pointed out as the period of their separation.

Fact 12.—Those bodies have at different times since their separation changed their doctrine; that is, at one period, they stated that [God] did not reveal what, at another time, they stated he revealed; and, no one of them lays claim to be infallible in showing what God taught.

Fact 13.—This great body alleges that it has never altered its doctrine, and that, at this day it holds to every doctrinal declaration which it has made during eighteen centuries; and that, it will infallibly teach what God has revealed: and, *an imputation* which *other divisions* frequently make upon *it*, and which *it acknowledges* to be—*to itself*—a source of gratification, is, that it *obstinately holds to what it first taught*, and will make no *reformation in its doctrine*, to suit the change of times and the progress of science.

We next view another body of facts, which are in full evidence, respecting which there can be no doubt.

Fact 1.—Jesus Christ existed, and was put to death in Judea, about eighteen centuries ago.

Fact 2.—He proved by miraculous works that he had a divine mission.

Fact 3.—He wrote no book of doctrine; but he instructed a number of persons whom he had selected; and he, in a *special* manner, gave *particular* instructions to some whom he had chosen from amongst these disciples.

Fact 4.—He commissioned them to teach his doctrines to all mankind.

Fact 5.—They did teach; and they, too, wrought *miracles*.

Fact 6.—They instructed vast multitudes of others; some of whom they selected and commissioned as *teachers*, and associated with themselves.

Fact 7.—Their mode of instruction was not by giving to the people a book, which, they said, contained God's Word, and telling them to interpret for themselves; and that whatever they thought to be the meaning of the book was to be followed, though that meaning should be contradictory, as the opinions of the readers might be contradictory.

Fact 8.—A few of them wrote abridged histories of the acts and sayings of Jesus Christ, the copies of which were very scarce; others wrote some Epistles on particular occasions; and an imperfect history of some of the Acts of the Apostles was also written; together with a long and darkly mysterious history of a prophetic vision; but, of all these, the copies were few, and the circulation very limited.

Fact 9.—Several other histories, epistles, and visions, were also circulated, which have been generally acknowledged, long since, to be compilations of falsehood, and many of them of folly; and have been rejected as such.

Fact 10.—During more than two centuries, these productions continued to circulate, without any public distinction having been generally made between them.

Fact 11.—There was a dispute amongst the early Christians, in the days of the Apostles, as to what was the doctrine of Christ, respecting the observance of the law of Moses, and several other subjects.

Fact 12.—This dispute was terminated, not by referring persons to any books of authority, and leaving the individuals to judge for themselves, but by the authoritative decision of the teachers, who gave a judgment, in which they asserted they had the aid and co-operation of the Holy Ghost.

Fact 13.—The persons who would not submit to that judicial decision, were cut off from the Church.

Fact 14.—All other disputes were terminated in like manner; and all who would not submit were cut off in like manner, and thus formed new sects, calling themselves Christians, but not recognized by the great body.

Fact 15. — More than three centuries elapsed, before the books which are recognized as containing the Word of God, were separated from those which were spurious.

Fact 16.—This selection was made by the successors of the Apostles, and was an act of judicial, authoritative declaration.

Fact 17.—Hitherto, those successors and their predecessors had been considered as the only authority, through which men could certainly know what Jesus Christ had taught.

Fact 18.—Their recognition of the truth of what the selected books contained could not and did not destroy any authority which they previously had, and which they and their successors were to have to the end of the world.

Fact 19.—After this selection, they continued to exercise their authority as before.

Fact 20.—At this period, several nations, containing several millions of Christians,

had a full knowledge of the doctrines of Christ, although they had never seen a copy of the Scriptures; and then, their faith was found to agree with that of the persons who, belonging to the *great*, or *universal*, or *Catholic body*, had also the Scriptures.

From these Facts we draw the following conclusions:

1. That Christ did not establish as the mode of knowing his doctrines, the publication of Bibles, and leaving to individuals to interpret them as they thought fit; or—what is but a modification of the same—establish those individuals as judges, to know from Bible-reading whether the teacher gave them his doctrine or not.

2. That he sent teachers, to whom the people were to listen, and from whom and upon whose authority, the people were to receive his doctrine.

3. That this authority of their's was approved by miracles, and therefore had the sanction of heaven.

4. That it was by its exercise nations were converted and truth preserved.

5. That it is only by its recognition we can know what Scripture contains the Word of God.

6. That without its recognition we have no certain knowledge that the New Testament contains the doctrines of Christ.

7. That if it be a fallible tribunal in what concerns faith, we have no certainty that the books which we receive are inspired, and [that] those which we reject are not God's Word.

8. Therefore: if the great body of the teachers of the Church cannot give us with infallible certainty the doctrines of Christ, we have no certainty that these doctrines are contained in the New Testament, or are now taught any where in the world.

§ 3.

We have now seen general considerations founded upon facts, which lead us to conconclude: (1.) That we cannot have a certainty of what God has taught, without having a witness who will give us with infallible certainty the doctrine which he revealed. (2.) That we cannot have faith, without such infallible testimony. And (3.) That the facts of the establishment of Christianity evidently suppose the public teachers of the Church, as a body, to be a witness of this description: and, [that] if they be not, we have no certainty that the Scripture is the Word of God; nor, have we any certainty that we now find the true doctrines of Christ.

In every human society, men not only make laws; but, however plain those laws may be, a tribunal from which there is no appeal decides for all the members, what is the meaning of that law. And, although this tribunal is liable to error, society causes it to be regarded as infallible. Society cannot make it infallible; but it can have it treated as if it were an infallible tribunal; otherwise, the law would be useless, if not mischievous. What would be thought of two litigants and their advocates who would come into court, and, each producing his law book, decide in his own favour, when the tribunal had [already] decided; the one whom the decision favoured, [remaining] satisfied [with this decision, while] the other party said: "The tribunal has erred; I know the law—the judges are but men, I will not abide by their decision?" How long could society hold together? Who would live in a country where the order of the court could not be enforced? Yet, we all agree, this tribunal might err. Still, the good of society requires that it must be treated as if infallible. Indeed, if it could be made infallible, it ought to be made so; and, in practice, it is made so. No one goes before such a tribunal merely for advice or instruction: recourse is had to it for authoritative decision. To go for advice, or instruction, would be giving it no power to effect the object of its creation: because, you might be unwilling to follow the advice, and might not consider the instruction good, nor the evidence sufficient. The Supreme Court of the United States, generally publishes the grounds of its decisions; but the judge never asks the parties whether they consider those grounds sufficient. The decision is made by authority of the court, and not by the admission of the parties. Common sense, peace, truth, justice,—the public good require this.

We have seen that the contests as to what is the meaning of passages of the Bible are as numerous as the contests about the meaning of the law of our States; and a tribunal is as necessary to give the one with accuracy and certainty, as to give the other. And, if it be important to know what God teaches, as it unquestionably is, it is important that the tribunal [appointed] to tell [us] what he teaches, should not err. Why are the courts of society fallible? Because society, from which they derive their power, and by which they are erected, could not gift them with infallibility. The tribunal of the Church is erected by God, who is all-powerful. It derives its commission to teach from him who could make it infallible; and his wisdom shows the necessity of doing what his power can effect. He must, then, have made the tribunal of the Church infallible

in testifying what he has taught. Single individuals are liable to err in their decision; but the tribunal is infallible: not, because composed of a number of infallible individuals, but because Almighty wisdom saw the necessity, and Almighty power can effect the great object. Now, this tribunal consists of the Church, i. e. of the teaching portion which succeeds to the Apostles—viz: the Bishop of Rome, and the great majority of Bishops in his communion. These successors of the Apostles have always formed this tribunal. Infallibility is then not a raising of these individuals as tyrants over their brethren, but the Providence of God *securing* that their united testimony shall give us a certain knowledge of what God has proposed to us as doctrine of faith.

We shall conclude this portion of our remarks by stating another fact, which we could prove, but which might not be so easily admitted by our opponents as those unquestionable ones which we laid down before—viz: [*That*] *from the beginning the great body of Christians testified that this Tribunal was Infallible.* Our correspondent will then perceive that the doctrine of Infallibility goes beyond what he would originally have had no difficulty in granting, viz: that the authority of the Church was *very high* as a witness. But he appeared to reserve to himself the *right* of pronouncing upon the sufficiency of the evidence in every case. This made *him* the *judge;* and the *Church* but a *fallible witness.* But the doctrine is—that the Church is an infallible, authoritative tribunal, *which herself examines and decides upon the evidence, and then declares to him the fact, by the authority of God, who made her infallible, and who gave to her the authority.* But this authority extends only to matters which have been revealed by God: it does not reach to mere concerns of this world.

Let us take another view of facts:

1. There was a Christian Church before there was a Christian Bible.

2. That Church was organized, and perfect, and widely spread abroad, before one particle of the Christian Bible was written.

3. It was upon the authoritative testimony of that *Church* that the *Bible* was received.

4. If that testimony had not been given, no person could have any certainty that this book, which was selected from several scattered writings, contained the Revelation of God to man.

Whence we conclude:—*If that Church was not infallibly correct in giving this decision and testimony, we have no infallibly certain foundation for our Faith.* Therefore, if the Church was not infallible, the Christian Scriptures are not a certain Rule of Faith. And, when Luther asserts that the Epistle of St. James is a book of no authority, and does not contain the Word of God, *perhaps* he is right; and the Church of England, which receives it as the Word of God, *perhaps*, is in error. How are we to know which we should believe? The Presbyterian Church gives to us, as the Word of God, the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first Epistle of St. John;* and a great many learned men, and whole congregations, tell us this is an impudent forgery which contradicts the Word of God. How are we to know which of them to believe? The Roman Catholic and other Churches tell us that, of the Old Testament, Baruch, Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the two books of the Machabees, contain the Word of God; the Church of England and several others tell us they are apocryphal and of no authority. Which are we to believe?

In the days of St. Jerome, that is, about fourteen hundred years ago, several persons rejected the last chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark; and now, it is received; but an entire sentence which it then contained has been omitted. Upon what ground was this chapter received? Upon what ground was this sentence omitted? In the same age, and the previous one, were to be found several copies of the Gospel of St. Luke, which omitted two entire verses of the twenty-second chapter, and one word of the nineteenth chapter, all which are most important, and are in all the modern Bibles.† By what authority were they introduced? Which held the true doctrine, they who omitted, or they who inserted those passages?

The principal portion of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, as now found in the Protestant and Catholic versions, is said to have been taken from an old and re-

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* And there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one.—1 *Ep. John*, v. 7.

[† Ultimum caput Marci, tempore B. Hieronymi non fuisse ab omnibus receptum ut canonicum, patet ex *Ep ad Hebidiam.* quæst. 3. Causa dubitationis erat, propter quædam verba apocrypha, quæ in isto ultimo capite inserta erant, ut patet ex Hieronymo, *lib.* 2, *con. Pelag.* ante medium. Hæc enim inserta erant verba, quæ satis aperte Manicheismum redolent. *Et illi, satisfaciebant, dicentes, seculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia est, quæ non sinit per immundos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem, idcirco, jam nunc revela justitiam tuam.* Et capite 22. Lucæ, quidam in dubium revocant historiam illam de sudore Christi sanguineo, et angelica apparitione, et consolatione, ut Hilarius testatur *lib.* 10 *de Trin.* et Hieron. *lib.* 2, *con. Pelag.* Causa quæ hos permovit, ea fuit, ne Christo infirmitatem et animi dolorem tribuere viderentur. Qua etiam de causa, quosdam Catholicos, præpostero zelo e suis codicibus, ex illis verbis. Luc. 19. *Videns civitatem flevit superillam*, abrasisse verbum "flevit," testatur Epiphan. in "*Ancorato.*" *Bellarm. de Verb. Dei. lib.* 1, *cap.* xvi.]

jected Gospel, which no one now pretends to be the Word of God.* How are we to know whether this is God's Word, or a fable? Marcion, Arius, Luther, Brentius, Kemnitz, and their followers all assert that St. Paul never wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that it does not contain the Word of God. Calvin doubts if it was written by St. Paul, but asserts that it does contain the Word of God, and is a part of Holy Scripture; and that it is an error in the Lutherans to reject this canonical book. The Church of England puts it into her canon. Which of these are we to believe? Luther and his early adherents asserted that the Epistle of Jude was undoubtedly—not the Word of God. He also rejects the first Epistle of St. Peter, but receives the second, and has great doubts as to whether the second and third Epistles of St. John contain the Word of God. Calvin receives the two of Peter, the three of John, and that of Jude, as undoubtedly the Word of God. So, too, does the English Church. Which are we to follow? The Marcionists, the Alogians, the Theodotians, rejected the Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John, as a forgery, and not containing the Word of God. Luther, in his first preface, rejects it as not the Word of God, nor the production of an Apostle. Brentius and Kemnitz hold with these; but, in his second preface, Luther doubts upon the subject. Calvin has no doubt whatever: he is certain that it is the Word of God; and so are the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, who were Lutherans: and so is the Church of England, which received it as one *of which there never was question.* Yet, strange as it might seem, there is not in the entire Canon a book upon which there was longer and more serious question in the Church. Now, take away an infallible tribunal which is to give us a decision, and what are we to do? How is a question to be decided, where the litigants not only cannot agree in the interpretation of the book which contains the Law, but cannot even agree as to the precise passages which are of authority? Of what value is a book said to be authority upon any subject, which book has been collected from amongst many rejected documents, which were at one time in equal circulation† with the rejected portions: and, the collectors of which book, neither had any authority to make the collection, nor any author to point out with *certainty* what was a document of truth, and what was a fabulous composition? Such a collection could be no evidence—no authority.

The Church existed *before the Scriptures.* The Church had *authority to teach* before the Scripture was written. The Church *did* teach before the Scripture was written. If the Church was not then Infallible, she might have taught error for true doctrine. When the Scripture was written, it was by the teaching of the Church that writing which contained the Word of God was separated from that which did not contain it. If the Church was not infallible in distinguishing the truth from the error, *she* might have given to us error for truth. If we do not follow the distinction of the Church, *we*, who are not infallible, may take what is not God's Word, for that which really is his Word. Thus, if the Church is not infallible, we have no certainty what God has taught: we cannot know Scripture from foolish and blasphemous forgery.

To this reasoning, we humbly apprehend, there can be no alternative by which the conclusion can be combated, except by saying that every individual will infallibly discover that which the whole body of the Church cannot. Thus, instead of having an aggregate body infallible, we shall have every individual infallible. And those infallible individuals will have a thousand contradictions, and all these contradictions will be true. Now, upon our doctrine, we have an aggregate body, which has existed in unbroken succession from the days of Christ to the present day, testifying to us with infallible and authoritative certainty what are the doctrines which he taught, and in what books they may be found, and what is the meaning of the doubtful and obscure passages. And this body has not, in any one of those cases, during eighteen centuries, contradicted its testimony upon any of those heads. We further humbly apprehend, that we have no choice left between embracing this doctrine, and asserting—that we cannot now know with any certainty what are the doctrines of Christ, nor where they are to be found.

[*The Gospel used by the Nazarene and Ebionite heretics called the "Gospel according to the Hebrews."]

[† "Equal circulation." These words are not to be taken strictly, or in the sense that the writings, finally rejected by the Church, were at any time of equal authority in the *whole* Church, with those books declared canonical by the Holy Council of Trent. Notwithstanding the doubts of some particular Churches, or of some learned Christians, and even doctors in the first ages, the great current of tradition in the Church, from the Apostolic times, was in favor of the *true* canon now received. To this tradition, the Third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) appealed, in giving the catalogue of the holy books; and by the same tradition were guided Innocent I, and the Roman Council held under Gelasius. In accordance with this tradition, perpetual in the Church of God, the Council of Trent declared and fixed for ever the canon of the Holy Scriptures.

Decree of the Third Council of Carthage.

Item placuit, ut præter Scripturas canonicas, nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ, Genesis, Exo-

But, does not this monstrous and arrogant doctrine of infallibility enslave mankind?—No. Suppose we were to go into any court of the United States, and say to the presiding judges:—"You shall not sit here; because we are a free people.—You are arrogant tyrants, who presume to tell us that we shall not quote the statutes of Congress, until you will please to recognize their authority. Ambitious, haughty fools, will you presume to set yourselves over Congress, and say that those laws shall not be pleaded before your honors, until they shall receive the fiat of

dus, Leviticus, Numeri, Duteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job, Psalterium Davidicum, Salomonis libri quinque, libri duodecim prophetarum, Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Machabæorum libri duo. Novi autem Testamenti, evangeliorum libri quatuor, Actuum Apostolorum liber unus, Pauli Apostoli Epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una, Petri Apostoli duo, Joannis Apostoli tres, Judæ Apostoli una, et Jacobi una, Apocalypsis Joannis liber unus.

Quidam vetustus codex sic habet: De confirmando isto canone transmarina ecclesia consulatur.

Hoc etiam fratr et consacerdoti nostro Bonifacio vel aliis earum partium episcopis, pro confirmando isto canone, innotescat, quia a patribus ista accepimus in ecclesia legenda. Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.

L. et istud cap. 47, in presenti exemplari, tamquam aliquod hujus concilii capitulum habetur, in aliis tamen certis conciliorum libris dicitur esse Carthaginensis Concilii 24, capitulum, celebrati post consulatum Honorii duodecimum, et Theodosii octavum, quorum annus currit sub Bonifacio papa. (A.D. 418.] *Labbe*, t. ii. col. 1177.

Enumeration of Pope Innocent I.

"Qui vero libri recipiantur in canone sanctarum Scripturarum, brevis adnexus ostendit. Hæc sunt ergo quæ desiderata moneri voce voluisti. Moysis libri 5, id est Genesis, Exodi, Levitici, Numeri, Deuteronomii, et Jesu Nave unus, Judicum unus, Regnorum libri 4, simul et Ruth; Prophetarum libri 16; Salomonis libri 5; Psalterium; Historiarum, Job liber unus, Tobiae unus, Esther unus, Judith unus, Machabæorum duo, Esdræ duo, Paralipomenon duo. Item novi Testamenti, Evangeliorum libri 4; Apostoli Pauli epistolæ 14; Epistolæ Joannis 3; Epistolæ Petri duæ, Epistola Judæ, Epistola Jacobi, Actus Apostolorum, Apocalypsis Joannis, *Cetera autem, quæ vel sub nomine Matthiæ, sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andreæ, quæ a Xenocharide et Leonida Philosophis, vel sub nomine Thomæ, et si qua sunt alia, non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.* Datum 10, Kalendas Martias, Stilicone II. et Anthemio viris clarissimis consulibus.—*Ep. Innocent, Pap.* 1, *ad Exuperium*, § vi. *ib.*, *col.* 1256.

Ordo Librorum veteris Testamenti, quem Sancta et Catholica Romana suscipit et veneratur Ecclesia, digestus a beato Gelasio papa 1, *cum septuaginta episcopis.*

Genesis, liber unus.
Exodi, liber unus.
Levitici, liber unus.
Numeri, liber unus.
Deuteronomii, liber unus.
Jesu Nave, liber unus
Judicum, liber unus.
Ruth, liber unus.
Regnorum, libri quatuor.
Paralipomenon, libri duo.
Psalmorum, 150, lib. unus.
Salomonis, libri tres.:
Proverbia,
Ecclesiastes, et
Cantica Canticorum.
Item Sapientiæ, lib. unus.
Ecclesiasticus, liber unus.
Item Ordo Prophetarum.
Isaiæ, liber unus.
Jeremiæ, liber unus.
Cinoth, idest de Lamentationibus suis.
Ezechielis, liber unus.
Danielis, liber unus.
Oseæ, liber unus.
Amos, liber unus.
Michææ, liber unus.
Joel, liber unus.
Abdiæ, liber unus.
Jonæ, liber unus.
Nahum, liber unus.
Habacuc, liber unus.
Sophoniæ, liber unus.
Aggæi, liber unus.
Zachariæ, liber unus.
Malachiæ, liber unus.
Item ordo Historiarum.
Job, liber unus, *ab aliis omissus.*
Tobiæ, liber unus.
Esdræ, liber unus.
Esther, liber unus.
Judith, liber unus.
Machabæorum, lib. unus.

Item ordo Scripturarum novi et æterni Testamenti.

Evangeliorum, lib. quat.
Secundum Matthæum, lib. unus.
Secundum Marcum, liber unus.
Secundum Lucam, liber unus.
Secundum Ioannem, lib. unus.
Actuum Apostolorum, lib. unus.
Epistolæ Pauli Apostoli, Numero xiv.
Ad Romanos epistola una.
Ad Corinthios epistolæ duæ.
Ad Galatas, epistola una.
Ad Thessalonicenses, epistolæ duæ.
Ad Ephesios, epistola una
Ad Philippenses, epis. una.
Ad Colossenses, epistola una.
Ad Timotheum, epistolæ duæ.
Ad Titum, epistola una.
Ad Philemonem, epistola una.
Ad Hebræos, epistola una.
Item Apocalypsis Joannis, liber unus.
Item Canonicæ epistolæ numero septem.
Jacobi Apostoli, epistola una.
Petri Apostoli, epistolæ duæ.
Joannis Apostoli, epistolæ tres.
Judæ Zelotis Apostoli, epistola una.

Ibid. t. iv. col. 1260.

In the foregoing catalogues, the Book of Baruch is not specially mentioned, it being usually considered and quoted as a part of the Prophecy of Jeremias. But one book of Esdras is mentioned in the catalogue of Gelasius, and also but one of Machabees. In each case respectively, the two books must have been cited as one, or an error has crept into the text. On this point, see *Kenrick's Theol. Dogm.* vol. i, p. 375. *De Can. Script.*

The following is a list of Apocryphal books condemned by the Roman Council under Gelasius:

Itinerarium nomine Petri Apostoli.
Actus nomine Andreæ Apostoli.
Actus nomine Thomæ Apostoli.
Actus nomine Petri Apostoli.
Actus nomine Philippi.
Evangelium nomine Thaddæi.
" " Matthiæ.
" " Petri Apostoli.
" " Jacobi Minoris.
" " Barnabæ.
" " Thomæ, quo utuntur Manichæi
" " Bartholomæi Apostoli.
" " Andreæ Apostoli.
Evangelia quæ falsavit Lucianus.
Liber de infantia Salvatoris.
Evangelia quæ falsavit Estius.
Liber de nativ. Salv. et de Mariæ et obstetrice.
Liber qui appellatur Pastoris.
Libri omnes quos fecit Leucius discipulus diaboli.
Liber qui appellatur Fundamentum.
Liber qui appellatur Thesaurus.
Liber de filiabus Adæ geneseos.
Centimetrum de Christo, Virgilianis compaginatum versibus.
Liber qui appellatur Actus Teclæ et Pauli Apostoli.
Liber qui appellatur Nepotis.
Revelatio, quæ appellatur Pauli.
" " " Thomæ Apostoli.
" " " Stephani.
Liber, qui appellatur Transitus, idest, Assumptio S. Mariæ.
Liber qui appellatur Pœnitentia Adæ.
Liber Ogiæ nomine gigantis, qui ab hæreticis cum dracone pugnasse perhibetur.
Liber qui appellatur Testamentum Job.
" " " Poen. Jannis et Mambræ.
" " " Sortes apostolorum.
" " " Laus apostolorum.
" Canonum apostolorum.
Epistola Jesu ab Abagarum regem.
Epistola Abagari ad Jesum.
Scriptura quæ app. Contradictio Salomonis, *cum diversis aliis.* *Ibid.* col. 1264–5.]

your ephemeral omnipotence? Are you not the creatures whom the law has formed? Are we not the source of that power from which the law emanates? And yet, you tell us that we shall not plead that law before you, who are equally subject to it as the meanest of those over whom you are elevated, until you shall have examined and told us whether you will recognize the fact that it is the law of the Nation. But, mark! what is more intolerable than your proud and insolent monopoly of the gifts which Heaven has freely bestowed upon us all! You vouchsafe now to tell us that this book contains the law. Admirable condescension! As if it was not equally law, before you said so! Surely, you will not pretend that it was your nod which made it binding? No. If you never saw it, still it would be law. But, we must not interpret it, except according to your good will and pleasure! What! Have we not eyes to read as you have? Are we more dull than you are? Will you deny to us what God has given to us, perhaps with less stinted measure than to yourselves—intellect? So forsooth—it is law; but you alone are to expound its meaning, and to apply it to our several cases. Why then was it printed? Why are we called upon to read it? Is it to be to us a closed book; a sealed volume! You insult the Legislature, by supposing they cannot write or enact laws which can be understood by those for whom they are to be a code of instruction. You arrogate to yourself a dominion which we will not submit to; a power to say that the law means what you please to say is its meaning, and, that we must submit to your caprices. We want no well-paid arrogance such as yours, to intervene between a Congress which writes plain English, and a people to whom that language is most familiar. Your law-craft has created artificial difficulties. We can understand the *Law of God*. Shall we be unable to understand the laws of *men* who live amongst us? The despotic arrogance of Romish Infallibility has been annihilated—why should yours survive? The principles of Popery and all Courts of Law are the same. One has fallen—the other must follow. The march of mind has commenced. The mariner's compass, and the art of printing, the Reformation and the blow-pipe, calorics and gases were unknown to the ancients. Despotism must shrink back to its congenial darkness; Truth is effulgent—Gothic barbarism must give way. Leave those seats, from which you darted the lightning of your threats, and hurled the thunder of your despotism! Man must be free."

What would be thought of us, should we make such an address to the Supreme Court of the United States of America?

Are our citizens enslaved?

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§ 4.

We now take up another view of this subject. It is possible to discover the Doctrine of Christ, or it is not. Shall we assert that it is impossible to discover now with certainty what the Saviour taught? Then we must say that Christianity has been lost. Revelation is now of no use. For, if we cannot know with certainty what God has revealed, of what use is it to know that he did formerly make a revelation? If we find it impossible to know with certainty what Christ has taught, Christianity has been lost. We assert that *it is possible* to know with certainty what our Saviour has taught. It must be by *Testimony*—not by any new *Revelation*. What is that testimony? The Roman Catholic says, it is the testimony of all Catholic nations informing us what has been preserved by all the Christian Churches, through all ages, since the death of the Saviour.

The Saparatist says this will not infallibly lead you to truth. Then we are without any certain and assured mode of knowing truth; and therefore, it is impossible to know for certain what is truth. We can only have *conjecture:* Faith is built upon *certain knowledge*, not upon conjecture: therefore we cannot have faith.

But another person says—"we may receive with infallible certainty what the Bible contains; and thus we, by that blessed book, are brought to a certain knowledge, and to faith."

Our answer is very short. First—that any particular portion of that book contains God's Word, will, upon the principle of the separatists, depend only upon the *opinion* of one or more persons who are individually and collectively liable to err. And, next—the meaning of the passages of that portion will depend only upon the *opinion* of one or more, who, taken individually or collectively, are liable to err. But *opinion of persons liable to error*, as well in their aggregate as in their individual capacity, is not a ground of certainty. Thus, there can be no Faith. In order, then, to be certain, we must either admit the *whole* body to be infallible in its testimony, or we must assert that a *portion* of that body is infallible. The Roman Catholic says that the whole body is infallible, but the authoritative testimony is given by the established tribunal in the name of the body. That Tribunal is the head and the great majority of the commissioned Teachers, speaking in the name of the whole body.

We now ask, which is more arrogant—to make this assertion, or to claim infallibility for every individual who says—"I know this book is canonical; and I know this is its meaning; and I am right, and all who differ from me are wrong?"

Yet must we take up one or the other of the following propositions:

(1.) It is now impossible to know with certainty what Christ has taught.

Or (2.) It is from the Catholic Church we will know with infallible certainty what God has revealed.

Or (3.) Every individual who reads the Bible with good dispositions will infallibly know that his dispositions are such as will insure to him a knowledge of truth; also, he will be infallibly correct in ascertaining what books contain the Word of God, and also, the full meaning of all the passages of those books.

Or (4.) Although the Roman Catholic Church may err, and individuals may err, yet a *particular body* will give us with infallible certainty a knowledge of what God has revealed, and that body is ———.

Each reader is at liberty to fill the blank as he pleases.

If we support the *first* proposition, we destroy faith. If we maintain the *third*, we shall have to reconcile myriads of contradictions. We do not know any one who will maintain the *fourth*. Therefore the *second* must be true, or our distinctive proposition is inaccurate. We shall believe it to be accurate until it shall be amended by giving us some fifth proposition.

Arrogance, tyranny, superstition, priestcraft, and some other words of this kind used in these States, have no definite meaning. The ear is accustomed to the sound; those sounds are declaimed against and written at. The perpetual playing upon them reminds us of the music of a drum, where there is great noise and great vacuity—but yet this noise excites to arms. To us the whole of what is thus written appears to mean as much as the philosophic question—"*Utrum chimæra, bombilians in vacuo, potest comedere suas primarias intentiones?*" or as the following definitions: "*A Covenant is a cord to tie us to God; and now God hath made an iron whip of these cords, which we have broken asunder to whip us withal.*" "*The Gospel to a nation is like the Book of Canticles, which begins with a kiss, and ends with spices.*"

Let us examine *facts*. The object is to discover *what* has been taught by an individual who *has* plainly taught what it is necessary for us to know. He wrote nothing; he commissioned a number of Apostles; they associated a number of others to their commission; they and their associates spread those doctrines through the world. In the course of nature they and their associates gradually died; but new Apostles arose in their stead, who, by the survivors were duly instructed, and by the faithful were fully recognized; and whose doctrine, given in public, was, by all those who had heard the original Apostles, declared to be the same which they had from the beginning. The body of the teachers and of hearers is thus continued, like the human frame, continually changing by loss and increment, but still always the same, though always in process of insensible change of the particles of which it is made up. This body of the Church pervades several nations, sometimes at war, sometimes at peace, having conflicting interests, discordant tastes, mutual prejudices, tongues generally unintelligible to each other. In every place, persons separate. The separatists are condemned by those from whom they first went out. Their allegation is, that the great body changed the original doctrine. They cannot say who was the author of the change; they cannot tell the time when it took place; they find no body which they can point out as holding their new tenets; they succeed to no body; they build upon *their own opinion* of the meaning of a text. Their neighbors inform the whole body which has subsisted from the beginning, that these men have made an innovation. This great body, so divided by worldly distinctions, and yet united in faith, examine, each, what was given by the founder of his Church; what has been held from the day of the foundation to the day of the examination; every record is searched—every monument is examined—every document is unfolded. The meaning which those alleged texts had from the beginning is established. The vast majority of the Bishops from every nation, perhaps the whole body without an individual exception, all concur in stating that these innovators have made a mistake; that they have erred; that man has no authority to change what God has given. Rome—which possesses the original documents of centuries, collected from every Church which now exists, and from thousands now no more; Rome—where Peter established his tribunal, presiding by divine appointment in the midst of his brethren, and whose successors, as history demonstrates, have always sat at the head of this vast society; Rome—gives the testimony and the assent to this decision.

Yet, this is arrogance; this is presumption; this is priestcraft; this is tyranny. But it is no arrogance for the innovators to declaim

against this universal testimony! No presumption for one or two men and their adherents to call this assembly the Synagogue of the Devil! No priestcraft can be where there is no priesthood; nor is it tyranny to oppose common sense, common order, every principle of reason, every principle of law.

We would put one plain question. Which is more arrogant, the man who says "If certainty can be had, it must be obtained by such evidence as this: it is impossible that there could have been so extensive a conspiracy against truth, and yet no one to discover it: it is impossible that all these documents could have been fabricated, and yet, no one to detect: it is impossible that God should have given man a revelation, and yet, have provided no mode for its certain transmission: that certain mode cannot be by a book which he never wrote, and which can be interpreted into contradictions; about the meaning of which millions are disputing; and whose meaning will never be settled but by authoritative explanation: it is impossible, if this Church has perished, that it could be re-established, except by himself, or by his commission sufficiently attested. We have no such testimony: but here is evidence of succession; here is evidence of consent; here is evidence that there could not have been conspiracy or fabrication: here are congregated millions, on one side, following up their predecessors; and, on the other, here are a few bold men, following no person, and opening a new path, from which, they assert without any evidence of the fact, that those millions, and the myriads of their predecessors, have deserted. I will submit to this authority."

The other side exhibits some men, who tell us: "Let every man judge for himself, and though we should contradict each other we are all right."

Or, perhaps: "Take and read; but follow our interpretation, or you will be in error."

Is there common sense in the assertion that contradictory propositions are true? Is there no arrogance in saying: "though the Catholic world did mislead you, yet we cannot;—hold to us, for we alone are right?" This leads to our former conclusion—without infallibility there is no foundation for faith; and if infallibility exist any where, it can only be found in the Roman Catholic Church.

The distinction between anarchy and government consists in the subjection of individual will to law, in government; and the absence of law, and the licentiousness of individual will, is anarchy. If we have no rule to which the will is to be subject in religion, it is a state of anarchy. If we have a rule to which individual will must be subject, we have order and government in religion. If the Scripture is said to be that law, the first question is, which books of Scripture are that law. If every man is free to accept or reject any book he pleases, this is anarchy. If man's individual will is regulated by any law upon the subject, what is that law, if the Church has no authority? If the Church has authority, but may err, in giving those books which do not contain God's law, or, in withholding those which contain it, we are reduced to a complete uncertainty of what the law is;—we are left in a state of *anarchy*. Nothing short of Infallible Authority can relieve us from this state.

Suppose this difficulty got over. The *Scripture* is now the law to which individual will must submit. Two individuals read the same passages: one believes their meaning to be that Christ is God, and that if man refuses to adore him, he will be punished eternally;—the other believes their meaning to be that Christ is not God,—that if he adores him he will be guilty of idolatry, and will be damned for the breach of the first commandment. Thus, private interpretation is subjecting the law to the will of the individual, and not subjecting the will of the individual to the law. This is anarchy. If God gave revelation to man, it certainly could not be upheld by anarchy.

Despotism is where one master acts without any fixed rule to control his will, and, where the will is restrained by the necessity of having the previous consent of others, there can be no despotism; and where this consent must be given in a particular manner, well known and clearly ascertained, the persons who are guided by a council of this description are under a government of law, and not under the sway of a despotism; and, where this body is restrained to pass its judgment upon only one or a few ascertained subjects, and to make its laws only upon given and defined topics, so far from being a despotism, it is an extremely *limited* government of *ascertained law*, and a *defined* Constitution, which is the more likely to be free from cabal, and intrigue, and faction, as the members of that council reside in different nations, have conflicting local prejudices, and local partialities, are wedded to distinct theories and forms of human government, belong to States which have no common language, recent common origin, or common interest, but are frequently in open hostility with each other. As we find all these characteristics in the government of our Church, we must call it anything but a despotism; and will presume to say, that when such a body of

teachers, together with their head unite in deciding after the examination of evidence, that those are the doctrines which God revealed to their predecessors, they will be infallibly correct in their decision; and, that if the decision is opposed or impugned, the arrogance is more likely to be upon the side of the opponent, who upon the strength of *his opinion* or that of a few of his companions would say—"I am right, and all these are in error;" and if there be despotism, it is more likely to be the despotism of the individual, who, bloated with his self-opinion tells his followers—"All these have *erred;* the millions who adhere to them *err;* I am right; *follow me.*"

We do not think the doctrine of Church Infallibility is a doctrine of *despotism* or *arrogance.*

The Apostles framed a creed, that is, a form of doctrine, to which they required implicit assent to be given. Was this a piece of *advice;* or, a recommendation? No: it was an act of *authoritative decision;* and no person was permitted to join the Christian body, until he gave his assent to this: and, if a Christian doubted of the truth of any of its propositions, he was to be separated from the society. This document contained the following as one of those indubitably true propositions: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The meaning is obvious, that there was but one Church; and that this Church was Catholic or Universal: and, for a very plain reason—because God Almighty gave but one set of doctrines. They were the same for the whole world. He did not tell the people of England one set of propositions, and tell the people of Rome another set, which contradicted those which he revealed to the English. Of all the extravagant notions that ever were admitted into the human mind, none is more puerile than that which is thoughtlessly cherished by many persons, viz: "there can be two or more true Churches." The true Church teaches the true doctrine. God has revealed the true doctrine. Let us suppose we were to say—"God has told the Unitarians that He is but *One* person. God has told the Trinitarians that He is *Three* persons. He has told the former that Jesus Christ is not God, and is not to be adored: He has, however, told the latter that Jesus Christ *is* God, and *is* to be adored. Is not this absurdly puerile, to make God guilty of ridiculous contradiction, because we desire to yield to our prejudices, and to assume the appearance of liberality? God reveals to the Episcopalian that Bishops are a different order from Priests, and Priests different from Deacons. But He reveals to the Presbyterian that all this is perfect delusion. God revealed to the Church-of-England-men in the first days of the change of religion under King Edward's Protectors, that the sick were to be anointed; but in the reign of Elizabeth, He revealed that there was to be no anointing, and yet He left the injunction in the Epistle of St. James. Are we then to say all those and a million more of contradictions are the "Holy Catholic Church?" Yet, every division of these makes its "Confession of Faith," or its "Articles of Religion;" and it tells us, "This is the true faith;—yet I may have erred: still, it is true;—and you must believe it, though I am not infallible."

We can understand how an infallible Church might feel warranted in drawing up a formulary to be received; but we are totally at a loss to know how a body which claims no infallibility can presume to say: "Though we are fallible, yet we are so certain that we give you what God has revealed, that unless you receive it, you are in gross error." If one could be amused at so melancholy an exhibition of inconsistency, this is indeed ridiculous. Nothing but a consciousness of infallibility could warrant such an act. Yet, from the days of the Apostles to the present, it has been done, but with this essential difference, viz: all the Catholics, whilst they laid down the doctrine, claimed to be infallibly correct:—all the separatists laid down the doctrine with equal precision, and said—"Neighbors, we are *certain* we are right, though we say not that we are infallible; and, we are *quite certain* that Rome is wrong; and we are quite certain that all other separatists are wrong. We alone are right."

Thus, they condemned each other, and inveighed against the great body; each proclaiming that he was certainly right, and that his neighbor was certainly wrong. The world could not tempt them to *say* that they were infallible; but they always *acted* as if they were, and they killed more Catholics for not yielding to their infallibility, than Catholics killed separatists for denying their's. The Catholic Church always said she was infallible; and acted in full accordance with the principle. The separated Churches say they are *not* infallible; but they act as if they were. Thus, if we view the acts of all Christians, we shall find their conduct *exhibiting* the doctrine which only the great Catholic Church professes to believe, and has always professed, and upon which she and her opponents have always acted; and, without holding which we could never know what was inspired Scripture, or the doctrine of God.

§ 5.

LET us keep our principles in view. Faith is the belief of what God has revealed: to believe what God has revealed, we must certainly know what it is: to know with certainty what God has revealed, we must have infallibly correct testimony: infallibly correct testimony cannot be given by a fallible or by a fallacious witness. Therefore, if my witness be not infallible, that is, one that cannot be deceived, and—not fallacious—or incapable of deceiving me, I can have no faith in God's revelation. Now, the Bible can give no testimony of itself; but, suppose we have it testified to. One fact is indisputably clear, viz: all those who assert that the Bible is plain, differ with each other in its interpretation, and they contradict each other as regards the plain meaning of several of its passages, and those contradictions are of such importance that they have caused them to break off communion with each other. For instance:

The *Episcopalian* says:—"*It is plain from the Scriptures that God revealed that Bishops, Priests and Deacons are necessary in the Church; and, that Priests have not the same power as Bishops have; and, that Priests cannot ordain a Bishop, nor ordain another Priest.*"

The *Presbyterian* says:—"*It is plain from Scripture that your Prelacy is arrogance and impious domination; the word "Priest" is Jewish and Heathenish; Presbyters and Bishops are but two names for the same description of persons, and the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery is Scripture Ordination.*"

The *Methodist* says:—"*It is plain from the Scripture that Bishops and Presbyters and Deacons are distinct orders; it is not true that Bishops and Presbyters are but the same name for one class of persons—they are different classes; but, though the Episcopalian is right in this, he is wrong in asserting that Bishops only can ordain. Nay, even Presbyters can ordain a Bishop; John Wesley was only a Presbyter, and he ordained a Bishop, and, when that Bishop was ordained, it became his usual duty to ordain other Bishops and Presbyters; but there was plain Scripture for the act.*"

All these will tell us that there is plain Scripture for baptizing *infants*. The *Baptists* will say there is plain Scripture *against* baptizing any who have not been taught and converted to God. Here, then, are *four divisions*, each claiming plain Scripture for what he says is essential, the others asserting that the Scripture is plainly against what—his opponent states—it plainly alleges. *These four* agree that there is plain Scripture for the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The *Unitarian* alleges that the Scripture is plainly in condemnation of this error. They *all* agree that upon this point it is essential to be correctly informed. We have now five divisions forming a Bible Society, giving us a book which, they say, is so plain that it may be safely put into the hands of all persons, that they may form their faith from its contents; that it contains only plain truth, and will infallibly lead us aright; and yet, they contradict each other, and refuse to be of one Church, of one communion, because this *plain book* has taught them those *contradictions*, by *plain texts*, upon the most essential doctrines. We might bring five hundred sects in lieu of five, if necessary. This is to us a greater mystery of the constitution of the human mind, than many that we meet with.

Thus: we can have no faith, without an infallible witness; and yet, the simple view of an obvious *fact*, convinces us that the Bible cannot be this witness.

Before the Bible was written, such a witness was necessary; even if this book—when it should be written—was to become what we see it could not. Faith was necessary, as soon as God spoke to man. Now, we know as matter of history that God made some promises and declarations to Adam. Promises and declarations were made known to his children; sometimes, by special revelation of God, sometimes by other testimony. These were not written: God did not reveal them specially to each individual. Yet, these persons had faith, founded upon these promises and declarations; and of these they had abundant evidence to create an infallible certainty. There was no public tribunal; but there was public *testimony* as to the special facts. And there was *special*, and *renewed*, and *frequent* revelation to a well known public character, whose communication with God was matter of public and important notoriety to all concerned; not mere fanaticism of the imagination. Thus, from the days of Adam to the days of Moses, no generation passed away without such evidence; and this evidence gave infallible certainty of what God told man. Thus, man was not left to conjecture. He had an infallible witness; and a witness who could not deceive him. Upon this, he believed with certainty. This was Faith.

The people in Egypt, [and] at Sinai, had undoubted evidence of the fact that God spoke to Moses, and commissioned him to write his communication. When written, it was read for them. God again gave them evidence that it contained the communication of his will. By the direction of God him-

self, several tribunals were established, and the individuals to form them were selected and placed in office, and their administration was commenced.

Let us now view this matter historically. Before the law was given at Sinai, Moses had received the evidence of God's Law, by the *tradition of his nation;* and had also had several *special revelations.* His authority had been attested by evident miracles; and he was now at the mountain, where a new revelation was to be made in presence of the people. Before this period several questions concerning the law of God must have arisen. It will be right to see how they were decided.

We find that Moses himself sat every day to judge and to decide, because the people came to him to inquire of God; and he made known to them the *statutes of God and his laws.* But as this was a laborious and too heavy a duty, minor tribunals were appointed by Moses, in which all minor cases were decided. But there lay a right of appeal to the chief, to whom God had given his manifestations; and he decided all the hard and difficult questions. Thus, *decisions were made by authority,* not by conjecture, and there was a tribunal from which the law of God was promulgated; and, in this tribunal, authority existed to apply the principle to the special case.*

The High Priest of the Jews was appointed by God and derived his authority immediately from heaven. He was to be consulted in all religious matters, as a tribunal of the last resort; and, in solemn cases he took the Seventy Elders as his advisers. He frequently, in cases of great difficulty, went specially to consult the Lord at the Mercy-Seat,† and God promised to answer him. The history shews how this promise was frequently fulfilled; and, indeed, it would be very extraordinary presumption and blasphemy to say that God would not or could not fulfil his promise. The decorations of the high priest which were minutely prescribed by the Great Legislator of Sinai, were not without their meaning. Upon his breast-plate was Judgment and Truth; for God had appointed him the judge to decide, and the witness to testify the true doctrine. His authority was not only respectable, but ultimate and conclusive; and bound, under the penalty of death, every man in Israel. All the historians of the nation concur with Josephus, that the High Priests of the Jews were their *judges of controversies,*‡ and this by virtue of their office; which, we see, was of divine appointment. Certainly a person does not come to a Judge in his official capacity, for a salutary *advice,* as a respectable character; but as an authority to *decide.* Liberty is preserved by law: and law is valueless without authority for its administration.

* Exod. xviii. † Exod. xxv. ‡ Deut. xvii.

The authority of this high priest was what enabled the Jewish nation to discover the books which were written by inspired men, and which contained the communications of God to man, from those which did not possess this authority. In many instances the writers of the divine word wrought miracles, and thus attested their mission; the recognition of the standing authority was also given. The book was entrusted to the keeping of the priest; and in all cases of doubt it was explained by his judgment. Amongst the Jewish people (what we call) the *right of private judgment* was not known; and they who used this privilege did so against the express provision of their law, and disobeyed the command of God. They were the schismatical and heretical sects who introduced most of the corrupt doctrines and practices against which our Saviour so pointedly inveighed. But he respected the authority; although it had fallen into bad hands, and drew near the term of its limitation.*

It is very plain that in the old law there was a living, speaking tribunal, to which, by the positive ordinance of God, every Israelite was bound, under the most severe penalty, to submit in religious concerns. We would ask two questions.

First. Could a God whose essence is truth command this people, under the penalty of death, to pay implicit obedience to a tribunal which could lead them from *truth* into *error?*

Second. Could not that God who commanded this obedience and who loves truth, make this tribunal *infallibly correct* in its decisions regarding this doctrine?

We feel the evidence of the *fact* that he gave the command; and the knowledge of his power leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that in hearing the decision of that tribunal, we listen to the voice of God himself; [and as] God cannot lead us into error, that the decisions of this tribunal must be, inevitably, conformable to divine truth.

Is it presumable that God did more to preserve a knowledge of true doctrine in the Jewish Church than in the Christian Church; the institutions of the former being only the shadows and figures of those of the latter? Dr. Whitaker, a respectable Protestant Divine, gives a very simple and sufficient reason for the law of Deuteronomy. "It was not lawful to appeal, for otherwise there

* Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.

would have been no end of contention."* And to whom would the appeal be made? From the tribunal created by God to the litigant who stood before it! Would it not be evidence of folly to create such a burlesque of a tribunal? And shall we say that the conduct of God is manifest folly? Core, Dathan and Abiram did not like to see Aaron clothed with this power.† Human pride revolts at the existence of any tribunal not occupied by itself, or subjected to itself.

We presume we shall be permitted, now, to quote the prophecy of Isaias, as divinely inspired, and containing the Word of God. We shall make our quotations from the Protestant version.

The thirty-fifth chapter is a prophecy regarding the Christian Church.

"*And a high way shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called, The Way of Holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it shall be for those: the way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein.*"‡

We ask whether all those persons who hold contradictory opinions, upon the most important doctrines, derived from their interpretation of the Bible, are free from error? How will a way-faring man, though a fool, be able to find exemption from error, where so many otherwise great and good men have exhibited themselves so weak, and so bewildered, and so inconsistent even with themselves? The Roman Catholic Church, (if we believe a standard book of a respectable denomination of Protestants,§) i. e. all Christendom, was, during eight hundred years and upwards, buried in the most profound idolatry; and the people had no way of extricating themselves therefrom. And the vast majority of Christendom is [still] in this same state. We cannot, then, reconcile the truth of this prophecy with the facts that we see, even to-day; for, if the Roman Catholic Church leads to error, many persons who are wise, and many who are fools, not only can, but do *err*. And Protestants have made but little progress to do away the difficulty, because they give us only a rule, (if rule it may be called),—a principle—which has made serious divisions amongst themselves, and must, in the nature of things, not only perpetuate but multiply those divisions.

If, however, there is, in that Church which has existed from the days of the Apostles, a tribunal, whose decision will infallibly preserve us from error; even a *fool* [may] learn what that decision is, and the prophecy will be manifestly fulfilled.

* De Sac. Scrip. † Num. c. xvi. ‡ Is. xxxv. 8.
§ *Hom. of Ch. of Eng. and of the P. E. Ch. of U. S. Hom. on Peril of Idol.*

In his fifty-fourth chapter, the same prophet gives to the Church, amongst other promises of God, the following declarations:

"*For thy maker is thine husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name. . . . . In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. . . . . For, as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so I have sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For, the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee. . . . . And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord. . . . . Whosoever shall gather together against thee shall fall for thy sake. . . . . No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shalt rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn.*"*

God does not make an eternal union with what might become the mother of error; yet, here he makes himself the husband of the Christian Church, to which he promises *everlasting kindness*; a Covenant of Peace more stable than the mountains, and to the observance of which he swears; as he did, that he would not destroy the world by a deluge:—and he bestows upon this Church the privilege of condemning in judgment every tongue which will rise up against it. If this Church, then, can err in those judicial condemnations, God has, by an oath, bound himself to a convenant with error.

In his fifty-ninth chapter, we have the Redeemer's covenant with the Christian Church, in the following words:

"*My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and forever.*"†

Upon this passage we think no comment is necessary.

"*I will make thee an eternal excellency. . . . . Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light.*"‡

The reader will recollect that these are prophecies, to the complete fulfilling of which God has irrevocably bound himself; that they are made to the Christian Church; and that if this Church can lead us into error, or herself be in error regarding God's doctrine, not one of those prophecies has

* Is. liv. 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17. † Is. lix. 21.
‡ Is. lx. 15, 20.

been fulfilled; and that the Roman Catholic Church is the only portion of the Christian Church which now exists without having come away from some other division; and that every division now in existence is but a portion which has separated from her, either in itself, or in some one from which it sprung; and, that the plea for this separation always was, that this Church did err, and did lead others into error; and [that] every such division formed a new Church upon the plea that there was not, at the time of their secession, any Church in existence which was free from error, [and] therefore, that the covenant which God made was not at that time fulfilled by him.

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§ 6.

By looking a little closer [in]to some other prophecies of the Mosaic Church, we shall find the principle which we contemplated in the last [section] greatly supported. We shall give but one more of this description.

In the [prophecy] of Daniel it is stated concerning the Church of Christ that "*The God of Heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed;*" which "*shall not be left to other people;*" which "*shall stand forever.*" But, if this Church can err in teaching the doctrines of God, it can be destroyed. If truth shall leave this Church to go to *other people* whom this Church condemns, this kingdom, then, will be left to those *other people.* If this Church has fallen off, and not stood in truth, and no society was found at that time preserving the purity of doctrine from the beginning, then this kingdom did not stand. If, therefore, the Church originally established can lead men into error, the prophecy of Daniel has not been accomplished.

The Church of the old law was to last until the coming of the Redeemer, who was promised. The high priest and the council of the Sanhedrim were to be, until his arrival, a supreme, earthly, tribunal, from which there was no appeal in matters of religion. From various events it was believed that if the time of redemption had not [already] arrived, it was at hand. Inquiry was made of the chief priests and scribes, and explaining the prophecies, they distinctly told where the Redeemer should be born. At that period, there was born in that place, Jesus of Nazareth. His works and his declarations proved his commission and his nature. The Aaronitic commission became now superseded, and Jesus was to give a new one, of which the former was only typical. He did give this commission to the Apostles. We find them, too, prove their commission by miracles; we behold them exercise their power. We believe that man is now to know what God has said, in the same manner; that is, upon the same principle that his ancestors were formerly to have known it. The Aaronitic assembly was the court of final decision by which, under the appointment of God, all were bound in matters of religion. The Apostolic assembly succeeds [to this tribunal;] the commission is extended; decisions are given; they are obeyed; the Apostles assert that the Holy Ghost presides and aids them; they refer to their appointment by the Saviour; to the miracles wrought by themselves; they command the Christians to hold to the testified doctrine, even in opposition, if the case were possible, to the testimony of angels; they condemn all who separate from them; they charge their followers to avoid heretics, that is, *choosers*, persons who, instead of receiving the testimony of the authorized body, select according to their own judgments, their own opinions. Their new associates—their successors—follow the same line of conduct: they require their decision to be received as final, because they will give with infallible certainty, those doctrines which God revealed. They do not refer the persons to the Scriptures, saying to them, "*Here is what God taught; read and judge for yourselves—let every man follow his own opinion:*" but they say:—"*We teach you what God has taught to our predecessors, and what we have received from them,—it is not in our power to alter it, it is not in your power to reject it.*"

Writings were found which contained statements of the acts and doctrines of Jesus Christ. Some of them were generally known to have been the authentic works of the Apostles; others, manifestly were not [their authentic works;] others, were of doubtful authority, [either entirely, or in particular portions, of which] their readings were not alike. Of what use were they? Plainly, whatever contained the word of God, derived its authority from God. But the knowledge of the fact that this was God's word, must depend upon testimony; and as we before saw, this infallible certainty must rest upon [the authority of] an infallible witness. We, then, want the aid of an infallible witness: first, to tell us the fact which book is God's word, and which is not; and next to tell us the meaning of the doubtful passages in the book so found. If the Church is an infallible witness of the fact and of the meaning, the revelation is from God, the testimony from the Church: as, on Sinai, when God spoke to Moses, and Moses reported to the people, the authority was that of God, the testimony that of Moses. None would hazard the assertion that Moses thus became

the master of God. No person would say that the high priest and the Sanhedrim were the masters of God, because they explained the hard and doubtful expressions of the revelation which he made. No person would presume to say that the Judiciary of the United States rules over Congress, because it explains the meaning of laws made by that body. No one will presume to say, that it is from the judiciary [that] the legislature derives its authority, because the explanation of its authoritative acts is given to the judiciary. [In like manner,] the Church is not the mistress of the word of God, because her testimony is [given] to establish the fact that "He said this," and the other fact, [that] "this is the meaning which God always intended by this expression." Though I should, then, find it necessary to have the testimony of one infallible Church, to give me a certainty of what is divine Scripture, and what is its meaning, this does not set the Church above the Scripture.

By the facts which we historically know, we see that Jesus Christ was God, and that he established a Church. We see what that Church did; and we see, from its acts, that it claimed to be infallible in deciding religious controversies. We see that some such infallibility was always necessary, and did always exist; and we, further, cannot understand how, if it did not exist in the Christian Church, the old prophecies could be accomplished; (yet we know them to have been divine;) and, without this infallibility, we cannot discover how to discern the genuine from the spurious books; nor, [how] to be certain of the meaning of any passage of the Scripture. We, therefore, upon these grounds, believe the great body of the Bishops, in union with their head, will, with infallible certainty, testify to us the doctrines of God. It is not, therefore, from the New Testament, in the first instance, that we derive our grounds for the belief of Church infallibility; neither is the New Testament necessary to establish our conclusion. Yet we shall see that it is useful. We may view the Gospels, either as uninspired histories, or, as an inspired work, containing the revelation of God. In the former case, we do not need the authority of the Church to inform us, that they contain the Word of God; because, the question in that case would not be concerning their containing the revelations of God, but merely regarding their general truth. Their general truth is perfectly consistent with some trivial errors, as to circumstances and opinions. This *general* or *historic* truth, might be established without the aid of an infallible witness.

Viewing the New Testament in this way, we could deduce from its facts, and [from] passages [contained in it,] abundant evidence of Church infallibility. But, we prefer viewing the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and the other parts, as an inspired work, containing the revelation of God. For this purpose we do need such a witness as we have shewn the Church must necessarily be.

This witness tells us that the books which we usually denominate the New Testament, contain the Word of God. We now come to examine that book; not, to learn what we have before known, but, to add to our stock of knowledge, either by finding more ample evidence of known facts, or testimony for new facts or doctrines. We believe the doctrine of infallibility; we look for testimonies to *confirm* us,—not, to give us any new doctrine on this head.

We open the Gospel of St. Matthew, [where we read these words of our Lord to St. Peter.]

"*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*"*

Now, if this Church can teach erroneous doctrines instead of God's truth, it will be a prevailing of the gates of hell, manifestly. Therefore, either Christ did not make this declaration, or, that Church cannot teach error.

[Again:] Christ says of a man who having been admonished in vain, is to be denounced to the Church; (and Christ gave the Church no authority except in matters of religion;) "*But, if he neglect to hear the Church let him be to thee as an heathen man, and a publican.*"†

This regarded religion; and nothing is of more vital importance in religion, than to know what God teaches. Now, God would never have bound man to such obedience to a Church which might tell him that God did not say what he said; or, that God did teach what he contradicted. That God imposed the obligation is clear: therefore, God is chargeable with the error, if the Church leads me thereto.

[Again, it is written:]

"*And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with*

* Mat. xvi. 13. † Mat. xviii. 17.

*you, always, even unto the end of the world. Amen."**

We merely ask, who are to teach the teachers? Is it the persons who are to learn from them? The text tells us, that he who commissioned them remains with them to preserve them fit to teach; and this, not for a short time only, but always, even to the end of the world.

To omit several other passages, we shall confine ourselves to a very few.

"*But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you . . . . But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me. And ye, also, shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.*"†

We here perceive two sorts of knowledge: (1.) *That which was to be brought to their memory;* [and] this they were to be enabled to testify by the aid of the Comforter, and because they were witnesses from the beginning. (2.) *The new knowledge* which the Holy Ghost was to give them at his descent. Hence [our Saviour] promises of this sacred Spirit: "*When he, the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all truth.*"‡

In accord with this is the prayer of the Saviour:

"*Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth. As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe on me through their word.*"§

It was of this Spirit [that] he spoke, [when he said:] "*But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses to me, both in Jerusalem and in Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.*"‖

Thus they were to be a permanent body of witnesses, to testify the doctrines of God to the whole world, and to the end of ages, *always, to the end of the world;* and to aid them in this, the Holy Ghost was to be sent; who was to remind them of what might have escaped their recollection, and to lead them generally into all truth, that they might be able to teach those to whom they were sent, and who were commanded to hear them as being sent by God to teach the things which he commanded. Hence, the Apostle St. Paul calls this Church, "*The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.*"* We have seen that the Apostles declare "*It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,*" where they plainly inform us of the fact that this sacred Spirit was present with them: and we see how long he was to remain, "*that he may abide with you forever.*"

Thus the word of God confirms what reason shewed to be necessary, and what the prophecies led us to expect; that the Church will, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, infallibly lead us to a knowledge of what God has taught; and that God commands us to listen to her voice, and to receive her testimony.

The history of the Church is filled with the most authentic and clear words, [which are sufficient] to make it manifest that such was the Christian doctrine and practice from the beginning to the present day. To use the figure of a good writer on the subject.

This accumulation of evidence stands like one of the great pyramids of Egypt, a monument of antiquity upon the sandy plain. Nor time, nor the rage of elements can make any impression upon its durability; like the Arab who lifts his spear against it, is the sectarian who assails our Church; the mighty dead of ages repose within its capacious walls; its living inmates are protected from the fury of the Bedouin rover, who shivers his weapon into atoms at its base. After an hour of impotent fury, he rides away, and scarcely leaves a trace of his assault; perhaps enough to mark the record of his folly: another and another at intervals succeeds, each, like his predecessor, to pass in defeat away. Ages have rolled along; heresies have risen and died; the names of some survive the latest relics of their dissolved bodies; the assailants *vary;* their boasts, their efforts, their failures, are *alike*—whilst the mighty work reared by a heavenly hand, remains, still settling in solid permanency upon a base to which the promise of a God has secured unimpaired existence, till time shall be no more!

SECOND LETTER OF "TRUTH."

To the Editors of the United States Catholic Miscellany.

SAVANNAH, July 1812.

YOUR essays upon infallibility have been read with attention, as they have appeared, and I confess my scruples, though not wholly removed, are reduced within a very narrow compass. The distinctive definition of what is meant by infallibility is not given so clearly as I could have wished. The *point* of the

* Matt. xxviii. 18—20.
† Jno. xiv. 26. xv. 26.
‡ Jno. xvi. 13.
§ Jno. xvii. 17, 18, 19.
‖ Acts. i, 8.

* 1 Tim. iii. 15.

essays seems rather to be turned to the *necessity* than to the definition of this attribute.

If I rightly understand the arguments, however, the infallibility which is affirmed is a supernatural endowment, by which the Church is perpetually and perfectly preserved from error in doctrine. So that, consequently, if I wish to know whether any certain doctrine was taught by Jesus Christ or his Apostles, I have only to ascertain whether the Church at this day maintains such doctrine; and if it do, then by virtue of the infallibility of the Church, I may be assured that it was so taught in the beginning by divine authority. For instance, if I wished to prove the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation, my syllogism would be formed thus:—*The Church at this day teaches this doctrine; but the Church is infallible: therefore this doctrine was so taught by Jesus Christ and his Apostles in the beginning.*

This is so easy and summary a method of resolving faith, that I feel the greater anxiety to become established in its principles if indeed they be true; you will therefore pardon me for proposing a few difficulties which yet remain unremoved in my mind, with a desire that when your more important avocations will permit, you will afford them the proper solution.

The proof of this infallibility of the Church, according to your essays, appears to rest principally upon the necessity of this principle, in order to the existence of certainty in faith. Now of this fact I am not yet fully certain, and hence my certainty of the conclusion deduced from it can be no greater than that of the premises from which it is deduced. I believe many facts with as much certainty as if God should this moment proclaim them directly from heaven, and yet the testimony of those who bear witness to these facts is not *infallible.* I believe there are such countries as England, France and Germany, as certainly as I believe the truth of any mathematical demonstration. And on the credit of such belief I should have no hesitation to embark in a vessel bound to either of those countries, if circumstances rendered it to my advantage so to do. But though I believe with such absolute certainty in the existence of these countries, I have had no infallible witness to assure me of the fact. Now whether a certain assurance of the truth of the Christian religion, conveyed to me in a similar manner, without any infallible living witness of the fact, might not generate in my mind a faith acceptable to God and necessary to my salvation, is a point which to say the least admits of a rational question. But until I am absolutely certain that there can possibly be no true faith without a living, infallible witness of the truths to be believed, the necessity of infallibility in the Church cannot by this argument be established in my mind. And as the necessity of the fact is made your principal proof of its existence; its truth and its necessity stand or fall together. Hence I am not yet infallibly certain that my syllogism to prove transubstantiation an apostolical doctrine, may not be defective, and lead me to a false conclusion.

But suppose this difficulty removed, and the infallibility of the Catholic Church fully established; another obstacle presents itself to my mind. How am I to become infallibly assured that this attribute belongs only to that body of Christians who maintain external communion with the Church of Rome, as their head; for infallibility can profit me as an individual but little, unless I have indubitable assurance as to its location and the body to which it belongs by divine communication. In other words, it must be made infallibly certain, that the Church of Rome, or rather the Roman Catholic Church, is the organ of Christian infallibility; or else I come short of the necessary evidence to establish my faith.

Should I happily succeed in obtaining a removal of this difficulty, I shall have but one more obstacle in the way of my adopting your convenient and summary method of resolving faith into the infallibility of the Church. This remaining obstacle is, how I am to be infallibly assured that what is delivered to me as the doctrines of the Catholic Church are indeed such. From the frailty and imperfection of those ministers and other vehicles by which my information is obtained, as well as from the darkness and depravity of my own mind, errors may creep in and corrupt that faith, which in order to my salvation, must be really and infallibly the faith of the Catholic Church. The priest by whom I am instructed may be mistaken, he may be a wicked man and lead me by design into error, or I may misunderstand what he really designed to convey; in either of which cases my faith will be erroneous. In short, I do not yet see how I am to be profited any more by the infallibility of the Church than by that of the Scriptures, unless that infallibility shall be extended to those individuals who preach, as well as to me who listen to their doctrines.

These obstacles still oppose my reception of that doctrine of infallibility which you seem to inculcate. If, as I said in my former inquiries, the Roman Catholic Church will shew on good evidence that all the doctrines which she now teaches, were taught by our Lord or his Apostles, I pledge my-

self to embrace them in all the sincerity of faith. I ask no better rule for truth in doctrine than that ancient and venerable one "that which was every where and always and by all Christians believed, that is truly Catholic." Entertaining these sentiments, I still remain a sincere inquirer after

TRUTH.

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REPLY TO SECOND LETTER OF "TRUTH."

As we have, in our former Essays, gone at some length into the subject, we shall now be as brief as possible in our reply to the proposed difficulties. We shall supply what was desired, namely the distinctive definition of Church Infallibility. As regards it, in an active sense, it is "the correct declaration of what God has revealed." Its necessity must be obvious, if it be necessary to believe what God has taught. If it be not necessary to believe what God has taught, revelation is not necessary. But as revelation has been made by God, as we believe our correspondent will admit, it is necessary to know what he revealed: to have this knowledge a tribunal which will give us correct information, is absolutely necessary.

Our correspondent doubts the necessity of this tribunal, because he says that he can have a certain knowledge of facts, without an *infallible* witness. Here is the very point upon which we differ. We say he cannot have any *certainty*, without the testimony of an *infallible* witness. He adduces a fact to prove his principle, viz: He has a certainty of the existence of France, Germany, England, &c. though he has not had the testimony of an infallible witness for their existence. We differ from him in the latter part of this assertion: because we say he has had the testimony of an infallible witness. And to this single point we now bring the whole question. There is an evident distinction between those facts which are the object of faith, and those facts which are the objects of ordinary human knowledge. The wisdom, research, and observation of man can ascertain many of the ordinary facts, with absolute certainty. And when thus ascertained, those facts may be testified. Two questions present themselves to us: (1,) could the persons who testify the facts have been deceived? (2,) could they deceiveme? Where we are obliged by the weight of circumstances to answer those two questions unhesitatingly in the negative, where every sensible man must say "no," to each of them, we have *infallible certainty*, from the testimony of men. There can be no higher certainty. Where facts are the objects of Faith, they do not come under the power of men's wisdom, research or observation: but man learns them from the testimony of God. Man is certain that God could not deceive him; man is certain that God could not have been in error: thus although the facts be of different orders, the ground of certainty is the same in each case; man is infallibly certain of the truth of the fact.

Our correspondent knows that there is such a place as England, not because an individual witness who was infallible gave his testimony, but because from the number, the opportunities, the interests, the qualifications of all the individuals, and all the concurrent circumstances of the testimony, he should answer that all those could not be deceived: that he could not be deceived by them: therefore he has a correct declaration of the fact; there is no doubt upon his mind, because he has the testimony of an *infallible* witness, (that is the whole body of persons and circumstances taken as one,) making him certain, (1,) that they could not have been deceived, (2,) that they could not deceive him. Hence it was a mistake to imagine that he had certainty, without the testimony of an *infallible* witness.

If the witness was not *infallible*, he might testify what was not correct; if he might testify what was not correct, his statement might be contrary to the fact. No person can be certain of the truth of a statement which might be contrary to the fact, therefore there cannot be certainty without infallible testimony. Our correspondent appears to have been misled, by supposing against the fact, that he was certain of a fact, for the truth of which he had not infallible testimony. His testimony for the existence of those countries, is as highly infallible as any can be. Now we say that we have the same sort of testimony for the doctrines of the Church, viz: not one infallible individual, but a body of witnesses and an accumulation of circumstances, which united in one tribunal, possess all the force of natural infallibility concentrated to a point. And we have the further evidence which we adduced of the infallibility of this tribunal, viz: (1,) the declaration of God, in the Old Testament and in the New Testament, together with (2,) the declarations of the early Christians, that it was a well known principle of the Apostles and of their associates and immediate successors. This additional testimony of the fact did not change its nature, that is, did not make infallible certainty greater or less than infallible certainty, but it more clearly exhibited its existence.

Church infallibility also consists not only

in that natural certainty which conclusively establishes the infallibility of other sorts of testimony, but moreover is supported in addition by the superintending providence of God. But the other testimony does not lose any of its natural and infallible certainty, because God aids the Church. We trust that our correspondent will, upon re-consideration, perceive that his certainty of the existence of those places does really rest upon the testimony of an infallible witness, though that witness is not the Church. We say, the Church is infallible, testifying what God has revealed, because, in addition to the natural reasons for the assertion, we have evidence that God did constitute her the witness of that revelation; and made her infallible in giving this testimony. But we say, there are several other facts certain, besides what God revealed; and in each case, the certainty rests upon the testimony of an infallible witness. Although then the Church is the only infallible witness of God's doctrine, she is not the only infallible witness in existence. Certainty is an indivisible point: when I am certain, I have no doubt, when I have any doubt, I am not certain. Probability may be more or less. But we can not have greater certainty and less certainty; we may approach nearer to certainty or be farther removed therefrom. In ordinary conversation we sometimes say we are certain of what is only highly probable. But when upon an important subject such as the present, we use terms to convey accurate notions, we should not use them vaguely. We call certainty that conviction of the mind which does not admit any doubt whatever: this can never be created except by testimony, the truth of which admits no doubt whatever. Such testimony is correct in the strict sense of the word, that is, infallible. If our position here be right, our correspondent will perceive that the entire of this third paragraph is founded upon a false assumption, viz: That he had certainty without infallible testimony.

The next paragraph can create no difficulty, because no other Church, except the Roman Catholic Church, claims to be infallible in testifying what God has taught. Their language is: "*The Roman Catholic Church is in error; we teach the true doctrines of God, there are several other Churches differing from us, we are right; they are in error, in several points: but yet though we are right, we are not infallible, we are just as liable to err as they are, it would be arrogance to say that we are infallibly right, but we are certain we are right.*" We acknowledge that to us this language appears contradictory. But it proves that they disclaim infallibility; and if they disclaim it, we cannot force it upon them. Our principle is, not to attribute to them doctrines which they do not hold.

We must confess we were a little astonished at reading the fourth paragraph of our correspondent. For if he believes the Church is infallible, and finds but One Church in the whole world claiming to be so, and finds all the rest disclaiming it, where can be his difficulty? Suppose for a moment, he looked upon one of those Churches to be infallible in declaring doctrines, and he is certain that infallibility is a prerogative of the Church. He asks, "Are you infallible?" she answers, "No." If she is infallible, he must believe she told truth, therefore he must believe her at the same time to be infallible and not infallible. This paragraph must have been very hastily written.

The fifth paragraph must have been also written without much reflection. Our correspondent supposes a number of extreme cases and exceptions, the consequences of which, pushed home to their proper extent, would go perhaps a little farther than he would gladly permit them:—but when he gives the impulse he must take the consequences. This is the argument (if argument it can be called) by which the Sceptics endeavoured to destroy revelation; and it possesses just as much force for that, as to destroy the infallibility of the Catholic Church, If the principle which it contains is true, it, will infallibly destroy all belief in revelation.

"*What good is it for me,*" said the Sceptic, "*that God should give a revelation of his will, if after he has given it I shall not know it? Now I can never know what he says, because there are so many wicked men to pervert what he said, and so many foolish men to mistake it, that it would be out of my power to know that his law came to me correctly, through such a mass of crime and folly. Besides, we know that for several ages the Bible was locked up by the clergy from the people, ignorance and crime were predominant, priestcraft and superstition assumed the place of religion, whole passages of the sacred books were altered, many fables and apocryphal books foisted in. Unless God himself spoke to me I could not know his law. Suppose he gave a revelation; of what use is it to me now? I cannot know what it is. And suppose God himself spoke to me? I am so stupid that I might misunderstand his words, and in fact do we not see those great luminaries of the Church, those men who in various Christian sects, make the study of the Sacred Volume their occupation, and whose talents are of a superior order, whose piety is undoubted, absolutely contradicting each other as to the meaning*

of the most important passages? How then shall I who am but a poor, stupid, impious creature, dare to explain what God says? Better for me, [*to*] *adore in silence the deep, mysterious Being whose word I cannot comprehend; and follow the path of duty, where reason leads the way, and accommodates herself to the littleness of my capacity. Revelation would be to me unintelligible jargon. I shall in the name of God, be content to worship God according to the light of reason.*"

If our correspondent will have the goodness to answer the above results, inevitable results of his fifth paragraph, upon Protestant principles, that is from the Bible, without any thing but the Bible, we shall be obliged to him.

As Catholics, we tell him, it is possible that an individual may be so stupid as to mistake the meaning of a plain proposition for a long time, perhaps for ever. But the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church are practical in fact, however speculative they may appear to be, and it is next to impossible, that the mistake, arising from stupidity, will not be detected in practice and corrected. And if any one or a few instances should remain uncorrected in individuals, still the doctrine of the Church as a body is unimpaired. Though God requires the belief of what he has revealed, he does not require an impossibility, nor punish for an involuntary error. If this stupid creature cannot learn better, he is excusable when he does his best. This person is not voluntarily in error, because he went to the tribunal which God established; and if he did his best to learn from that tribunal, God required no more; the error is not voluntary; is not criminal.

The individual clergyman who teaches, might for a time, through frailty or malice, mislead. Not only will his errors in teaching be soon discovered; but as all our doctrines lead to practice, and are therein exhibited; as all his acts must be open to the observation of clergy and laity, from every part of the Catholic Church; practical error must soon be discovered when it exists, and the general voice of the Church will teach the general doctrines of the Church, and if necessary, the official organ of the Church, her Chief Pastor, will, in her name, publicly declare her doctrine, and the error of him who misled; and thus, although for a very short time, a special congregation might be in the way of receiving false doctrine, the faithful at large will always receive true doctrine, and this misled portion will soon be set right. Thus it is not necessary to make mankind more clearsighted than they are, nor to make every individual clergyman infallible, for the purpose of maintaining the principle, that the majority of the Bishops of the Catholic Church, with the Pope at their head, will infallibly teach us what God revealed: and this other proposition; no congregation of the Roman Catholic Church can be led into permanent error by a pastor who is not infallible, because such congregation can easily ascertain the doctrine of the Church, upon any point which God has revealed; and from the intercourse of all congregations, error cannot continue undetected. The history of every age and nation of Christendom, shews this last principle a thousand times exemplified in practice. All those whom the Church condemned as heretics, taught their errors first within the Church, and then refusing to conform to the decision of the general body, were separated therefrom, and made new forms of doctrine and discipline for themselves.

We now come to the last point of inquiry. "How the infallibility of the Church can be of more service than that of the Scriptures?" Suppose [yourself] to err in mistaking the meaning of what you read. You have no remedy, your error must continue. Suppose yourself to err in mistaking the instructions of the clergyman, or suppose he misled you, there is a remedy; for your error will be detected by a living tribunal, which can shew you in what your error consists, and teach you what is truth. The superiority consists in that which is found in having a law book and court to decide suits, over the mode which would give the litigants a part of the book without the court.

The rule by which the Church decides, is that quoted in the last paragraph. The Catholic Church applies this rule and gives the decision. Our correspondent certainly would not call every lawyer from his office, every physician from his patient, every planter from his farm, every merchant from his store, every tradesman from his shop, every ploughman from his team, every woman from her household avocations, every boy from his school, every girl from her mistress, every negro from his task, and furnishing each of them with accumulated historic documents, say: "*My good friends; the Catholic Church cannot from all these and from its various other monuments and memorials and practices, together with the special promise of Christ, that the Holy Ghost would lead her into all truth, all days, to the consummation of the world: She cannot, with the united experience and wisdom and testimony of her pastors, from all parts of the world, infallibly tell you correctly, what 'was always and every where and by all Christians believed.' But you will infallibly make it out yourselves,*

or if you do not, we shall never be able to know the Catholic doctrine." We hope our correspondent will not take up the last proposition as the declaration of his conviction. Could he soberly contemplate *his general council* of all professions, trades and sexes? A council of *advisers* is out of the question. He must take the infallible tribunal of the Roman Catholic Church, or that alternative, which we would entreat him to avoid, viz: "I cannot know with certainty what God has taught."

One thing is very obvious from the last paragraph of his letter, our correspondent cannot belong to any Protestant Church whatever. His principle and their's are at irreconcilable variance. We state that every doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church will stand the most rigid examination by the principle which he lays down. And we pledge ourselves, if such is not the case, we shall cease to be Roman Catholics.

THIRD LETTER OF "TRUTH."

To the Editors of the United States Catholic Miscellany.

SAVANNAH, August, 1825.

You request me to answer what you suppose to be "some inevitable results" of a certain paragraph in my last letter. It shall be done with as much brevity as possible. In order to this, I must beg you distinctly to bear in mind the species of infallibility against which my objections were alleged. This was defined and illustrated in the first part of the letter to which I have just referred. Our obligation to believe the "correct declaration of what God has revealed," I never for a moment doubted. But this was not our question. Our argument, if I rightly understand it, is, whether the infallibility of the Church be necessary to establish the "correct declaration of what God has revealed." You would prove the existence of this infallibility, from its necessity in order to the having of faith. I replied that I could not perceive its necessity in order to faith. Faith, I urged, might rest upon moral certainty of facts, which might be established, without the infallibility of any witness. I instanced my belief of the existence of countries which I had never seen. You reply that I have *infallible* witness of the existence of such countries. That I have a moral certainty I admit. But moral certainty, as I understand it, is only an indefinitely near approximation to infallibility. I have a moral certainty of a fact, when I have all the evidence which the nature of the case will admit; or as good evidence as I could reasonably expect if the fact were true. But you say I have infallible witness. We will not disagree about the use of words. I will admit your assertion: It is only a change of names for the same thing. But your argument gains nothing by the change. For it is only the infallible certainty of the fact which is established, and not the infallible veracity of any one witness to that fact. It is one thing to establish the certainty of a fact, and another to establish the infallibility of a witness to that fact. I may have infallible evidence of the truth of Christianity; and yet the Church may not be infallible, unless indeed the Church and the evidences of the truth of Christianity are convertible terms, meaning the same thing. I here use the word infallible, you will recollect, in the sense implied in your answer to my objection, or as I understand it, in the place of moral certainty. But after all, suppose you should redeem the pledge contained in the closing paragraph of your last reply to me, and prove that what the Roman Catholic Church now holds, she has held from the beginning; and that consequently all her doctrines must be from Jesus Christ and his Apostles; you do not by this prove the infallibility of the Church, you only prove her veracity, and establish the credibility of her testimony. But even if you could thus prove her infallibility, the proof would come too late, for you would have established the truth without it; whereas your plea is for the necessity of this infallibility, in order, by it, to establish the truth. It is one thing to prove that the Church never *has erred*, and another, that she never *can err*. The one establishes her veracity, and makes her a *more* credible witness; the other confirms her infallibility. In short, if you can prove the unchangeable stability in doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, from the Apostles' times, without alleging the infallibility of the Church as your ground of proof, you have evidence enough without this infallibility to challenge the belief of every reasonable person. But if you allege this infallibility in proof of the stability of doctrine, then this Infallibility must first be proved, by evidence, independent of that of constant veracity; or else, I see not how you will avoid the imputation of reasoning in a circle. You must pardon my blindness and incredulity then, if I do not yet see that the infallibility of the Church has been proved, or its necessity established in order to the existence of faith.

But, having supposed my difficulties in this particular removed, I next inquired what assurance I could have that this attribute, if it existed, belonged exclusively to the Roman Catholic Church? The paragraph contain-

ing this inquiry, you suppose "must have been hastily written." But let us see for a moment if your evidence is so obvious as you imagined. Your proof is founded upon the fact that other Churches do not, and that the Roman Catholic Church does claim this attribute. This negative testimony of others, if it prove any thing, proves too much for your purpose. For if they deny infallibility in themselves, much more do they deny it in you. If then we allow their evidence against themselves, we must allow it equal credit against you. But what do they deny when they deny their own infallibility? Do they deny their certainty with respect to all truths? Far from it. I am not infallible, and yet I am certain of many truths. But though I am certain of many truths, I may err, not only respecting the truths which I do not, but those also which I do know. Your proof then derives no strength from the *disclaimer* of others. It must therefore rest wholly on the credit of your own claim. But where is the decree which declares the Roman Catholic Church exclusively, to be infallible? Or if such a decree be found, upon what authority does it rest? Surely not upon the infallibility of the Church, yet; for *that* is the point to be proved by the decree. I am persuaded, if you will review the subject with your usual candor, you will perceive that your reply was not so conclusive, nor my inquiry so "hastily written," as you at first imagined.

The next paragraph, you charitably suppose "must have been also written without much reflection." But if you will reconsider the object for which these "extreme cases and exceptions" were supposed, I am persuaded you will release me from the imputation of having written without much reflection. My object was to shew that if nothing short of absolute or strict infallibility could be a sufficient ground for faith, if indeed there be faith upon the earth,* only admit my principle that strict infallibility, is not essential to faith; and those "inevitable results," which were so frightfully marshalled against my harmless paragraph, will vanish into airy nothings. But so long as you adhere to the principle that strict infallibility is essential to faith, I must leave you to combat single handed, those "giant spectres" of scepticism, which you have raised. They are your adversaries, and not mine, and I confess, were I of your principles, I should not know how to overcome them.

Out of this paragraph grew my last inquiry, which was, since the infallibility of the Church cannot reach me as an individual, any more than that of the Scriptures, how I could be profited any more by the one than the other? The Church has no better medium to make herself intelligible to me than the Evangelists and Apostles. Both must address me with words; and whether these words are conveyed to my mind through the medium of the eye or that of the ear, they are still the same. And with equal advantages of the medium of address, why may I not suppose that the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of an Evangelist or Apostle, could speak to me as intelligibly as by the mouth of a General Council or that of the Chief Pastor at Rome. Unless indeed there were some new revelations to be made, in which case, I acknowledge the infallibility of the organ of this new revelation would be essential.

But you ask me: "Suppose you err in mistaking the meaning of what you read?" To this I reply in your own words, on the same page with the question.—"Though God requires the belief of what he has revealed, he does not require an impossibility nor punish for an involuntary error. If this stupid creature cannot learn better, he is excusable when he does his best. This person is not voluntarily in error, because he went to the tribunal which God established, and if he did his best to learn from that tribunal, God required no more; the error is not voluntary, is not criminal." Now only let my "stupid creature" who cannot understand the Scriptures, be excused on as easy terms as your's who cannot understand the priest or the Church, and I will ask no better terms in his behalf. As to your "living tribunal," I have only to repeat that I am as liable to mistake its *words* as the words of Scripture.

Whether I belong to any Protestant denomination or not, affects not our present discussions. If it did, my name and the specific character of my religious sentiments should be instantly declared. Permit me however to assure you, that I am still willing to abide by the venerable Rule of Catholicism quoted in my last letter, though I cannot yet receive your Church as the infallible tribunal for its application. Only shew me on good authority, independent of the infallibility of the Church, that those peculiar doctrines of Roman Catholics which distinguish them from other Christians, rest upon divine authority, and I pledge myself instantly to embrace them by a public profession. Or, only first prove the fact that the Church is indeed infallible, and then I will cheerfully receive her testimony as abundant evidence of

TRUTH.

* *Vid. Fourth Letter of "Truth."*

REPLY TO THIRD LETTER OF "TRUTH."

We are very anxious to make reparation for any mistakes which we occasionally commit. We acknowledge then, first, that we did mistake in writing that the fourth paragraph of our correspondent was hastily written. He says it was not: we believe him; but it would be as well to inform our correspondent that he would not have suffered any thing in our estimation by the fact's being as we supposed. He stated: "*Suppose the infallibility of the Catholic Church fully established*," why, then it would, upon the supposition, be certainly infallible, "*how am I to become infallibly assured that this attribute belongs to that body of Christians who maintain external communion with Rome?*" Suppose there are thirty-nine Churches calling themselves each the Christian Church. I take infallibility, now fully established, as one mark of the Catholic Church. I go successively to thirty-eight, who all say, "We are not infallible." But I have found the Catholic Church certainly *was* what you say certainly you are *not*. The thirty-ninth says, "I certainly am infallible." We may admit the ingenuity of our correspondent. But we did hope he was in haste, when he wrote equivalent to this: "*There are thirty-nine men, one of whom I am told by good authority, is my relative. I find neither of thirty-eight of them to be that relative; the thirty-ninth tells me that he is, but I must not believe him, because the others said that they were not related to me, and also can not prove that he is, although he does prove it himself.*" We were taught that when there was a good disjunctive proposition of which all the members except one were denied of the attribute, the remaining one must agree with it, if it was asserted originally that this attribute must agree with one or the other of the members. Our correspondent will be good enough to recollect that his difficulty could not arise until he should have found that some Christian Church was infallible. We look not for proof of our infallibility, but of its absence from others, in their *disclaimer*. We will also remind him that before we come to meet the tremendous evils which he so generously flings back upon us, we must also have settled the main question: "Is any Church infallible?" When that shall be disposed of, we promise him, his two difficulties will be very quickly dispatched. But as we love order, we shall begin at the beginning.

One guess however we made, in regard to which, we are left in uncertainty of its correctness—that our correspondent does not belong to any Protestant Church. Whether it would affect the present discussions, if he did, is a question as to the result of which we would not agree in his assertion. We now assume that he is not Protestant. Indeed he could not hold the principle which he laid down, if he were: but another question arises—does he believe in fact that God did reveal any doctrine? If he does, what is the doctrine? And upon what ground does he believe that God revealed it? These are questions which would also very materially aid in the discussion. At present, we know of no principle save one upon which he and we agree. That we shall advert to presently.

Now; before we proceed farther, we would beg to correct a few mistakes as to *fact*, and what we consider to be mistakes as to *principle*, in the above Letter.

First, our correspondent took some very unnecessary trouble to shew that our arguing would be in a circle, *if we argued*, as, in fact, we did *not* argue. If he thought we argued so, he mistook; if we made the mistake, and did argue so, we shall feel obliged to him to exhibit the fact.

Next, when he says "*It is only the infallible certainty of the fact which is established and not the infallible veracity of any one witness to that fact;*" he mistakes our meaning when we wrote: "*Therefore he has a correct declaration of the fact, there is no doubt upon his mind, because he has the testimony of an infallible witness, that is the whole body of persons, and circumstances taken as one, making him certain,*" *&c.*

There is such a thing as a bad disjunctive proposition, viz: where the enumeration of all the alternatives is imperfect. Such is the case here.

Besides establishing the truth of the fact, and the veracity of any one witness, there is what we stated to be, "*knowing the truth of the fact because of the infallibility of the witness.*" And this infallibility was known from the nature of the witness—and this witness was not any one individual, but a collection of persons and circumstances taken as one—that is viewed together. Thus not only was the truth of the fact, but also the veracity of this aggregate witness, seen; and the impossibility that the fact should be otherwise, *because* of the infallibility of the witness.

Another mistake, we believe, is, to consider the evidence of the Christian system, as viewed in a general light, the same as the evidence of each special doctrine. Moral arguments would tend to establish the first; but nothing short of positive, direct testimony will exhibit proof of the last; because the question to be answered is, "What did

God reveal?" This question is to be answered by *undoubted* testimony, not by highly probable conjecture. Our correspondent has confounded the two cases. Generally speaking, the mind must be satisfied of the high probability that a system is true, by good moral evidence, and then receives testimony of the special facts.

We believe our correspondent made another mistake, when he assumed, against the fact, that we argued the Church to be infallible, because we could prove by his admitted rule that she never did teach error. We think too respectfully of our correspondent to suppose that this mistake is not owing to haste in reading what we wrote. But we perhaps wrote obscurely. If he can shew that we argued as he insinuates, we shall retract and apologize. We certainly would not be correct in arguing that because an event has not occurred, therefore it never can occur:—the refutation of such a doctrine has nothing to do with the question.

We shall not now dwell at much length upon that passage of the Letter in which he makes one of his Protestant Churches say: "*I am not infallible and yet I am certain of many truths. I may err, not only respecting the truths which I do not, but those also which I do know.*" Probably we should have to retract, did we assert this was written hastily—but we cannot understand its meaning, because it appears to us to lead to this absurdity—"*I am certain, and yet I may err concerning that of which I am certain, that is, I am certain of that of which, I ought not to be certain because I ought not to be certain in a case where I might err.*" We believe that certainty excludes the possibility of error, and that the possibility of error excludes certainty.

We think there are a few other mistakes made by our correspondent; for instance when he understands "*by moral certainty, only an indefinitely near approximation to truth,*" and then assumes that it means what we called "infallible certainty." We called our certainty by a very different name: "*there can be no higher certainty,*" was our expression. Any approximation to truth must be something different from truth. Moral certainty, he calls only an approximation, therefore not what it does approximate; therefore, it is only indefinitely high probability of truth, but not certainty of truth. Now we distinguished these from each other, when we wrote "*Certainty is an indivisible point: when I am certain, I have no doubt; when I have any doubt, I am not certain. Probability may be more or less; but we cannot have greater certainty and less certainty. We may approach nearer to certainty or be farther removed therefrom. In ordinary conversation we sometimes say we are certain of what is only highly probable. But when upon an important subject, such as the present, we use terms to convey accurate notions, we should not use them vaguely. We call certainty that conviction of the mind which does not admit any doubt whatever: this can never be created except by testimony, the truth of which admits no doubt whatever. Such testimony is correct in the strict sense of the word, that is, infallible. If our position here be right, our correspondent will perceive that the entire of this third paragraph is founded upon a false assumption, viz: That he had certainty without infallible testimony.*" It was then a mistake in our correspondent to make us mean by "Certainty" what we actually declared we did not mean. We need not, to a mind like his, comment upon the consequences of this mistake. Even M. Claude or M. Jurieu would acknowledge that there is something more than a change of words in a change of ideas.

Neither are we inclined to agree with our correspondent in his description of *moral certainty.* "*I have a moral certainty of a fact, when I have all the evidence which the nature of the case will admit.*" Suppose the nature of the case admitted no evidence, I would have no evidence; and yet, having no evidence, I would have moral certainty; or, the nature of the case admits very *scanty* and *imperfect* evidence; I have scanty and imperfect evidence, and upon this I have moral certainty. This we are not prepared to admit. "*Or as good evidence as I could reasonably expect, if the fact were true.*" We cannot for the same reasons admit this last clause of the description; this does not exhibit what we call moral certainty. We mean by "Moral Certainty" *that certainty which is created by a knowledge of the manners and nature of men and things.*" By "certainty," we mean "*that state of the mind which excludes doubt.*"

Having now set ourselves free from the mistakes to which we have drawn our correspondent's attention, we will mention a a distinction well known amongst philosophers, regarding the meaning of "moral certainty." By it is sometimes meant "very high probability," or an indefinitely close approximation to truth, yet with a possibility of error. In this view, what we meant by "Certainty," or "Infallible Certainty," was not "Moral Certainty;" because that would admit some doubt, some possibility of error, which is totally incompatible with "Certainty;" or that state of the mind which admits of *no doubt.* But "Moral Certainty"

is sometimes, and generally by philosophers, used for "Certainty;" that state of the mind which admits of no doubt; and is distinguished from metaphysical certainty only because of the difference of their origin, not of any difference of grade. Neither allows doubt; but the one is derived from the contemplation of the nature of its object; as in numbers, two and two make four, and *cannot* make five: moral certainty is derived from the contemplation of the manners, habits, and circumstances of men. Thus fifty surgeons testify to me that they have examined the body of a man whom I knew, and that he is dead; and one hundred persons who saw that body placed in a coffin and carried to the grave, and interred, testify to me that he was interred: he was a public officer of the state, and the proper authorities substituted a person in his stead, having declared his place vacated by death: I find his family in mourning, and his heirs in possession of his property; and I see the monument which has been erected to his memory: his death created the necessity of an inquest, and the coroner exhibits to me the proceedings, which I find enrolled in the proper office—my certainty of his death cannot be greater than it is, nothing can increase it. I have no doubt, viewing the nature, the morals, and the circumstances of mankind, that this man must be dead:—*it cannot be* otherwise. The scepticism which would raise a doubt upon this could never be certain of any fact: it would be exact Pyrrhonism, into which, we trust, our correspondent has not fallen. *Infallibility*, in its passive sense, is the impossibility of being deceived; certainty is the absence of doubt. Perhaps we will be considered weak in admitting that, in this case, we would have infallible certainty.

Our meaning being now we trust made clear, we briefly say—notwithstanding our correspondent's doubts upon the subject, there is faith upon the earth; but that faith cannot exist without an infallible witness to the fact which is believed—we deduce the necessity of such a witness from the nature of faith; and should our correspondent desire to continue his inquiry, we intreat him to pay his attention exclusively to this point first, and we promise him, if he admits our definition of Faith, we will, when he shall have answered our argument, answer his objections, as many as he pleases; but as we love order, we must first require this argument to be solved.

"Faith is the belief of what God has revealed."

By belief we mean, an assent to the truth of a declaration *known* to have been made by God.

By "being known," we mean being *certainly* known, not being considered as *highly probable*.

Thus, when we say "we believe that there are three persons in the Godhead," we mean, "we are *quite certain* of the fact," not "we believe the fact to be *highly probable*," nor "we believe it *indefinitely approximates* to truth."

Faith is then founded upon *certain knowledge;* certain knowledge must be founded upon *infallible testimony*. Therefore faith *cannot* exist without infallible testimony of what God has revealed.

We humbly submit to our correspondent, that, if he differs from us in the definition of faith, we never can agree in any results which would be affected by that difference. If he agree with us in the definition, we would request him to confine his attention to our conclusion. If he will not admit it to be true and legitimately drawn, it would be useless to go farther, until that proposition would be disposed of. If he positively admit its truth, it might then be usefully applied; but, if our inquiry were now spread over too wide a field, we should soon become confused. TRUTH is best served by short and close examinations of successive propositions.

FOURTH LETTER OF "TRUTH."

To the Editors of the United States Catholic Miscellany.

SAVANNAH, Sept. 1825.

IN my last Letter your printer has done me injustice, or I must at least for once submit to the charge of having written hastily. I have no copy upon which to rely, and consequently cannot be certain whether the error is owing to the printer or myself. The sense of the passage, as it now appears in print, is incomplete, if it be not indeed wholly unintelligible.

The passage* is on the first column of the eighty-first page, near the bottom. I will transcribe it, with the substance of what *was* or *should have been* added to convey the meaning for which it was designed. A period being placed before the first words, it should have read to this effect:

"My object was to shew, that if nothing short of strict or absolute infallibility could be a sufficient ground for faith, *then individual Roman Catholics must be as far removed from faith, as any others; unless this infallibility should extend to every individual*

* See page 81.

who teaches and every one who is taught that Religion. But only admit my principle that strict infallibility is not essential to faith, *which must be true*, if indeed, there be Faith on the earth; and then, these "inevitable results, which were so frightfully marshalled,' &c.—the rest is correct. The words underscored, or words of similar import, were or should have been inserted, to evince my meaning in the passage.

If the manuscript is not destroyed, and the mistake proves to be on the part of the printer, I beg you will have the goodness to correct it in some early number. If it occurred on the part of myself, I am content it should remain uncorrected.

It is not my design to intrude further upon your courtesy, in relation to this subject, nor is it my wish that you should publish this letter. For the attention you have bestowed upon the subject at my request, you will please to accept my thanks. I am convinced that minds, trained in different habits, cannot always see the truth in the same light. I beg you however to be assured that I have not designedly drawn erroneous inferences from any of your statements. My objections as stated, are such as appear to me really to be drawn from the natural meaning of what you wrote. If they are illegitimate or unsound, I shall always be glad to see them fairly met and confuted. I too have thought that my sentiments in some cases were not fairly stated in your replies—particularly when you make me say in your last reply, that moral certainty is only "an indefinitely near approximation to *truth*." By reference to my letter you will see I used the word *infallibility* and not *Truth*, which in my mind materially alters the sense. But I am far from thinking you had any design to state the passage incorrectly. We cannot yet see alike. But we can, I trust, both believe in the same Lord, and seek to be guided by him into the way of all TRUTH.

—

REPLY TO FOURTH LETTER OF "TRUTH."

Upon this letter, we have to state, that we do not consider the expression of our correspondent's absence of a wish that we should publish it, to be a prohibition of its publication; it is only declaring that he does not require its publication. Using our own discretion, therefore, we have published it, because we thought it proper, 1st, In order to give room for our explanation; and 2d, that we might not be charged with suppressing any, even the most trivial of the objections against us. We have had no opportunity of communicating with our correspondent, because we neither know who he is, nor how a letter could reach him; and his correspondence is not on any private business, for we know him only as a public writer.

He will acquit us of having suppressed the passage in question, when we inform him, that the compositor in our printing office set up his letter, *from his own manuscript*, without having any mark whatever upon it save as we got it from the Post Office; and without having any part taken from the two sheets upon which it was contained. That the correctors in the office, neither of whom is a Roman Catholic, compared it when set up with his MS. and that it was subsequently compared therewith by one of the Editors. In this last comparison, one line was found omitted, and was supplied. Of these facts, as well as that no wilful omission was made, our correspondent can, if he will, be satisfied by the evidence of those concerned. After the publication, the manuscript was put aside and has not yet been found.

The second change was not made in the letter: the text was given correctly; but in the comment, the word *truth* was substituted for *infallibility*, by that liberty which in reasoning frequently substitutes the words which must in the process of the statement mean the same idea. In this statement, "Moral certainty is an indefinitely near approximation to infallibility" must mean, if it has any meaning, that it is an approximation to what is "known to be infallibly true;" that is to "Truth." As we have supplied this, at his suggestion, we will claim that he shall allow us to supply for ourselves, *not to change*, but to exhibit the process of our act. It would indeed be a very blundering mode of imposition on our part, to print his expression in his letter, if we meant to evade its force.

Now respecting his supply, we will suppose, against our conviction, that the omission was on the part of our compositor, and overlooked by our correctors and by ourselves. It will be perfectly immaterial, until the first argument shall have been admitted or answered; and with this argument our correspondent now appears to have done.

But suppose the Church infallible—we would say that certainty might be had from the teaching of a fallible instructor given under the view and by the authority of an infallible witness, who would be able and bound to correct the mistakes of the teacher, and we would shew that such is really the case in our Church. And thus, the individual Catholic would have infallible certainty, when others would not.

In taking our leave, we reciprocate the good wishes of our correspondent.

From the U. S. Catholic Miscellany, Vol. VI. for 1826.

LETTERS ON THE JUDICIAL OFFICE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH:

ADDRESSED TO THE REV. HUGH SMITH.

LETTER I.

To the Rev. Hugh Smith, A. M., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Augusta.

REV. SIR:—I am not, I trust, disposed to turn from my path to assail persons who permit me to pass unmolested; but neither am I very willing to allow myself to be assailed by an unprovoked aggressor. You, Sir, preached at the opening of the late Convention of your Church, (the Protestant Episcopal,) at Macon, in Georgia; and the Editors of the Gospel Messenger in this city, considered your Sermon worthy of the first place in their publication for this month.

Had you not unnecessarily waged war upon my religion, I should have laid down the pamphlet without an observation; but your language has urged me to the remarks which I shall take the liberty of making through the columns of the Miscellany.

If I am correctly informed, Rev. Sir, you are no novice in polemics, and you have frequently ere now, given to the religion of my choice the full benefit of your opposition; though, if report speaks truly, you have not always been successful. I have heard it said of you, that not very many years since you asserted that the General Councils of *Popery*, (as your politeness has designated the religion of the vast majority of Christendom,) could not be infallible in their decisions upon articles of faith, because they were contradictory; and that when invited to point out the contradictions, you were not prepared to do so, because you had forgotten them, and could not then lay your hand upon the books which exhibited what they were. This, perhaps, is but a mere unfounded report, and I am the more inclined to believe so, from the circumstance that your present assault is upon the same doctrine of infallibility, in the attempt to destroy which you are said to have been formerly so notoriously unsuccessful; because it would appear to be a singular fatality which would lead you into the *same field*, with only the *same weapons*, against the *same doctrine*.

However, Sir, I may be in error:—you are probably now much better armed; and you shew at least more caution. Still, your caution has not, I believe, saved you from exposing how you might be advantageously assailed; but this was probably more a misfortune arising from your position, than a fault arising from your want of skill. I must avow that I should not know how to defend the ground you occupied: but as our acquaintance must be of some duration, I had better proceed at once to my business. As I love open dealing, I shall give the portion of your sermon of which I complain, and also those parts which will be necessary to place you fairly before my readers.

Your text was—"*With one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel.*" *Phil.* i, 29.

You alluded to the occasion of your holding a Convention in a place which, not long since, was a wilderness. You enforced the necessity of having the Gospel defended by some when attacked by others. You enforced the obligation as considered in its reference to Christianity generally, in concluding which topic you said:

"Thus, then, it appears, that there has been but one sentiment in the Christian world as to the duty of 'contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints,' when that faith was assailed; and, that in reference to this *general* defence, those who differ from each other on minor points, may and ought to '*strive together*;' not, however, by attempting that *union* or coalition, which, from the infirmity of our nature, and from a warm attachment to different views, never can exist; that union which forced, and almost unnatural, instead of tending to harmony, too frequently ministers to strife; not by being 'unequally yoked together,' by a yoke that will prove galling to both. No, not thus, brethren, are they who believe in Christianity, but differ as to its peculiarities: not thus, are they to *strive together*; but by marching in separate columns to the defence of the truth, by separately directing their efforts to one and the same point, and causing them to meet in the same centre; thus, securing the benefits of combined exertion, while they avoid the dangers of collision.

"There is a general coincidence, then, brethren, as to what is the faith of the Gospel, viz: the Revelation of God, contained in the Bible, and, for this faith, it is admitted that all should, in a certain sense, *strive together*. But when we leave this general ground; when we ask what the 'faith of the Gospel' is, in all its parts, coincidence of sentiment is at an end, and many contradictory replies meet our ear. How, then, are we to choose amidst all these conflicting opinions of men? 'How is this faith of the Gospel to be more minutely ascertained?' This is our second inquiry. What *is to be* our standard of appeal? We point you, in reply, to the Book of God. We ask you, 'What is there written? how readest thou?' Yes, to the *Bible* we make our first appeal; for, in the language of the great Chillingworth, 'The *Bible* is *the Religion of Protestants*.' In exact accordance with which, we find the Church declaring in her 6th Article, 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.'

"You may ask, however, are there not many who appeal to this standard, equally honest in purpose, and equally earnest in seeking, and who return from its perusal with widely different impressions? Does not every Christian sect profess to hold the pure 'faith of the Gospel,' and to have derived its doctrinal compend or digest from *the Bible*.

"It is indeed so, brethren; nor should this fact excite our surprise, or drive us from that most safe position, that to the Bible must be our first appeal. But, be it remembered, that it must be the Bible interpreted by *enlightened reason*; by the comparison of its several parts with each other; and in entire subserviency to the unquestionable axiom, that a revelation from God cannot contain anything that will impugn his known attributes, or detract from his infinite perfections.

"Had it been always thus interpreted, notwithstanding the varieties in the structure of the human mind, the Christian world would not have been called to witness so many divisions and sub-divisions, modifications and remodifications of doctrinal incorrectness. Nor would the Bible itself have been insulted, by being given as the authority for so much that is absurd in theory, or demoralizing in practical tendency. Perfect uniformity of sentiment, even were all the circumstances of spiritual preparation, and of biblical investigation equal, could scarcely be expected. Nor is this more surprising than that God has permitted men to receive different impressions from the *same sounds*, the *same views*, the *same subject*; and the want of this uniformity in the inferences honestly drawn from Scripture must never drive us back to that main pillar, and *main error of Popery*, that the Church is the authorized *interpreter* of Scripture. Against this, the Church of which *we* are members has entered her own protest; declaring in her 20th Article, 'It is not lawful for the Church to decree anything contrary to God's word written; neither may it so explain one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a *witness* and keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything *against* the same, so, beside the same, ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.'

"*Scripture*, then, being our first witness as to the faith of the Gospel, we may next appeal to *primitive antiquity*, either for information in regard to things indifferent, or illustration of things not clearly revealed. We must suffer the Saints of the first ages to declare 'what form of doctrine had been delivered unto them;' what was generally believed and practised in their day; and the natural presumption will be, that this belief and this practice were derived *from the Apostles*. Their testimony to facts we deem it reasonable to receive; their *opinions* we would test with caution. The first rests upon the basis of their unimpeached honesty, and actual observation, and, consequently, may not be consistently rejected; *the latter may be erroneous*, for *they* themselves were not infallible. Thus then, brethren, would we arrive at a knowledge of *the faith of the Gospel*, by a reference to Scripture as the standard of doctrine; to primitive antiquity as a model of practice. With us, the *Bible* is *authoritative*; and other evidence admitted is but *collateral* or *confirmatory*. This, brethren, is the ground assumed by the Church of which we are members, and it is precisely that high and vantage ground, on which she can be safe from *the assumptions of Papal power* on the one hand, and the fury of untempered innovation on the other. Let then, the Church be the witness and keeper of Holy Writ; for so hath God ordained. Let her have authority to judge and determine in controversies of faith; not that absolute authority which is predicated on the claim of infallibility, not that authority which would fetter the minds and consciences of her members; yea, *fetter the word of God*; but that authority, which, resting upon the possession of concentrated wisdom and piety, and upon the peculiar benediction of her Divine founder and head, is all that she arrogates to herself,* inducing her not 'to go beyond the word of the Lord, to do either less or more.' Give to her less than this, and you make her a mere *nullity*; give to her *more than this*, and you then make the Bible the mere creature of her will: you magnify the ark itself above the *law* and the *testimony*, which it only *enshrines*. Scripture, then, in connection with the testimony of the first ages, having guided us, to what we, as a body, deem the faith of the Gospel, the faith, as it 'once was delivered to the Saints,' *the question next occurs*, whether we are to strive for this very faith, and it only, in opposition to any other modifications of it? In other words, whether the obligation we are under, to contend for the faith of the Gospel, generally, should constrain us to contend particularly, also, for *each one of its doctrines?* Unhesitatingly we answer, *that it should*. And for this reply, we urge the plainest considerations of necessity and duty.

"Proceeding on the principle, that it is commendable to strive for the Gospel as a whole, but to be indifferent to its specific doctrines; and it is no improbable supposition, brethren, considering the proneness of man to novelty, that if we strove at all, it would be for something in which there was not *one feature* of the original Gospel left. If you strive not for the integrity of the *parts*, what, my brethren, is to become of the *whole?* Let each attack that doctrine or duty which is exceptionable in his eyes; and what part of the body of doctrine will not be wounded? Let one level the doctrine of the Saviour's Deity; another, that of his atonement; another, that of the influence of the Spirit; another, that of our present depravity; another, the justice and impartiality of God; another, the fact that the Church is a divinely constituted body, the ministry and ordinances of which owe their efficiency solely to the appointment of Christ. Stand by, calm spectators, while different enemies thus take *fortress* after *fortress*, suspending your efforts because in each case it is only a part and not the whole of the Gospel that is assailed; and assuredly, brethren, your spiritual weapons will not be brought into exercise, until there is *nothing left* for them to *protect*, or defend. No, brethren, *it becomes us not thus to act*. All doctrines or duties may not possess precisely the *same importance*, but it is dangerous to prefer one thing to another; to dwell upon the distinction between *greater* and *minor points* in Christianity. *All* its truths are *sacred*. Each one of them is worthy of notice and of maintenance. For each one of them are we bound to strive. The popular voice may condemn all attachment to the peculiarities of system; but, *he*, who, unconvinced would sacrifice at the shrine of popularity, one doctrine, or one view of doctrine honestly held, might well be expected to sacrifice *more*, if not *all*, at the same shrine. If he is not faithful 'over few things,' how shall he be faithful over 'many things?' My brethren, if we would not go all lengths in seeming liberality, until it terminates in *indifference*, or absolute infidelity, we must firmly maintain even the smallest known truth; we must strive for every 'jot and tittle' of the Gospel."

* Vid. Art. 20.

In the first part of this, Rev. Sir, I understand you to mean that they who believe generally in the truth of the Christian Revelation, but differ from each other as to what are many of the peculiar doctrines of that revelation, ought each to contend in his own way, that God revealed the Christian system; that when they meet, they will have to settle between themselves much of what that system is:—because, in truth, their differences are very numerous. Next, however, you inform us, that they all agree that whatever the system may be, it is to be found in the Bible: but when asked what doctrine the Bible contains, again they unfortunately have a conflict of opinions. You next approach to a solution of the difficulty, by saying, that the Bible must be interpreted by *enlightened reason*, and you complain of the evils which have been caused by neglecting this mode of interpretation; but you avow that under no circumstances could it be expected that all persons should agree as to what are all the peculiar doctrines contained in this book; and you say that as Popery teaches, that by receiving the authorized interpretation of the Bible from the Church, there would be an end to this conflict of opinions respecting the peculiar doctrine which God has revealed; we must never be

driven back to this main error. You say the 20th Article of your Church protests against this *main error of Popery*. That is, Rev. Sir, you say it is a main error to assert *that the Church is the authorized interpreter of the Scriptures*—and that your article protests against the same. I would feel happy, for many reasons, at your avowing that your last assertion was hasty and inconsiderate, because obviously, the article as quoted by you does not protest against, nor in any way contradict, the error as described by you; and it would not be very well to allow it to be supposed that you did not know the force of your own articles, though you might be excused from knowing the meaning of mine.

Scripture, (which even with the aid of *enlightened reason* you said was insufficient to give full information as to the peculiar doctrines which God had revealed,) being the first witness, we may now, you say, appeal to *primitive antiquity*, to be informed concerning *indifferent* things—and to have *illustration* of what was not clearly *revealed*. The Saints are competent to inform us what doctrine they received and knew to exist. You distinguish between their testimony *of facts*, which you deem it reasonable to receive, and their *opinions*, which you test cautiously. The Bible is *authority*—other evidence is only collateral or confirmatory.

The Church is the witness and keeper of the Scripture, *having authority to judge and determine in controversies of faith*; but *not* authority founded upon infallibility—not authority to fetter minds and consciences. [The authority which it has is] authority to give the word of God and not to give more, nor to give less.

We are bound to keep all the doctrines of God, for all truths are sacred—it is dangerous to make distinctions between greater and minor points of Christianity—we are bound to strive for them all—we must firmly maintain the smallest known truth—we must strive for every jot and tittle of the Gospel.

Such, Rev. Sir, are your assertions. I have been tedious, but it was necessary. The more I reflect upon your mass of contradictions, the more I am at a loss to know what could have led you unnecessarily in the maze of your perplexity to lay so lustily upon Popery, unless it was yielding to a disposition which is very common, when we find ourselves disappointed, [under the influence of which] we feel an inclination to quarrel with those who have been more fortunate than ourselves. Perhaps, Sir, you do not yet believe that you have been palpably contradicting yourself. I shall, in my next, aid you to see it very clearly.

Yours, &c. &c.

A Roman Catholic.

Charleston, S. C., July 25th, 1826.

LETTER II.

To the Rev. Hugh Smith, A. M., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Augusta.

Rev. Sir,—The System of Christianity is nothing but the collection of the doctrines which Christ has taught to man; this collection of doctrines is the object of man's belief; the foundations of that belief are the truth and authority of Christ. Knowing that he can neither be himself deceived, nor deceive those to whom he speaks, man is perfectly certain that whatsoever Christ has declared must be infallibly and unchangeably true; there can be no possibility of error, and time cannot change the essence of truth. Knowing that Christ has authority to require his belief of what is in itself true, and has been proposed by the Creator to the creature for his belief, man feels that it is his duty to receive this truth so made manifest, or revealed to him. This dutiful belief is faith. Faith, then, is not founded upon the mere discoveries of unaided reason, but upon the authoritative declarations of God. But faith cannot contradict reason: for God, who is the source of truth, cannot contradict by revelation what he teaches us by our reason,—the usual aid which he has bestowed on us for the discovery of truth. We, however, know by daily experience that our reason is very imperfect; and it is a self-evident maxim, that God's reason is perfect: hence, when man has the testimony of the perfect reason of God on one side, and the imperfection of his own opinions on the other side, the plain dictate of wisdom teaches him which deserves the preference.

The perfect reason of God, to which man's opinion should yield, can and does reach to the knowledge of many plain but sublime truths, to which our imperfect minds not only could not reach, but which to us would appear altogether impossible. You will agree with me, reverend Sir, in looking upon God's own eternity, his immensity, his simplicity, his unity, his trinity, and a variety of his attributes in this light. I will not presume to assert that your expanded mind cannot conceive them; but, I assure you, reverend Sir, that mine does not; neither have I ever yet had the good fortune to meet with any person who admitted that he could comprehend any one of them, much less the whole; nor is the Unitarian one whit more fortunate in this respect than I am; for, if he can understand

the nature of the eternal and self-existent Being in whom he believes, he certainly is more highly gifted than is your correspondent. Nor is the mathematician exempt from the difficulty, for it meets him in a thousand shapes, and in a multitude of cases. I shall instance only one amongst the most obvious. He believes that two lines can be continued to infinity, that those lines are perpetually approximating, and that, continued to eternity in this approximation, they will never meet; this he demonstrates most clearly, fully, and satisfactorily. Still, Rev. Sir, how many persons would exclaim that it is the assertion of a palpable absurdity.

I suppose, then, that we are agreed upon the admission, that the reason of Christ is perfect, and that of man imperfect; that, in consequence, since Christ has authority to teach, it is man's duty to believe his revelation; though the truth which he teaches not only surpasses man's reason, but even frequently *appears* to imperfect human beings to be an impossibility, perhaps an absurdity. Thus, you will, I trust, agree in my conclusion, that, when man knows that Christ teaches, it is his duty to believe the doctrine, without waiting to examine whether what the Saviour has so taught, will be approved of by man's own reason; because, if man was free to reject the doctrine, unless it was sanctioned by his own reason, the office of Christ would not be that of a teacher, but of a propounder; and man would be placed over Christ, as the judge who was to decide whether what the Saviour propounded, was true; so that man would, in fact, believe doctrines solely upon the authority of his own reason, and not upon the authority of his revealing teacher; and, in this case, it would be an absurdity for man to believe any mystery. In this case, there could be no fault.

Faith is, then, the belief upon the authority of God, of what reason cannot by its own force discover. Christian faith, or the faith of the Gospel, is the belief upon the authority of Christ, of all that he has revealed. You, reverend Sir, very properly reject upon this principle, the distinction between *greater* and *minor points* of Christianity. By *points*, I suppose you mean *doctrines*. You very properly say—"If we would not go all lengths in seeming liberality, until it terminates in *indifference*, or absolute infidelity, we must firmly maintain even the smallest known truth; we must strive for every 'jot and tittle' of the Gospel." And, reverend Sir, for this you give a very excellent reason: "*All* its truths are *sacred*," *i. e.* they have been revealed by Christ; for, reverend Sir, if there be in that Gospel any thing not revealed by him, it must have been an interpolation; and if there is an interpolation which I cannot with infallible certainty separate from what is genuine, I cannot be infallibly certain which part is genuine; and if I cannot be infallibly certain what part is genuine, I cannot by the Gospel have certain evidence of what Christ has taught; and, if I cannot have certain evidence of what Christ has taught, I am no longer bound to believe any doctrine as revealed by Christ. In this case, there is an end to Christianity. To assert that I would be bound in such a case, would be to assert that a man is bound to believe what he has neither the certain evidence of God, or of his own reason to believe. Hence, reverend Sir, I agree fully in your conclusion; and say, that Christian faith consists in believing the whole and every part of what has been revealed by Christ; and thus the "faith once delivered to the saints" evidently consists in the [summary of] doctrines delivered by Christ, to be by them believed and transmitted to after ages. And the abandonment of one "jot or tittle" thereof, necessarily leads to infidelity; because it destroys the principle that our belief must be upon the authority of our teacher, and not according to our own choice. Upon this, you remark very well:

"If you strive not for the integrity of the *parts*, what, my brethren, is to become of the *whole*? Let each attack that doctrine or duty, which is exceptionable in his eyes, and what part of the body of doctrine will not be wounded? Let one level the doctrine of the Saviour's Deity; another that of his atonement; another that of the influence of the Spirit; another that of our present depravity; another, the justice and impartiality of God; another, the fact that the Church is a divinely constituted body, the ministry and ordinances of which owe their efficacy solely to the appointment of Christ. Stand by calm spectators while different enemies thus take *fortress after fortress*, suspending your efforts because in such case it is only a part and not the whole of the Gospel that is assailed; and assuredly, brethren, your spiritual weapons will not be brought into exercise, until there is *nothing left* for them *to protect* or defend. No, brethren, *it becomes us not thus to act*. All doctrines and duties may not possess precisely the *same importance*, but it is dangerous to prefer one thing to another; to dwell upon the distinction between *greater* and *minor points* in Christianity. *All* its truths are *sacred*. Each one of them is worthy of notice and of maintenance. For *each one* of them are we bound to strive."

And thus you very fully and forcibly prove, by exemplification to which daily experience, adds melancholy confirmation of truth, the correctness of your leading assertion, viz:

"Proceeding on the principle, that it is commendable to strive for the Gospel as a whole, but to be indifferent to its specific doctrines; and it is no improbable supposition, brethren, considering the proneness of man to novelty, that if we strive at all, it would be for something in which there was not *one feature* of the original Gospel left."

You did then, Rev. Sir, "urge the plainest considerations of necessity and duty" to support your reply to your query:

"Whether we are to strive for this very faith, and it only, in opposition to any other modifications of it? In other words, whether the obligation we are under to contend for the faith of the Gospel, generally, should constrain us to contend *particularly* also for *each one of its doctrines?* Unhesitatingly we answer *that it should.* And for this reply, we urge the plainest considerations of necessity and duty."

Now, Rev. Sir, the sum of our reasoning amounts to this: Christian faith is the belief upon the authority of Christ, of *all the doctrines which he has revealed.* The essence of faith consists in the principle that we must believe *upon the authority of Christ;* and as his authority is equally great in the revelation of any one doctrine as of another, faith cannot admit any distinction between his doctrines, because the admission of any such distinction would be the rejection of his authority, as far as that doctrine which we undervalue is concerned; and if we undervalue his authority in any one point, we destroy it altogether; for if in any, even the least point, Christ could deceive us or be himself deceived, the same could occur in a variety of other cases, and we could have no certainty from the testimony of our Saviour of the truth of any doctrine revealed by him. To escape this blasphemous alternative, we assert, with good reason, that as he neither is capable of deceit, or liable to be deceived, his testimony in all things, great and small, is the testimony of Infallible Truth; and that man is bound to believe every one of his doctrines, and that Christian faith consists in believing them all. This result of reason and basis of religion, Rev. Sir, is the only principle of the Roman Catholic Church. How then does it happen that we differ so very widely in its application to practice, if you and I are agreed as to its truth? I assume that one of the causes of our difference arose from your frequently contradicting the principle itself; whilst I adhere to a Church which has never deviated from its letter or spirit. Allow me to shew you how you have done so in some instances in this same sermon. The very commencement of the extract which I made in my former letter furnishes me with a palpable instance of this description.

"Thus, then, it appears, that there has been but one sentiment in the Christian world, as to the duty of 'contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints,' when that faith was assailed; and that, in reference to this *general* defence, those who differ from each other on minor points, may and ought "to *strive together*."

Now, Rev. Sir, we agreed, that no distinction "between greater and minor points in Christianity" could be allowed without the destruction of the principle of faith, or "absolute infidelity," yet here, you not only allow the distinction, but you assure us that "those who differ from each other on *minor points* may and ought to strive together" in defence of what their difference destroys. To your erudition, Rev. Sir, I consign the reconciliation of your own assertions.

According to our former view of Christian faith, it was the belief of *all the doctrines* which Christ revealed. It is manifest that truth is in unison with truth: Christ could reveal only truth: his revelation must then have all its parts in perfect union; they must coalesce into one consistent system. His revelation was the teaching us facts or doctrines which could not admit of different views. The fact cannot be changed by any view, the doctrine must under every view be the same doctrine. From the first quotation I make from you in this letter, it is clear that you could not admit any part of his revelation to be rejected,—from the second it is plain that you do not admit any specific doctrine to be a matter of indifference. And from common reason you must say the God of truth must give a system of revelation in union with itself, all the parts [of which] are in union with each other. I believe you will find all those positions contradicted in your following passage, which is the sequel of that which I have above taken.

"Not, however, that union or coalition, which from the infirmity of our nature, and from a warm attachment to different views, never can exist; that union, which, forced and almost unnatural, instead of tending to harmony, too frequently ministers to strife; not by being 'unequally yoked together' by a yoke that will prove galling to both."

Because here you say it is impossible for those who *strive together* for the truth of the Christian system, to be in *union* or *coalition:* you say they must be "warmly attached to different views" of the same facts or doctrines. I assure you, Sir, that I cannot reconcile you to yourself.

View calmly your next passage.

"No, not thus, brethren, are they who believe in Christianity but differ as to its peculiarities; not thus are they to *strive together;* but by marching in separate columns to the defence of the truth, by separately directing their efforts to one and the same point, and causing them to meet in the same centre; thus, securing the benefits of combined exertion while they avoid the dangers of collision."

Pray, Rev. Sir, if there exists a belief of all that Christ has taught; if there be no distinction admissible between greater and minor point; in what will consist the difference as to the peculiarities of what he taught? How can they *strive together* who differ as to the object for which they strive? Different divisions have different systems of doctrine, which systems are contradictory, and they have been divided because of the incompatibility of their contradictory systems:—the establishment of one system inevitably destroys what that system contradicts. How can you make two contradictory propositions be true together? Sir, when

you marshalled your columns upon the circumference, and gave the command to march upon the centre, you indeed were a thoughtless general, or you intended a merciless carnage; because each division was armed against the other. For instance, you say that Christ established Episcopal government in the Church, and that Presbyterial ordination is invalid. The leader of a Presbyterian column denies that Christ taught either of those propositions, but asserts that he taught the necessity and validity of infant baptism. The leader of another of your columns denies that he taught either the necessity or the validity of this baptism, but assures us that Christ taught that he was God—co-equal with his Father. The Unitarian assures us that this is a mistake, for that if we examine the Bible, with the aid of *enlightened reason*, we shall be convinced that this contradicts the doctrine of the Saviour. My leader declares that St. Peter was constituted head of the Church by the Redeemer, who taught that we should all be one visible body on earth under one visible head, and all believing in the same doctrines, which are *all* those, and *only* those, which Christ has taught. We are assailed on every side, and called idolaters and full of error. We are told, even by you, Rev. Sir, that a difference upon *minor points* is not only allowable but unavoidable—though you assured us that this difference, if allowed, would be destructive of Christianity; as I verily believe it would. And now, Rev. Sir, having left your columns *striving together* in a not very enviable state, I leave you to make peace between them if you can, without having recourse to one of two modes. Either admit the distinction between *greater and minor points* of faith, and you [will] destroy Christianity; or, admit no such distinction, and be consistent in reducing your principles to practice, and you will infallibly become a Roman Catholic. I am aware the state in which this places you is not the most enviable; but, Rev. Sir, you would have been spared from this, had you, at Macon, left untouched that *main error of Popery*, which alone can save you from scepticism and doubt. I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, &c. &c.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Charleston, July 31st, 1826.

LETTER III.

To the Rev. Hugh Smith, A. M., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Augusta.

REV. SIR,—In my second letter, I showed that you asserted that Christian faith requires of us firmly to maintain even the smallest known truth; that we must strive for every "jot and tittle" of the Gospel; and that you also assert, that they who differed as to the peculiarities, that is the peculiar truths of the Gospel, who were warmly attached to different views of the same revelation, who differed from each other on minor points, were bound by duty to contend earnestly for the "faith once delivered to the saints;" although in doing so there was not one of them who, in the estimation of the rest, did not omit striving for many jots, and several tittles of the Gospel—and who, in the opinion of his fellows, did not in several instances contradict that Gospel. I leave to yourself the task of reconciling those assertions. Perhaps you have succeeded in so doing. You will, therefore, have leisure for much similar employment.

In the second paragraph which I quote from you, is the following:—

> "There is a general coincidence then, brethren, as to what is the faith of the Gospel, viz: the Revelation of God contained in the Bible; and for this faith, it is admitted, that all should, in a certain sense, *strive together*. But when we leave this general ground; when we ask what the 'faith of the Gospel' is, in all its parts, coincidence of sentiment is at an end, and many contradictory replies meet our ear. How, then, are we to choose amidst all those conflicting opinions of men? How is this faith of the Gospel to be more minutely ascertained?"

With your own expressions then, Rev. Sir, you confirm the concluding assertion of my second letter—that those who *strive together* according to you, are in truth and in fact, not one body professing the same doctrine, but several sects holding contradictory opinions. And who besides yourself, Rev. Sir, would expect to produce a consistent system of revelation, merely from the declarations of those who teach contradictions? You who tell us, "Let each attack that doctrine or duty which is exceptionable in his eyes, and what part of the body of doctrine will not be wounded?" Thus, you support the Christian system upon a plan which wounds every portion of the Christian doctrine!!!

We now proceed, Rev. Sir, to a new topic. Here you tell us with Chillingworth, that the *Bible is the Religion of Protestants*. Now Sir, with all deference to Mr. Chillingworth and to you, I will, on behalf of Protestants, protest against this proposition. Religion, Rev. Sir, is a disposition of the soul, and not a book. What would be thought of me if I asserted, because a profligate blasphemer and robber kept a Bible always in his pocket, that he was a man who always possessed and carried the Protestant religion about with him. No, Sir, I will not so far libel my Protestant fellow-citizens, as to say that their religion is not an interior disposition of the soul. I have often heard and still believe that it is criminal for a man

to sell his religion, or to give it away. But, if Mr. Chillingworth and you are correct, the Protestant religion is hourly bought and sold, and given away by the very best Protestants. What dreadful crimes have not the Bible Societies to answer for, if Mr. Chillingworth and you be correct? Religion, Rev. Sir, is obedience to God; whosoever has the sincere disposition to obey him is religious, whether he has a Bible or not; whether he profess to be a Protestant or not. Your sixth article does not say that the *Bible is the Protestant Religion*; but it asserts one fact, and draws one consequence—and if the fact be stated correctly, the consequence which is well and logically drawn must also be true, and the whole article be a sound principle for religion. It asserts, that all which God made necessary for man to know, in order to be saved, is to be found in the Bible; and concludes therefore, [that] no man is to be required to believe any doctrine which is not found in the Bible, or may not be proved from the Bible; nor to do any thing, as necessary to salvation, unless it is so found, or so proved. This certainly states, that all the principles of religious doctrine and of religious practice, are to be found in that book; but it does not assert, that that book itself is the disposition to believe those doctrines, and to practice those duties; and if it did make such an assertion, it would be the assertion of an absurdity, viz. that a book was a disposition of the soul.

But, Rev. Sir, you and your article have been a little too hasty; because you both forget to tell us how we are to know either that any thing contained in the Bible was revealed by God, or that all which he revealed was contained in the original Bible; or that the original Bible has come down to us; if it did, which of the different kinds of books called Bibles is that which came from God: because there is not one of those topics upon which we have intuitive evidence. For my own part, I assure you I can at any moment you think proper, exhibit to you some very serious difficulties upon each of those heads, all of which, and many more you have, it seems, forgotten. But, Rev. Sir, a difficulty does not vanish, because the Rev. Hugh Smith thinks proper to overlook it: nor is it destroyed for not having been removed by the compilers of the sixth article of his Church. Let us, Rev. Sir, in imagination, clear all those difficulties. I take up any Bible you please, and I assent to your proposition—that this identical book contains *all* that God has taught, and *only* what God has taught: I shall allow you in this case to speak for yourself.

"You may ask, however, 'are there not many who appeal to this standard, equally honest in purpose, and equally earnest in seeking, and who return from its perusal with widely different impressions? Does not every Christian sect profess to hold the pure "faith of the Gospel," and to have derived its doctrinal compend, or digest, from the *Bible?*' It is indeed so, brethren: Nor should this fact excite our surprise, or drive us from that most safe position, that to the Bible must be our first appeal."

Thus, Rev. Sir, the Bible *alone* is insufficient to bring man to a certain knowledge of what God has taught; because equally honest men return from its perusal with widely different impressions; that is, as you said before, "coincidence of sentiment is at an end, and many *contradictory replies* meet our ear." Alas for us then! Rev. Sir! so, after the mighty mound of difficulties which we have cleared in a bound and left behind us, we have not from the *Bible alone*, that is from Mr. Chillingworth's Protestant religion, any certainty of what God has taught; and yet this is what you call a most safe position: viz. "Truth is in this book, but I cannot find it without aid besides the book." Are all those contradictory replies of honest men truths of Christianity? Is the Christian Faith in contradiction to itself? But the Rev. Hugh Smith cannot say so. The Bible alone will not suffice; *enlightened reason* must be added. This will draw out the truth which was always in the book, but which lies hidden until *enlightened reason* discovers it.

"But be it remembered, that it must be the Bible interpreted by *enlightened reason*; by the comparison of its several parts with each other; and in entire subserviency to the unquestionable axiom, that a revelation from God, cannot contain any thing that will impugn his known attributes, or detract from his infinite perfections. Had it been always thus interpreted, notwithstanding the varieties in the structure of the human mind, the Christian world would not have been called to witness so many divisions, and subdivisions, modifications and re-modifications of doctrinal incorrectness. Nor would the Bible itself have been insulted by being given as the authority for so much that is absurd in theory, or demoralizing in practical tendency."

This is very well, if I could know what was meant by *enlightened reason*, and discover where it was to be found. If every human being has it, then the Bible *alone* being given to each individual will suffice, because he has *enlightened reason*, and we shall have no contradictions: and the principle of the indiscriminate distribution of the sacred volume, is one the best and most salutary which ever was recognized. But since you have informed us that the Bible has not been always *interpreted by enlightened reason*, it is clear that it is not universally possessed: it becomes necessary to know where *enlightened reason* is to be found, because where that and the Bible are conjoined, I shall find with certainty the doctrine of the Christian faith; where it is not, though the Bible should be there, I am likely to get only absurd theory, and what is demoralizing in practical tendency, "and modifications and

re-modifications of doctrinal incorrectness." Do, pray, good Sir, inform me where this *enlightened reason* is to be found, that I may use its aid. But that you may at once see my difficulty, I shall make a short statement of my case.

In this city, many persons whom I very highly respect, say that Bishop Bowen and his clergy are gentlemen of *enlightened reason;* I myself esteem them highly; I have equal esteem for the *enlightened reason* of Bishop England and his clergy: there are many highly *enlightened, reasonable* Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Lutheran, Baptist and Methodist clergymen in this city: no one claims to be more closely guided by *enlightened reason*, in the explanation of the sacred volume, than does the gifted and tasteful pastor of the Unitarians. Yet, all of those, having *the Bible and enlightened reason*, and comparing the several parts with each other, and holding to the maxim which you lay down, *are perpetually contradicting each other.* Thus, Rev. sir, I fear your remedy of helping the Bible with *enlightened reason* is no remedy. And indeed in the very next passage you appear to me to say so yourself.

"Perfect uniformity of sentiment, even were all the circumstances of spiritual preparation, and of biblical investigation, equal, could scarcely be expected. Nor is this more surprising than that God has permitted men to receive different impressions from the *same sounds*, the *same views*, the *same subjects*."

So, Rev. Sir, we are to hold to this most safe position, from which we are never to be driven; "that to the Bible must be our first appeal." But the appellants are clamorous in their contradictions, all drawn from the Bible: you say—"call in enlightened reason to interpret the Bible." I have called in several, who said they had it, and that their interpretations were all made by it, and the Babel of their contradiction is worse than ever. You now tell me "you cannot expect perfect uniformity of sentiment, you must not be surprised at it any more than you are surprised that men receive different impressions from the *same sounds*." Why, Rev. Sir, I thought that all men called sweet sound, sweet sound, and that any person who called discord, concord, would be said to have miscalled it: for it will be concord, though he should call it discord; nor do I believe, Rev. Sir, that you could persuade your congregation, that the mingled sounds which assailed the ears of Hogarth's enraged musician, would be an exquisite oratorio. I am sorry for your own sake, that you should adduce a comparison, which so completely destroys your own theory. But to return, Rev. Sir, I do think it will be thought surprising that you should assert, that if the Bible had always been interpreted by *enlightened reason*, the Christian world would not have been called upon to witness so many divisions and subdivisions, modifications and re-modifications of doctrinal incorrectness; nor would the Bible itself be insulted, by being given as the authority for so much that is absurd in theory, &c. And, in the very next line to tell us, that with all the help of *enlightened reason*, we must expect contradictions; for such is the true meaning of your phrase; however, softened in expression, it means doctrinal incorrectness. How many "jots and tittles" of the Gospel will be lost in this jargon of sounds—in those different views of the same subject! We found, that there could not be two views: for either God revealed the doctrine, and then it is true, or he did not reveal it, and then we are not bound to believe it—so that this is not a subject of opinion, but a matter of fact, which does not admit any difference of view. Thus, Rev. Sir, *enlightened reason* is a phrase, which here has no meaning, it is a delusive sound, which misleads; and after much wandering, leaves us where we originally were, in perfect uncertainty as to what is the doctrine of Jesus Christ: we have indeed expressions in a book, but no agreement as to their meaning.

As you may observe, Rev. Sir, I am now drawing near that part where you dealt me the unprovoked blow. I shall therefore conclude for this day, leaving to my next to parry it as well as I can; meantime allow me to remind you of our progress. You have told us, that faith admits of no distinction of greater and minor doctrines, and yet you admitted the distinction. You told us that any man who contended for only some of the doctrines of Christ, to the exclusion of others, established a principle which would lead to absolute infidelity, yet you brought forward those who thus contended, to be the destroyers of infidelity. You told us, that whoever did not strive for every jot and tittle of the Gospel, did not act according to the obligation under which we are, to contend for the faith of the Gospel generally; yet you placed in this field of contention, striving together, all the sects which differed, by striving for and against those jots and tittles. You told us, the Protestant religion was the Bible; yet you told us the Bible *alone*, and consequently the Protestant religion *alone*, would never bring us to the certain knowledge of Christ's doctrine. You said, that well disposed persons having *all* this Bible, that is, *all* the Protestant religion, would still be replying in contradictions, when asked, what was the faith of the Gospel. You said, *enlightened reason* and its accompaniments interpreting the Bible, would save us from divisions, &c.;

yet you told us, that with all those aids, you could not expect uniformity of sentiment, as to what was the true doctrine of Christ. You perceive, that amongst Protestants this doctrinal union does not exist, cannot exist. But you tell us, we must not take up the principles of the Popish Church, which has secured this uniformity, though you must acknowledge the doctrine of Christ is not contradictory, but is uniform.

I cannot aid you to reconcile these assertions, but I shall exhibit to you some others of the same description, which are to be found in your sermon. And I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, &c. &c.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Charleston, S. C., August 7th, 1826.

LETTER IV.

To the Rev. Hugh Smith, A. M., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Augusta.

REV. SIR—I may now assume, as fairly proved, that you admit Scripture *alone* will not be a sufficient guide to us in ascertaining what is the Christian doctrine. Neither will Scripture, when interpreted by *enlightened reason*, for you will not, Rev. Sir, I suppose, assert that the Rev. Mr. Swiney, the Rev. Mr. Moderwell, the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, and the respectable gentlemen who are your confreres in the ministry of the word, they for instance, who now communicate in the Baptist and Methodist Churches of Augusta, the faith once delivered to the Saints, are all bereft of *enlightened reason*. How, then, are we to know the Christian doctrine? In your own words: "How is the faith of the Gospel to be more minutely ascertained?" Indeed, Rev. Sir, this is the only material question in all religious controversy: and a question towards the solving of which you have not, so far as we have yet got through your sermon, made a single step. However, you acknowledge, that although we cannot ascertain with certainty what the doctrine of Christ is; for this is the only construction which can suit your expression, "Want of uniformity in the inferences honestly drawn from Scripture," yet this "must never drive us back to that main pillar and main error of Popery, that the Church is the authorized *interpreter* of Scripture." Now, Rev. Sir, all other modes latterly substituted having utterly failed, and this old mode plainly having succeeded in preserving, through so many ages and nations, an uniformity of doctrine, which is of the essence of faith, I am at a loss to know why you should have so dogmatically rejected it.

The only reason you can give, is indeed apparently a veryP opish one: "The Church of which *we* are members, has entered her own protest against it." Which means: "you are not to have recourse to this mode, because the Church of which *you* are members, protests that you should not." If you gave any other reason, I have not seen it; it is omitted in your printed sermon. Rev. Sir, I leave to you to reconcile these two propositions, which are your own, "You must *not* believe that the Church is the authorized *interpreter* of the Scriptures." "You must not look for the meaning of the Scriptures in any way against which your Church protests." Not only are your two assertions perfectly in opposition to each other, but the last is the most arbitrary and despotic in its principle, of any that ever fell under my observation. It is as unlike the principle of the Catholic Church, of which Protestants complain, as any principle can be unlike another. I shall exhibit both. *Catholic principle:* God has constituted the Church a tribunal, to give with authority the true interpretation of the Scriptures; therefore, you ought to receive her interpretation, in order to pay due homage to him who created and gave power to the tribunal. *Rev. Hugh Smith's principle:* God has *not* constituted the Church a tribunal, to give with authority the true interpretation of the Scriptures; nevertheless, you must not have recourse for their interpretation to a mode against which she protests. Despotism, or arbitrary rule, Rev. Sir, is using power which has not been properly and sufficiently granted, and he who says, that "he will use that power, although he believes it has not been granted," is, in grain and constitution, knowingly and willingly an arbitrary despot in the fullest meaning of the word; not so the man who uses a power which he conscientiously believes has been properly derived to him, from a competent source: though he might err as to the fact, he is not a despot, he is not arbitrary, when he uses it only because he believes he is empowered, but is not disposed to use it, if he should discover that such power had not been granted. Need I make any application of the facts to the principles, to prove that you must either assert, that your Church is divinely authorized to give with infallible certainty the true interpretation of the Scriptures, or that her assuming to do, what she says, is not in her grant from Heaven, viz. to give us with precision and certainty the true interpretation of the Scriptures, and thus the knowledge of what Christ taught in articles of belief; is an arbitrary, despotic and tyrannical usurpation? Those expressions, Rev. Sir, are not applied to the individual members of your church; they are applied as the natural and inevitable results of your assertions; they are applied

to the system which you would establish: a system not only in direct opposition to the first principles of the Christian religion; but moreover fitted to excite disgust and indignation amongst a people who, being justly jealous of their rights and liberty, are not disposed to admit the exercise of any power except what is evidently derived from their God, or from themselves.

I have assumed, Rev. Sir, that your Church did protest against what you stated to "be the main pillar and the main error of Popery." But is the fact so? Let us examine your ground for the assertion. The error you say is, "that the Church is the authorized *interpreter* of Scripture." I shall not here compare yourself with yourself, that *bon bouche*, I shall reserve; but I will compare your assertion with your proof—

"And the want of this uniformity in the inferences, honestly drawn from the Scripture, must never drive us back to that main pillar, and *main error of Popery*, that the Church is the authorized *interpreter* of Scripture. Against this, the Church of which *we* are members, has entered her own protest; declaring in her 20th article, 'It is not lawful for the Church to decree any thing contrary to God's word written; neither may it so explain one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a *witness* and keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so, beside the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.'"

Now, the 20th article, as given by you, consists of several propositions, not one of which contradicts that which you called "the main error of Popery." It says 1st, "It is not lawful for the Church to decree any thing contrary to God's word written." I, a firm Papist, as you would probably have the politeness to call me, not only do believe this proposition to be true as here given, but even more than this, I would strike out the word *written*, or I would add the words, *or unwritten*, and thus extending the proposition, I would uphold it. 2d, "Neither may the Church so explain one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another." *Granted.* 3d, "Although the Church is a *witness* and keeper of Holy Writ, it ought not to decree any thing *against* the same." *Granted.* The *wherefore*, shows this to be a conclusion drawn from the first two propositions. I allow the truth of the premises, and the accuracy and the truth of the conclusion. 4th, "The Church ought not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation, beside the Holy Writ." From this proposition I dissent for sufficient reasons. But now I do not give them, for the only question is—which of those four propositions denies the assertion, "that the Church is the authorized *interpreter* of Scripture?" How could you, Rev. Sir, have so far committed yourself, as to draw a conclusion not contained in your premises, as this evidently is not? Nay, I go farther, and say, that the three first propositions evidently imply the power of this authorized *interpretation* to be in the Church: so that you have been doubly unfortunate, for you have *not shown* that your Church protests against this error of Popery, and you have produced an article, which you assert does what it does not, viz: protests against this error, and which, moreover, *actually supposes what you call error, to be the practice of your Church*, and only gives rules for regulating that practice. It does not assert, that the Church is not authorized to interpret the Scripture, but says, she is not authorized to interpret it absurdly, nor to teach any thing as necessary for faith, besides its contents: thus your Church rescues herself in a great measure from that charge of despotism and tyranny which you would, in your zeal against Papists, so thoughtlessly fasten upon your own respectable society.

I would here, disclaiming all "intention of disrespect or obtrusion, ask you, Rev. Sir, *whether your own practice is not in opposition to the principle which you lay down.*" I know you are an officiating clergyman, who preach the *interpretation* of the Scriptures to your congregation; whence, I would ask you, as an Episcopalian, do you derive *authority* to give this public *interpretation*? Is it not from your Church, through the bishop who gave you ordination? Did the Church then, through the bishop, give you a power which she had not herself? It is not a private, but a public fact, that you hold weekly meetings of pious ladies, who, together with you, search the Scriptures, for the purpose of interpretation, and that your researches are generally directed to the most abstruse and difficult questions. Do they conceive that the opinion of each lady is equal in value to yours? Do you believe, that, if the most highly gifted amongst those ladies, was to discover, that "this is my body," means, "this is my body," you would consider she had equal *authority* so to *interpret* it to your congregation on the succeeding Sunday, as you would, to tell them, "this is my body," means, "this is not my body." How often, Rev. Sir, if report says truly, have you not been obliged to repress the zeal of some fair disputant, by the assurance, that if she persisted in *her favorite interpretation*, it would be "HERESY," because it was in opposition to the *authorized interpretation* of the Church? I have been assured, that this main error has frequently been your main pillar, to preserve you from being borne away to every side by the unsteady torrent of your impetuous, yet gentle, your docile, yet dogmatizing assail-

ants and supporters. Your Church herself, Rev. Sir, disclaims not this power, for she *judges* what is heresy, and what is true doctrine, and therefore assumes to be an authorized *interpreter* of the Scriptures, so that she either must condemn her practice, or your assertion.

Thus baffled in discovering a rule, by which you will "minutely ascertain the faith of the Gospel," you proceed to make new assertions. "Scripture *alone*, is insufficient." How often has the Catholic been charged with blasphemy, and held up to execration by the English Church and the Bible Societies, for merely making this assertion, which now forms a basis of the system which you endeavor to defend? "Scripture, interpreted by *enlightened reason*, is not sufficient." But still "to the Bible must be our first appeal"—"this is a most safe position." You then proceed:

"*Scripture*, then, being our first witness as to the faith of the Gospel, we may next appeal to *primitive antiquity*, either for information in regard to things indifferent, or illustration of things not clearly revealed. We must suffer the Saints of the first ages to declare, 'What form of doctrine had been delivered unto them;' what was generally believed and practised in their day; and the natural presumption will be, that this belief, and this practice, were derived *from the Apostles*. Their testimony to facts, we deem it reasonable to receive; their *opinions* we would test with caution. The first rests upon the basis of their unimpeached honesty and actual observation, and consequently, may not be consistently rejected; *the latter may be erroneous*, for *they* themselves were not infallible. Thus then, brethren, would we arrive at a knowledge *of the faith of the Gospel*, by a reference to Scripture, as the standard of doctrine; to primitive antiquity as a model of practice."

Now, Rev. Sir, I assert that your latter mode leaves us exactly where we were before you gave us this unmeaning passage. I call it unmeaning, and it is precisely, because it is so. I make the assertion, that we are still as far as ever from ascertaining the faith of the Gospel. In the first place, Scripture *alone*, that is what you here call our *first witness*, you already said was sufficient. You next appeal to *primitive antiquity*. Now I should like to know where this *primitive antiquity* is to be found—you appear to say it is to be found in the testimony of the Saints of the first ages. I am still at a loss—because you neither tell me to what period the first ages reach, nor who were the Saints. Thus you send me to witnesses of a very vague description, who live in time undefined. For instance, I appeal to the testimony of St. Augustine in the fifth age, who testifies to me that the doctrines of praying for the dead, and of offering up the holy sacrifice of the Mass were, in his day, received as derived from the Apostles. I deem it reasonable to receive this testimony as to facts. You deem it unreasonable. I appeal to the Scripture—you deny one of the books to be canonical, and you say I do not give a proper interpretation to the other. I bring the testimony of St. Augustine to uphold my position. How am I to know that he is a saint of the first ages? I can decide for myself. I say that you are at liberty to deny that he was a saint, or that the fifth was one of the first ages. Suppose you make either denial, how far have we got any mode of deciding our difference?—I see none. Therefore I call your passage vague, unmeaning, useless and deceptive, not that I charge you with intention of deceit. I believe you think your passage does convey precise ideas. Though I look upon you to have been very imprudent, Rev. Sir, I should be sorry to ascribe to you conduct unbecoming a gentleman or a Christian. But I must write as freely as you preach.

When you send me to primitive antiquity, then, you delude me with an empty name; when you tell me of the testimony of the saints of the early ages, you send me to a tribunal which is undefined. But I pass over this. Why shall I go to them? "Either for information in regard to things indifferent:"—Rev. Sir, I thought we agreed that though "all duties and doctrines may not possess precisely the *same importance*, it is dangerous to prefer one thing to another; to dwell upon the distinction between *greater* and *minor points* in Christianity. *All* its truths are *sacred*. Each one of them is worthy of notice, and of maintenance. For *each one* of them we are bound to strive. We must firmly maintain the smallest known truth; we must strive for every 'jot and tittle' of the Gospel." Then, why call any part *indifferent*? We also are sent to the saints of the early ages for "illustration of things not clearly revealed." Am I awake, when I read this in the sermon of a Protestant clergyman? So then to use the phrase which has been so long flung at Popery, we are, by direction of the Rev. Hugh Smith, to go to the fallible tribunal of mortal man, for illustration of that infallible book which *alone* is to be the rule of our faith—and this because the book is not clear as to what God intends to teach!!! Hear this, all you who vituperate Papists, for saying that St. Peter was inspired when he wrote, that in St. Paul's Epistles are some things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest as they do the other Scriptures to their own destruction. Hear this, you who tell us that the Bible is plain to the meanest capacity!!! Why, good Sir, what would Mr. Chillingworth say to this? "The Bible, that is the Protestant religion, is not so clear as to God's revelation, but that it needs the illustration of the

saints of the first ages, though we know of no authority which is to tell us exactly who are those saints, and which are those ages." Therefore we cannot know exactly what God has revealed in the Bible. Why, Rev. Sir, this is making the meaning of the Bible depend upon the interpretation of a tribunal, which cannot be ascertained, and which, if ascertained, would consist of poor miserable mortals. Is this the anti-popery? Is this the genuine Protestantism of the Rev. Hugh Smith, rector of St. Paul's, in Augusta?

From this we would imagine your plain theory was, that Scripture, either alone or with enlightened reason, being insufficient to lead us to ascertain minutely the faith of the Gospel, that is, the doctrines which it contains; that difficulty would be removed, and the doctrines would be ascertained by the aid of primitive authority, which would illustrate what was *not clearly revealed* in the Scriptures. The primitive antiquity was the testimony of the saints of the first ages, declaring "what form of *doctrine* had been delivered to them," what was generally *believed* and practised in their days; this *belief* or *doctrine* we naturally suppose to have come from the Apostles. The saints of the first ages would testify the *fact*, of what was given to them, the fact of what was generally *believed:* the force of this testimony rests upon their *unimpeached honesty* and *actual observation*; therefore, the testimony may not be consistently rejected. Such appeared to me to be your train of reasoning, and the only difficulty in my way then appeared to be, how I should know the saints and the times. I thought that here, at least, I should find you consistent with yourself, and that, if we could fix upon the special witnesses, all our difficulties would be over. But, alas! I reckoned without my host. Because, after this mighty preparation, you again threw me back where I originally was. "Thus, then, brethren, would we arrive at a knowledge of *the faith of the Gospel*, by a reference to Scripture as a standard of *doctrine*; to primitive antiquity, as a model of practice." Thus, are we flung upon Scripture only *for doctrine*, after the fine display of its total inadequacy, without other aid, viz. the testimony of the saints, as to the facts, "what form of *doctrine* was given to them, what was generally *believed* in their day!!!"

Rev. Sir, to speak with inoffensive candor, I believe you have no distinct and definite notions upon the subject, and that your contradictions and inaccuracies arise from the peculiarity of your situation. Your society says, that the Scripture *alone* is the rule of faith. Adopting this principle, you can restrain no person from so interpreting the Scripture, as to produce what contradicts you. Then you call upon the saints to protect you, but you do not like to give them power to direct you, as your object is only that they should drive away your assailants.

Of course, Rev. Sir, you have read of the old man, who, tired of carrying his bundle of sticks, called upon death to release him; but when the king of terrors appeared, the old gentleman's courage failed, and he assured the grisly spectre, that he only asked his aid to place the bundle once more upon his shoulders. The saints would be excellent protectors against your friends the Rev. Dr. Whitaker or the Rev. Dr. Moderwell; but as soon as they cast a friendly glance of recognition at the Rev. Mr. Swiney, it is time to grant them leave of absence—Scripture *alone* is then sufficient.

You perceive, Rev. Sir, that our work thickens. But I must hasten to get through.

Yours, &c. &c.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Charleston, S. C., August 14th, 1826.

LETTER V.

To the Rev. Hugh Smith, A. M., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Augusta.

REV. SIR—In my last I was obliged to conclude when I would have preferred to continue, but the regulation for my letter required it's not exceeding a certain length. I shall therefore pursue the examination of the passage which I was considering. I shall, however, keep my promise of brevity, and discharge you with as much speed as I can.

You called upon the saints to *illustrate* those doctrines not clearly revealed in the Bible: thus it is manifest, you allow that in the Bible there are doctrines not clearly revealed; you admitted this long before: viz. when you said enlightened reason was necessary for its interpretation: and when you said that equally honest men searching the same passage for the doctrine, contradicted each other; when you told us that with all the aids of reason, of spiritual preparation, and of biblical investigation, perfect uniformity of sentiment was not to be expected among those who studied the Bible. Thus nothing can be more evident than that you repeatedly asserted that the Bible alone, or even with those aids, was not sufficient to bring us to an uniformity of doctrine. Nothing is more evident on the other hand, than these two propositions: "Uniformity of doctrine is essential for faith." "The doctrine of Christ is perfectly uniform." The first of those propositions you have yourself maintained: "That the obligation we are under to con-

tend for the faith of the Gospel, generally, should constrain us to contend *particularly* also for *each one of its doctrines*." The second is plain from the simple view that truth is uniform, and [that] Christ is truth. As then, Rev. Sir, you have established that the Scripture is not sufficiently clear to bring us to uniformity of sentiment, you have most fully established that it is an insufficient rule of faith; and that to be sufficient it needs some aid; and that [this] aid must be something more than enlightened reason. Now, as I come to the *main error of Popery*, to use your very kind and complimentary expression, I request you to watch my assertions closely.

It is admitted by you that an honest man fully qualified to investigate the Scriptures might, and that such men so doing every day, do find it impossible to agree as to what are the doctrines of the Gospel. Hence it is clear, that although the sacred volume does contain the law of God, and nothing but what is his law, and has all the authority of God himself; yet because of man's imperfection, though the book is authoritative, no man can be certain without some farther aid, that he can know the doctrines of God. Therefore unless farther aid than the Bible and enlightened reason is obtained, the doctrines which God requires of man to believe cannot be certainly known by man. A just God cannot require an impossibility from man; but it would be requiring an impossibility from him to insist that he should firmly believe doctrines whose truth he cannot discover, from that reason which God has given as his guide, or from revelation, which, though a sufficient motive of belief, if clear, is so obscure in the Bible, that honest and enlightened men cannot be certain, after their best investigation, what it teaches. Therefore a just God cannot require of man faith or the firm belief of doctrines above his reason, and for the belief of which he has no certain knowledge from revelation, as given in the Bible.

This, Rev. Sir, is the difficulty, this the labyrinth, to extricate yourself from which you called upon the saints: but as you refused to follow them, you are still bewildered in its mazes, and here you are likely to remain. The destruction of faith is thus the inevitable consequence of the first principle of Protestantism, viz. that the Bible alone is sufficient to attain the knowledge of the Christian doctrine; and when you left this principle, you ceased to be a consistent Protestant. Now, Rev. Sir, look through that portion of the world which has admitted this principle, and in the honesty of your soul answer the questions,—"How many hundreds of sects, has it produced?" "Can you ever, admitting the truth of this principle, expect to diminish their number?" "Are all their contradictions contained in the Gospel?" "If the Gospel contains those contradictions, has it emanated from a God of truth?" "If the plain words of the Gospel cannot bring them to uniformity of sentiment, will any writing of any saint or number of saints, be less liable to misconstruction than is the Gospel itself?" "Has God then left us without any certain mode of discovering what he taught and what we should believe?" "Is faith or a firm belief of what God has taught possible, if we admit the first principle of Protestantism?" You seemed to say, and I say positively, that to know the doctrines of the Gospel, some farther aid beyond the Scripture and enlightened reason is necessary. I write you *seemed* to say, because though you did say that primitive antiquity was necessary to illustrate what was not clearly revealed in the Gospel, yet afterwards you retracted the assertion when you said—"Thus brethren would we arrive at a knowledge of the *faith of the Gospel*, by a reference to Scripture as the *standard of doctrine*; to primitive antiquity, as *a model of practice*." Before this you had said, primitive antiquity would illustrate *what was not clearly revealed*, so that as you in your latter passage, speak of Scripture *only* as the standard of doctrine by which we know the faith of the Gospel—I must confine the word *practice* to mean *acts* and not extend to primitive antiquity any authority respecting *belief*, though the saints were, according to another of your passages, to give us testimony, which we could not consistently reject, as to the fact of what *doctrine* they did receive, and what *doctrine* was *believed* in their day. Thus, Rev. Sir, until you shall make belief and practice have the same meaning, I must look upon this passage of yours as involved, inconsistent and contradictory; and unless you mean that you have some tangible aid to bring you to a certain knowledge of the meaning of what is obscure in the Scripture, you have made no progress. If by practice you mean belief, you have written badly, when you wrote, the natural presumption will be that this *belief* and *this practice* were derived from the Apostles, and thus your whole passage is delusive. If you do not mean *belief* by *practice*, your passage is palpable self-contradiction.

You produce against the Rev. Mr. Whitaker some passage of the Scripture, suppose "The Word was God," and "The Word was made flesh"—you assert, that it teaches the divinity of the Son. He produces against you, "the Father is greater than I," to shew that our blessed Saviour disclaimed equality with the Father; you appeal to the saints of

the early ages, who testify on your behalf. Mr. Whitaker asks you, whether they were infallible—you say, NO; but they were good witnesses of the doctrine taught by the Church at that time. Mr. W. asks you whether that Church which so taught, was then infallible—you answer, NO. Suppose Mr. W. then admitted the testimony of the saints to be true, and asserted that the Church erred; what have you gained? Would not the Rev. gentleman take exactly the very ground against you which you take against me? To make your argument good, then, you should either prove that the saints infallibly testified the true meaning of the passage: this you will not; nor will I: or that their testimony was true as to what the Church taught; this we admit: but you must now establish that the Church did with infallible certainty then teach the true meaning of the Scriptures. This I will uphold as a Catholic: but how you as a Protestant can do that is to me inconceivable, and how you without doing so could chaunt your Io TRIUMPHE at Macon, is to me unintelligible. Pray, Rev. Sir, do you now imagine you were warranted in asserting "This, brethren, is the ground assumed by the Church of which we are members; and it is precisely that high and vantage ground on which she can be safe from the assumptions of Papal power on the one hand; and the fury of untempered innovation on the other." Indeed, Rev. Sir, had you lived in England about two centuries and a half since, as perhaps some of your ancestors did, the good Queen Bess, supreme head in earth of God's Church, would have taught you to be more cautious in using the phrase "untempered innovation," which you now fling at the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, merely because he acts with a little more consistency than you do upon the principle which is common to you both, and which first gave being to your Church. Neither, Rev. Sir, do I envy you the lofty eminence to which you have attained; but I would advise you to use your elevation with modesty, to bear your honors meekly.

Before I leave this topic, I must however advert to one difficulty which you appear to have altogether overlooked. How shall we manage, when we have found the saints and their books, to know the meaning of their writings? For instance, there is one passage in Tertullian, who perhaps is no saint, yet is a good witness, which *we* say teaches plainly the doctrine of the real presence, and some of *your* confreres quote the very passage to prove the very opposite doctrine.—You and the Presbyterians differ, you and the Baptists differ, as to the meaning of the passages from the saints and fathers. Thus, you have not as yet brought us one step in advance of the Bible, nor have you proved the Bible, nor any part of it, to have been revealed by God, nor given us a principle upon which to found that proof. Rev. Sir, I have permitted you to walk unmolested over many a miry pass, in which I could have made you sink, by merely flinging upon you the load of your own inconsistency, and depriving you of the aid of my concessions.—I come now to examine the most extraordinary passage that ever came under my eyes.

"With us, the *Bible* is *authoritative*: any other evidence admitted is but *collateral*, or *confirmatory*. This, brethren, is the ground assumed by the Church of which we are members; and it is precisely that high and vantage ground on which she can be safe from the *assumptions of Papal power* on one hand, and the fury of untempered innovation on the other. Let then the Church be the witness and keeper of Holy Writ; for so hath God ordained. Let her "have authority to judge and determine in controversies of faith; not that absolute authority which is predicated on the claim of infallibility; not that authority, which would fetter the minds and the consciences of her members; yea, fetter the *word of God*: but that authority, which, resting upon the possession of concentrated wisdom and piety, and upon the peculiar benediction of her divine founder and head, is all that she arrogates to herself,* inducing her not 'to go beyond the word of the Lord, to do either less or more.' Give to her less than this, and you make her a mere *nullity*; give to her *more than this*, and you then make the Bible the mere creature of her will: you magnify the ark itself above the *law* and the *testimony*, which it only enshrines."

Authority, Rev. Sir, may be defined, *power properly derived to do some act.* Now I am as perfectly at a loss as ever I was in my life, to know what is the meaning of your assertion, unless it is the following: "God has established the Church as the keeper of the Scriptures, and the witness of their having been kept unadulterated and entire." If this be your meaning, you are to all intents and purposes, so far, a Roman Catholic. I suppose you would not assert, that God ordained the Church to have the high and important charge here described, without his also doing what was further necessary, and what it is clearly in his power to do, viz. to make that keeper faithful, to make that witness sufficient. Indeed, it would be arguing gross stupidity in the eternal God, to suppose he would give the sacred deposit of heavenly truth to a keeper incompetent to its preservation; to a witness who would be incapable, inefficient, useless. For, if this keeper permitted the adulteration of the deposit, how should it become purified? If this witness could testify a falsehood, where would be our security for the knowledge of truth? It inevitably results, that we can have no certainty of the identity, the integrity and the purity of the sacred books, except from our certainty of the infallible fidelity of the keeper, and the infallible accuracy and honesty of the witness. Thus, Rev. Sir, I

* Vide Article 20th.

am extremely happy to find you and I are fully agreed, that we must depend upon the infallibility of the Church for the authenticity and accuracy of the present copies of that Bible, whose authority does not spring from the high power of the trusty keeper and infallible witness, which has preserved the sacred deposit, but from the supreme power and dominion of the great God, who gave these works to the care and keeping of the infallible church. Of course, Rev. Sir, we will also agree, that the Church so commissioned, must have been that which was originally in existence, and spread through all nations, having but one doctrine, not contradictions of opinion, and which through all ages continued her regular succession and unbroken integrity, and that the commission could not be communicated to any portion, however numerous, or respectable, which in any nation broke away from this Church, separating from her communion, opposing her authority, vilifying her officers, decrying her practices, and charging her with being a faithless and traitorous keeper of the divine records, and a lying witness, testifying that God gave to her keeping, books which he never ordained her to keep. To suppose, the great Church of all nations, which had been originally established the keeper and the witness, which you so properly point out, and to suppose that during eight hundred years and upwards, she was thus unfaithful, as your book of homilies asserts, would destroy the principle you lay down, and would establish against the eternal God, ignorance, want of power, or want of care, for the preservation of truth. Of course, Rev. Sir, you will not make such blasphemous charges; you would prefer holding to your own principles, "Let then the Church be the witness and keeper of Holy Writ; for so God hath ordained."

We now come to another, and a very important topic. We have before seen, that even when the Church gives to us the sacred volume, and by reason of her divine commission, we are infallibly certain that what we read is truly the sacred treasure of divine truth, still, even with the aid of enlightened reason, and all the other circumstances of spiritual preparation and biblical investigation, equally honest persons diligently inquiring, "What is the doctrine that God teaches," can not agree as to the fact, but actually contradict each other. We consulted the Saints of the early ages, but as *they* were not infallible, though their *opinions* deserved respect, we are not bound to be led by them. In all this, Rev. Sir, you and I are perfectly agreed. I agree with you in your assertions: "Their testimony to facts, we deem it reasonable to receive." "We must suffer the Saints of the first ages, to declare what form of *doctrine* had been delivered to them; what was generally *believed* AND *practised* in their day; and the natural presumption will be, that this *belief* AND *this practice* WERE *derived from the Apostles.*" "Their testimony as to facts, rests upon the basis of their unimpeached honesty and actual observation, and consequently may not be consistently rejected." In all this I agree fully with you; I find them testify, that controversies of faith arose, that is, that several persons interpreted the Scripture, so as to say, that it contained a special doctrine, whilst others, equally honest, contradicted them and said, that it did not contain that doctrine, but that it contained exactly what contradicted it. Thus you, I suppose would say, that the holy Scripture contained the doctrine of the divinity of our blessed Saviour, [while] your confrere in the ministry, the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, with equally honest purpose asserted, that it contained the doctrine, that our blessed Lord was not God. You said, it plainly contained the doctrine, that bishops and priests are different orders, and your confrere, Rev. Mr. Moderwell said, it contained the very contradictory doctrine. Such differences have occurred in the early ages; controversies arose: were all those contradictions contained in the Book? Impossible! How shall we know its meaning? You tell us, Rev. Sir, "Let her, that is, the Church, have authority to *judge* and *determine* in controversies of faith." Had you stopped here, we would still be fully agreed, but I cannot agree with you in what you have added; for I do not like to add glaring inconsistencies and palpable contradictions to my other faults.

As these, Rev. Sir, are strong expressions, and such as ought not to be used without very good cause, I feel myself bound to justify them. It is impossible for me to do so in the compass of this letter, but I shall make some preparation for my next, by giving here what I conceive to be the plain meaning of that phrase, in the use of which we are agreed.

We found that God bestowed upon the Church authority to be the keeper and the witness of Holy Writ. This Writ contains His doctrine, which He requires man to believe; the firm conscientious belief of this doctrine is faith; faith is a mental act, not a mere oral declaration; a declaration of belief, contrary to mental conviction, is an act of hypocrisy, which is irreligious and displeasing to God, and can not therefore ever be pleasing to Him, or received by Him; and no man who makes such a profession can be honest, because, in making it he solemnly asserts what is not the fact.

Faith is the belief of what God has revealed; what the Bible contains has been revealed by Him; two persons differ as to the doctrine which it contains; this is a controversy of faith. How is it to be terminated? That is, in other words, how are we to know what is the contained doctrine? You tell us, "let the Church have authority to judge and to determine." Authority is power properly derived to do some act: the act in this place is, after examination to form a judgment; the judgment is, to assert and to testify which is the doctrine revealed by God, or contained in the Book; and to determine that, is to put an end to the controversy, by removing the doubt which existed: that doubt can not be removed, but by giving certainty; certainty can be given only by creating evidence of truth; evidence of truth, in this case, is clear, infallible, certain evidence, as to what doctrine revealed by God is contained in that passage or in that book. Thus, if the Church is to have such authority, she must have power properly derived to her, to do those acts; such power can be properly derived to her only from one source, which is the Deity himself. Therefore, unless God himself has given to her power to decide with infallible certainty what is the doctrine which God has revealed in that book, or that passage, she can have no authority to judge and to determine in controversies of faith. And if she has no such power, we have no mode of knowing with certainty what God has taught; because, no other body or individual lays claim to this authority except herself, and if her claim is unfounded, we have no ground of certainty, because all are liable to error: and God requires us to believe with a firm faith what He teaches, and yet leaves us without any certain mode of ascertaining what we are to believe. Of course, it would be preposterous to assert, that he requires of us to be hypocrites, by professing to believe, what we may or may not believe; and it would be equally preposterous to assert that his Church could have a power to judge and to determine what he has taught, and yet we not be bound in conscience mentally to believe what the tribunal to which he gave the authority had proposed to us as being revealed by him.

I am, Rev. Sir, yours, &c. &c.

A Roman Catholic.

Charleston, S. C., August 21st, 1826.

LETTER VI.

To the Rev. Hugh Smith, A. M., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Augusta.

Rev. Sir:—In my last I agreed with you in saying, "Let then the Church be the witness and keeper of holy writ; *for so God hath ordained.* Let her have authority to judge and determine in controversies of faith." We saw, Rev. Sir, if she had such authority, it must have been derived from God, and must bind the conscience of man; because it would be folly to say that a controversy had been determined, when the parties were left at liberty to profess what they pleased; and it would be irreligious to assert that God could bind man to be a hypocrite, by requiring of him to profess the belief of what he did not conscientiously assent to be truth. The Church can therefore have no authority to judge and to determine controversies of faith, unless her decisions will bind the consciences of her members: and God cannot bind any person to receive and to obey a judgment and determination of a tribunal which might as easily lead man to error as to truth; if God then binds man to obedience he must himself lead the tribunal to give an infallibly true judgment; his command of obedience is a pledge that he will so direct; therefore it was, that in my last I wrote that you must ultimately come to maintain the infallibility of the Church. But no; you will not: for you immediately add, "not that absolute authority which is predicated upon the claim of infallibility." Really, Rev. Sir, you appear to me to wax worse in your contradictions, because you now deny what you before asserted. You asserted that the Church has authority; now you say she is not to have that authority "absolute." Good Sir, between the absolute possession of just power, and the absolute want of just power, there is no medium: for if a tribunal has power to decide, it absolutely has the power of decision: and if the tribunal has not absolute power of decision, it has no power to judge and to determine. I will allow that in some cases, and under certain conditions, a tribunal might have power, and in all other cases, and when those conditions do not exist, be without any power. In this case, however, there is an absolute power, so far as it goes, or there is none. For instance, the Governor of Georgia has power, in case he thinks a man unjustly condemned to death, to grant him a respite until the Legislature shall decide upon his case; thus he has the absolute power of the respite, though not the absolute power of liberating the condemned; but if the Legislature shall decide upon pardoning the convict, then the Governor has the absolute power of liberating him altogether. Where there is authority, it is absolute to its extent; where it is not absolute, there is no authority. Your assertion that the Church has authority to judge and to determine, but that this is not an authority which is absolute, is to me unintelligible. "Not that an-

thority which would fetter the minds and the consciences of her members." If it does not bind the mind, it is no authority regarding faith, for faith is a mental act, not an external profession. Let us suppose a case. The Church is about to decide a controversy of faith: you and your friend, Rev. Mr. Whitaker, appear before her. You both say she has authority to judge and to determine; that is, *you* say, "Our Saviour taught that he was co-equal God with his Father." Rev. Mr. W. says, "Our blessed Saviour taught that he was *not* co-equal God with his Father." You both state your reasons: the Church decides that she has full evidence that the Saviour taught *your* proposition. You call upon Mr. Whitaker to submit. He answers, "I cannot, for this would be giving the Church authority to fetter the mind and conscience." If he may lawfully thus answer, of what value is her authority to judge and to decide your controversy? Rev. Sir, it would be much better to do as Mr. Whitaker does, to deny altogether the existence of any ecclesiastical tribunal, than to be thus increasing your difficulties, and making your positions ridiculous. If she has authority, say so, and obey it; if she has not, boldly say so at once, but never speak again of such a thing as an ecclesiastical tribunal.

But at least, though she has not authority to fetter Mr. Whitaker's mind and conscience, he ought to pay external respect to a constituted tribunal by giving an open profession of doctrine, though his mind and his conscience may still preserve freedom and remain unfettered. I differ indeed very widely from your Rev. confrere in doctrine and in discipline; and upon this point he needs not my advice; but that advice would be, never to be guilty of hypocrisy by professing to belong to a body which adopts a code of doctrine that he does not in his conscience believe to be true.

As to fettering the word of God, it is an expression which, Rev. Sir, I did not expect from you, nor from any reasonable person. How many meanings has the word of God? Has it more than one? If the Saviour says, "This is my body," the phrase has some definite meaning. When I have fully ascertained what that meaning is, do I fetter God's word by saying, "He meant what he said?" I really blush, Sir, whilst I write, and for the first moment since I took up my pen to address you, I feel almost indignant when I find it sought to degrade the eternal word of the Most High God, by assimilating it to the vile production of some pettifogging attorney, who, anxious to cheat, strives to hide the meaning of his phrases in ambiguous expressions, that he may escape being fettered to an inconvenient construction. Sir, the word of God has but one meaning, and that meaning is eternal truth, and its perfection would be fettering the expression to the display of that and only that; to effect this, Sir, would be to rid the world of those evils of which you affected to complain when you wrote.

"Had it been always thus interpreted, notwithstanding the varieties in the structure of the human mind, the Christian world would not have been called to witness so many divisions and sub-divisions, modifications and remodifications of doctrinal incorrectness. Nor would the Bible itself have been insulted, by being given as the authority for so much that is absurd in theory, or demoralizing in practical tendency."

There is no species of science, the acquisition of which does not fetter the mind by restricting it to what is discovered to be truth. Such fettering is a blessing. There is, Sir, a species of pulpit-talk sometimes, indeed too often, mistaken for preaching and substituted therefor, which gives words without ideas; but it is worse than nonsense, because it deludes by the very sound having a semblance to reason: there is one excuse for him who uses it: he might himself be the dupe of the similitude. I should regret, Sir, to charge you with a deliberate intention to deceive your hearers, when you asserted that to fix the meaning which God intended his word should convey, would be what bears the appearance of a crime in the expression; "fettering the word of God." Sir, the Council of Nice fettered it, when they decided that those texts which Arius adduced to prove that the Son was not consubstantial to the Father, did not mean what he taught; the Council of Ephesus fettered it, when they decided that the texts which Nestorius adduced to prove that there were two persons in Christ, did not mean what he taught; the Council of Chalcedon fettered it, when they decided that the texts which Eutyches adduced to prove that there was only one nature in Christ, did not mean what he taught; the first Council of Jerusalem fettered it, when they decided that the texts adduced to prove the necessity of circumcision in Christianity, did not mean what some of the very first Christians contended was their meaning; the blessed Saviour himself fettered it, when he taught the disciples upon the mountain, and on a thousand other occasions. Explanation of the true meaning of any law is not fettering the law, but applying it to its proper purpose, after having pointed out what that purpose is. Teaching mankind the law of God, and explaining precisely what he has revealed, is not fettering

the mind, but is enlightening and instructing and freeing the mind from the fetters of ignorance. Do not, then, Rev. Sir, imagine that because you have culled from some former writers, of the modern English Church, a few of their phrases, the people of America will be led to imagine that the echo of delusive and refuted jargon contains sound reason. If the Church has authority to decide controversies of faith, that authority must be absolute, and must be founded upon her possession of a power to tell us with certainty what God has revealed; the instant man is taught with certainty what God has revealed, that moment his conscience is bound, in virtue of God's dominion only, it is true, but by the judicial testimony of the Church. So when I bow to the decision of the Supreme Court of the State, I do it, not because the judges have any inherent power of their own to bind me to obedience, but because I owe that obedience to the State, which commissioned the court to give me judicial testimony, as to what is the meaning of this passage of its law. The court possesses no odious power to fetter me or to fetter the law, but it has a wholesome and necessary authority to judge and to determine what is that law which is superior to the court and to the suitor: and it would be a strange plea to set up, that the court had authority to decide, but not to decide with certainty, not to fetter men nor the law, but still to decide.

But you will tell me that you do not contradict yourself, because you allow the Church "that authority which, resting on the possession of concentrated wisdom and piety, and upon the peculiar benediction of her divine founder and head, is all that she arrogates to herself, inducing her not to go beyond the word of the Lord to do either less or more." If I could know what you mean, I should be able in a word to dispatch your whole phrase. This quotation of yours, in my apprehension, should mean that the Church has the power of giving an infallibly correct judgment—yet that cannot be your meaning, because you said before, "not that absolute authority which is predicated on the claim of infallibility." You say here, the authority of the Church in her decisions in controversies of faith, is to judge and determine, *not* going beyond the word of God either for *less;* that is, giving us the doctrines whole and entire; so that we do not get less than the revelation and law of God; *nor more;* so that we get no more than the law of God. Then, if we get neither less nor more, we must get precisely the law of God. If she has got a *peculiar benediction of God for this purpose,* that peculiar benediction must be infallibly efficacious, and so I shall by her testimonial judgment and determination, get precisely and infallibly the whole word or revelation of the Lord, neither more or less. If this is not authority predicated upon infallibility, I know not what it is: and if it be not, I have no certainty, because if she is not infallible she may err; and if she may err, I cannot be certain but she does actually err in this special instance. But you will ask, has she not God's peculiar benediction? I answer, by asking: will it infallibly lead her to truth? If it will, I have certainty, and her authority is predicated on infallibility. If it will not, I have no certainty, and bereft of that, I can have no faith, because faith is founded upon certain and not upon probably true testimony. It would be a novel mode, Rev. Sir, of commencing a Christian creed, to say: "I believe it is highly probable that there is one God. I believe that it is highly probable that his only Son became man; I believe it is extremely probable he died on the cross. I believe it is very likely, indeed I am *almost* certain, that he will reward the good and punish the wicked." No, Sir, there can be no reasonable faith except upon the basis of infallible certainty; and the infallible certainty that the Church will give us the doctrine of God, rests upon her concentrated wisdom and piety, uniting the testimony of such a host so congregated from every quarter of the globe, as renders it *impossible* that they should either be deceived as to what common doctrine received from Christ was given by the founders of all the Churches to the nations of the earth, and makes it *impossible* that they should conspire to corrupt that testimony. But, Rev. Sir, one would imagine you should be extremely cautious in unfolding the record of this tribunal, because the date of your change and all its circumstances, and the testimony against it are indelibly clear upon it. The second ground is, the peculiar benediction and promise to which you allude; but which certainly, if made, places you in no very enviable a station, because to justify yourself, you must prove that the benediction was inefficacious, and that the divine promise was forgotten; because unless the Church erred in her doctrine, you are opposed to God's truth. No wonder then that you instinctively shrink back and throw your old shield before you: "Give her less than this, and you make her a mere *nullity;* give her *more than this,* and then you make the Bible the mere creature of her will." As for the figure of "magnifying the ark above the law and the testimony which it enshrines," I do not understand it, unless you mean one of two things, neither of which, even in your own statement, is

true; viz. either that the Church has no more to do with the Bible than has a box in which it is kept—or that the dead ark had authority to judge and to determine controversies of faith, for which purpose it possessed concentrated wisdom and piety, and had received a peculiar benediction from God. You have therefore retreated to final unintelligibility, from multiplied contradiction. Here, at least from me, you may be secure.

And now in sober sadness I ask you, have you made one step towards removing the appalling difficulty which has met you at every turn? "But when we leave this general ground; when we ask what the faith of the Gospel is in all its parts, coincidence of sentiment is at an end, and many contradictory replies meet our ear. How then are we to choose amidst all these conflicting opinions of men? How is the faith of the Gospel to be more minutely ascertained?" You told us *enlightened reason* would lead us to knowledge; then you said that even if we found it, we still should not agree. You next answered, that primitive antiquity would illustrate those things not clearly revealed in the book. The saints would tell us what *doctrines* they derived from the Apostles: this was our tradition; of course you ran away from [it,] telling us that you only sent us to them for the purpose of knowing what they *practised*. The Bible was to give doctrine. Then you told us the Church had authority to decide in controversies of faith. But you soon denied this, for you told us that her decisions should not fetter our minds nor fetter the word of God. Still you told us that she had wisdom and piety and God's peculiar blessing, to establish her authority; and yet though so established, she may err, although she could not give us more than the word of the Lord, nor less than the word of the Lord, and yet, giving precisely the word of the Lord, she might err. The whole conclusion then seems by some magic brought to this, that by the word of the Lord is meant the Bible. The old question then recurs:—suppose I believe this to be God's book, how shall I know its meaning where there are so many contradictory explanations? And to this, Sir, you give no answer. By what right then, Rev. Sir, do you presume to call me erroneous in my interpretation of that book? By what right, Sir, do you presume to tell Mr. Moderwell or Mr. Whitaker, or any other human being, that you or your society are right, and that any one who differs from you is wrong? I differ, Sir, from Mr. Whitaker's explanations of the sacred volume, as much probably as does any other human being. I adore the Son and the Holy Ghost with the self-same homage as I do the Father: I believe, as firmly as I do that I now write, that he who was crucified on Calvary was the eternal God, by whom all things were made, having a body and soul personally united to his divine nature. But I am at as perfect a loss as I ever was in my life to know how, when Mr. Whitaker denies that those propositions are contained in the Bible, *you* can prove with certainty that they are. You adduce texts; and he adduces texts in contradiction to you. You say he mistakes; he charges the mistake upon you. You say that the Church in the first ages explained them as you do, and that you therefore must be right. He asks you whether the Church was then infallible in her explanations: you say, "*No*, she was liable to error." He says that she erred in this explanation if she gave it. Who is now to decide it between you? "Let the Church have authority to decide this controversy," you say. He answers, "But you said she was not infallible and had no authority to fetter God's word." I have read some very fine sounding works which would decide against you, upon the very ground that you followed the opinion of the Church in those early ages; because the blow-pipe had not as yet been invented, nor was there a sufficient number of Greek names given to plants and flowers; science was then only in its embryo—America had not been discovered, and therefore the Apostles could not testify the doctrines of the Saviour, nor could this testimony have been secured and perpetuated, for the mariner's compass was not constructed, neither gun-powder nor steam-engines were used; Luther had not written, nor were the articles of the English Protestant Church enacted by proper authority. Rev. Sir, I am tired, and so I suspect are you; and so I fear are my readers. I trust when you next hold a convention of your Church, you will have the goodness to leave us unmolested; and I shall on my part cease to subscribe myself. Yours, &c. &c.

A Roman Catholic.

Charleston, S. C., Aug. 28th, 1828.

"SOPHISTRY OF PAPISTS.—VICIOUS CIRCLE."

[The following brief critique upon a sophism frequently made use of against the Catholic argument, is extracted from the "United States Catholic Miscellany," Vol. II. for 1824.]

Dr. Watts, in his Treatise of Logic, and other writers of his description, charge Roman Catholics with gross and palpable absurdity in their arguments, and exemplify the sophism of the *Vicious Circle*, by reference to the arguments of Catholics, viz.

"A vicious circle is when when two propositions, equally uncertain, are used to prove each other. Thus Papists prove the authority of the Scriptures by the infallibility of their Church, and then prove the infallibility of their Church from the authority of the Scriptures."

To a school-boy this appears a formidable barrier against Popery, and many a sage professor has learnedly declaimed against Popish absurdity, in the detail of the exemplification. Stamped with the authority of a *dictum* of the schools, the example passes with equal currency as the definition.

Let us meet the mighty adversary. To do so we must take the following three several cases.

Case 1. A Papist argues with a person who believes in the authority of the Scriptures, but who does not believe in the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church. No one will tell us that the said Papist is guilty of bad logic and is a sophist, when he thus addresses such a person—"Sir, you acknowledge this book to be authority, I shall shew you from several passages thereof, that the Church is infallible." This is not a vicious circle, for there is no question between them of the authority of the Scripture, and to such a person the Papist does not prove the authority of the Scriptures, by the infallibility of the Church. Hence, in this case, there is no vicious circle, for if he prove the infallibility of the Church from the authority of the Scriptures, he only proves that which has been questioned, from that of which there was no question.

Case 2. A Papist argues with a person who acknowledges the infallibility of the Church, but questions and doubts the authority of certain Books. No one can say it would be sophistry to address such a person in these words—"Sir, you allow the body of true believers, that is the Church, does certainly know what God has revealed, and can point out with infallible certainty the books which do contain his revelations. Sir, that Church testifies to you that these books do contain his revelation. Therefore, by your principle, you must receive these books as the word of God."

This certainly is not proving one questionable proposition by another, and then proving the second by the first. But it is proving that which has been questioned and of which there was doubt, by that of which there was no doubt. This is no sophistry.

Case 3. A Papist argues with a person who does not believe either in the infallibility of the Church or in the authority of the Scriptures. In this case he cannot assume either as a principle. What is he to do? What would a Protestant do? The Catholic can do at least as much. The Protestant says that without the authority of an infallible church, he can prove the authority of the Scriptures. The same arguments will, in the mouth of a Catholic, lead to the same conclusion. Therefore, if it be possible for the Protestant, it is possible for the Catholic—therefore the Catholic needs not the infallibility of the Church, to do what his neighbor can do without it.

Having proved the authority of the Scriptures thus, the Catholic may next proceed upon what he has proved, now assuming as a principle that of which there can be no doubt. Thus we are brought to case 1, in which there is no sophism.

Or the Catholic may find, without the authority of the Scripture, reasons to convince a person, that if God speaks he must establish some mode by which man may infallibly find out what he teaches; and next that this mode is by receiving the testimony of the great body of the Church; and thus we are brought to case 2, in which there is no sophism.

Thus, whether a Catholic or Papist argues with a person who allows the authority of Scripture, but does not allow Church infallibility; or argues with a person who allows Church infallibility, but does not allow Scriptural authority; or argues with a person who does not allow either; he proceeds to prove both points without sophistry: he does not argue in a vicious circle—he is not a violator of the rules of sound sense or good logic—and Dr. Watts and his imitators, either were very ignorant of the manner in which Catholics argue, or very ignorant of what is meant by the sophism of a vicious circle—or were

dishonest men who deceived their pupils upon an important subject, and who bore false testimony against the best and most numerous, and most enlightened society in the whole world.

We leave to their admirers and followers their choice of the several portions of this good disjunctive proposition, and we trust that each day will add new light to the intellect, and new desires to the will, so that true knowledge may increase, sophistry be detected and exposed, and the most important concerns of men be brought more closely under the eye of reason and the regulation of correct judgment.

A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring.
Those shallow draughts intoxicate the brain;
But drinking largely sobers us again.

POPE.

LETTERS ON THE CALUMNIES OF J. BLANCO WHITE AGAINST THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

ADDRESSED TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

[THE following Series of Letters has been assigned the first place among the larger Controversial Writings of Dr. England—both as naturally taking this place in the chronological order, and also, because the introductory remarks with which they are prefaced, and the primary subject of the Evidence of the Catholic Religion, which is contained in them, naturally connect them with the preceding and subsequent parts of the Polemic Division of his Works. They were published in the "U. S. Catholic Miscellany," Vols. VI and VII, for the years 1826–8.]

LETTER I.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—I am a native of Ireland, but a citizen of America, and of course, have resided during several years in this Union. I am a Roman Catholic; and one of the principal inducements which operated on my mind in preferring this to any other part of the world was, not merely the excellence of its political institutions, but, as I flattered myself, the absence of bigotry. I was led to believe that, although men differed from each other in religion, yet when there was no profit or preference to be obtained by acrimony, I should not meet with any. I was also led to think the American mind was candidly and sincerely occupied in searching after truth; and that, as it was given to investigation, it would speedily arrive at its discovery. I must confess, that I have been disabused of some of [part] my error. I found that there was in the general constitutions of most of the States, a principle which restrained men from being tyrants over the consciences of their neighbor, but that neither law nor constitution had effected what I now find cannot be produced by mere political regulation—that cordial and affectionate feeling which is the result of true charity for each other, amongst men who differ in religious belief. I found what I was altogether unprepared for; that, in many of our States, a Roman Catholic, though legally and politically upon a level with his fellow-citizens, was however too often looked upon, by reason of his religion, as in some degree morally degraded. I found that it was by no means considered a want of liberality, on the part of Protestants, to vilify the Catholic religion, and to use the harshest and most offensive terms when designating its practices; but that if a Catholic used any phrase however modified, which even insinuated any thing derogatory to the Protestant religion, he was marked out as a shocking bigot, and his offence was unpardonable. The newspapers, I perceived, were generally stuffed with extracts and articles which were offensive to Catholics; but the editors were very careful not to bring a hornet's nest about their ears by inserting a paragraph offensive to any Protestant society. I had frequent opportunities of conversing with polite and well-informed Protestant gentlemen, and they, though knowing my religion, used the most offensive phraseology when speaking of our Church or our institutions, being, I am convinced, totally unconscious that the language which they used was originally constructed to offend us. They spoke to me of the *Romish* Church, and of *Popish* priests, and of *Romish* bishops, and *adoration* of images, as undisguisedly as if they were not using the most insulting language. I knew they meant nothing unkind; I had abundant evidence of their good will; yet, though I felt that it would be indelicate in me to wound them, by requesting they would change their

phrases, I deemed it more than matter of curiosity to discover, why this language was used, and why the Catholic was undervalued.

It struck me, as this had been an English colony, and as many of the gentlemen whom I met had either been educated in England, or under English teachers, that they had learned also some of the English fabrications. I took an opportunity of asking a friend of this description to inform me in sincerity whether he thought a good Roman Catholic could be a good republican citizen. After such a request and explanation as made him feel at full liberty, he very candidly told me that he did not. I followed up my inquiry, and soon discovered that the general impression amongst the best informed citizens of the Southern States was altogether unfavorable to Catholics, upon the principle that the Catholic religion must produce effects, which would be fatal to our state of society and government. So far from condemning those gentlemen, my respect for their kindness was increased, though I lamented the mistake into which they had fallen as to our tenets, and the general character of our religion. And, my friends, if our religion was what they were led to believe it was, very few, if any, of us would continue in the communion of the Holy See. More extended travelling gave me an opportunity of making more extensive inquiry; and every where in twelve of our States where I had the means of knowing pretty accurately the general sentiment, I have no doubt now upon my mind, that, as a body, we are undervalued by our fellow-citizens; and that this arises not from any bad feeling on their part generally towards us, but from their mistaking our character and tenets. I believe the great majority are well disposed to meet us with cordial affection, but I fear there are some whose interest and whose bigotry urge them to keep us estranged from each other.

Having convinced myself of the truth of these facts which I have thus stated, my next inquiry was into their cause. I shall give you my opinion and its foundation. I have not hastily formed it; nor have I an unfriendly feeling towards my fellow-citizens. These States were British colonies, now little more than half a century ago. In every one of them except Pennsylvania, the penal laws against Catholics were in full force, and in most of them they were executed with unrelenting rigor. In Pennsylvannia, though the Catholic was not legally persecuted, he existed under that moral degradation which resulted as well from the self-esteem of the Quaker, as from the Protestant's viewing him as his inferior in the mother country and in the other colonies. Perhaps it will be scarcely a digression here to remark, that Pennsylvania has been amply repaid for her just benevolence. The rapid improvement of that State has been generally attributed to the steady, sober industry of the Quakers; no one will deny that they are the prominent figures upon the canvass, and they not only will bear inspection, but at distance will appear alone. Yet he who examines closely, will, behind their large coats, observe that much of the back scenery is concealed; he will also discover, that the Irish and the few German Catholics, whom their friends sent to till the back country, are found, where that back ground is visible, to be those upon whom the drudgery devolved, and they are painted busily engaged at the plough and with the axe. When the drum called forth the colonists to battle, the Pennsylvania line was consequently found to be principally composed of Irish Catholics. New York then had her persecuting law; but since it has been repealed, the Irish Catholics have wrought her up into wealth, as they previously did Pennsylvania.

I shall only state that, at the period of the Revolution, the Catholic was by British policy, by British contrivance, by British example, and by British law, degraded in every colony, persecuted in all but one. The feelings of nations do not suddenly or very quickly subside, much less become altogether different. Only half a century has passed away since this was the case, and it could hardly be expected that all this feeling could be forgotten by this time. Men will always be prone to say, there must have been some good cause for legal oppression. Do not mistake me; I do not intend to say, that the excuse will ever hold good for the oppression of a Protestant by a Catholic, or if so, it can only be in Spain. But in all other places, it is but reasonable, some philosophers say, to suppose the Catholic gave cause, or if he did not, the Protestant thought he did, which is equally sufficient. Now, you and I probably believe that no cause was given; but let us concede that there was cause, and leave to those who made and executed the penal laws to settle their account with a just and merciful God. I think we may fairly state this as one cause of the present dis-esteem in which I believe we are held by many of our fellow-citizens; it operates silently, imperceptibly, but efficaciously. It resolves itself into this soliloquy—"My ancestors were obliged by circumstances to oppress Catholics, my ancestors were good, they could not be guilty of cruelty or of injustice; I have heard them say there was good cause; for, that formerly

Catholics were more dangerous than those of the present day are. We have relieved them, I am glad of it; if their predecessors had been as good as those now, the harsh laws would not have been necessary; but still there is something not right about their system." In such a way as this does a good heart endeavor to indulge its feelings of affection for its family and for its fellow-citizens; but the fame of the family requires an imputation upon the Catholic, and we are naturally the sufferers.

Thus that strongest bias to which the human mind is liable, that bias arising from affection for one's kindred, respect for the cherished memory of one's immediate ancestors, creates in good and amiable minds, a powerful though unsuspected prejudice against us. There are no minds over which this prejudice has a more extensive and a better established dominion than those of generous and amiable females, for the very excellence of their disposition leads them to cherish warmly those family attachments from which it springs. This will, I believe, tend greatly to explain what I have frequently observed to be an undoubted fact, and still scarcely to be otherwise explained: that the prejudices against us were strongest in the minds of those ladies who, either sprung from or were connected with the old families who, under the British rule, held stations or offices which made them, in some way or other, parties to the approval or execution of the penal laws. That such is the fact in the old country and in this, will scarcely be questioned by those who have had an opportunity of making the observation. Yet those ladies have the very best dispositions and the kindest hearts; they are humane, generous, and affectionate; but their family affections necessarily hold the first place, and they cannot believe that their fathers, and their uncles, and their progenitors, in whom they have found so many good qualities, could be persecutors of innocent people; there must, they think, have been something bad, and of sufficient criminality in the Catholics of that day to have provoked this oppression. Let the practical error be only once in existence. Let men of a certain standing in society be in the habit of oppression, and it becomes a necessary consequence, that the most amiable portion of society becomes unconsciously the preserver of prejudice, and indirectly the advocate of oppression. This has enabled me often to excuse what I lamented, and solve what would be otherwise insoluble.

Another great source of prejudice arises from religious feeling. Every mind, not actually infidel, views with more or less reverence the edifice for public worship; and generally the mind is prepared to receive with scarcely a suspicion of falsehood, every statement made in this sacred place by the man who is said and believed to bear the divine commission, to announce saving truths to the world. In a land where the law prevented the existence of a Catholic, the public teacher of a religion created upon the assumption, that the Catholic religion was grossly erroneous, might safely indulge in what statements he thought proper; and naturally he would be expected occasionally to inveigh against those tenets, to destroy whose prevalence was the object of his ministry: and to his declaration there would be no reply. That such was the fact, there exists the most superabundant evidence. It was not only natural, that the evils which were said to spring from those tenets should be pointed out and emblazoned, but we have proof that they were. When a century had thus passed away in repeated inculcations of this description, by the ministers of God, in his holy place, to a religious people, can we wonder at the existence of strong prejudice in the minds of that people, not only against the tenets, but also against those who hold them? Religious prejudice is perhaps stronger than that of family affection; either is very powerful; but what must be that prejudice which is a combination and a sublimation of both?

Had those holy men contented themselves with the mere statement of facts, and argued fairly from those facts, we should have had no reason to complain. But such was not the case. That which was of dubious or equivocal appearance was, against every rule of charity, exhibited in the worst manner to which any forced construction could drag it; and when there were not sufficient facts to make out the case, the defect was supplied by fiction. I do not charge all the sacred functionaries with wilful misconstruction and with fabrication; because there were some who did not stoop to those means. Others had prejudices, and were misled—they believed what they taught. Others cared not for its truth or falsehood, but did what was in the routine of their duty; so that I am far from charging the body at large as fabricators, though they made extensive use of fabrications. Thus, misrepresentation was superadded to prejudice; and all obtained the name of religious truth. Thus, the more of religious zeal existed, the more extensively was prejudice against the Catholic spread abroad. Before I close this series of letters, I shall exhibit to you such authentic facts to support my several asser-

tions, as shall well warrant every conclusion that I draw.

Not only then were affection and religion, the two finest sources of human feeling, poisoned against us, but history was outraged, and the unbiased judgment was flagrantly misled. I here make an assertion, which if I shall not succeed in proving to its full extent, I consent that all which I shall address to you in vindication of our character to our fellow citizens shall be valueless. No nation ever was so guilty of a systematic destruction of the truth of history for any purpose, as was the English nation in order to create prejudice against the Catholics. I would be content to put myself upon a trial for life and death, upon the issue of the truth or falsehood of the following propositions, after I should have had the opportunity of proving their truth before an impartial, honest American jury. The British Protestant nation has been almost continually employed in destroying the truth of history for the purpose of bringing obloquy upon the Catholics!! The Government aided in this work, and the Catholic was not allowed to answer, nor allowed the means of refutation. Thus a new source of prejudice was added. From the most voluminous histories to the mere chronological tables; from the College to the Nursery, the labor was to create and to perpetuate prejudice: and this has continued during centuries. The principle having been adopted soon after the discovery of the art of printing, those distortions of facts have the appearance of being the original and authentic statement of what occurred, and the press having been in the hands of only the opponents of Catholics, no counter statement could be sent forth.

Besides the distortion of history, the sciences have been employed by the British nation against us. Her teachers of logic, in their elementary treatises, assume falsehoods as facts, to give as examples of sophism what they state to be our mode of reasoning, when in truth we do not so mock reason. In their metaphysics, every opportunity is taken by many of their writers to turn us into ridicule or to exhibit us as senseless; they turn aside from their astronomical observations to lecture upon the inquisition, which they will make a constituent part of our creed, against our will; the chemist uses his laboratory to analyze our Sacraments; the professor of medicine harangues upon our superstition; the surgeon dissects our saints; the jurist laments the ignorance of our councils. I have heard a man who knew not the first principle of the civil code and could not give a rational definition of what was the nature of a law, though he was a professor of law! deliver flippant opinions upon canons of our Church which he had never seen, and which, had he read, he could not understand, because of his ignorance of history, whilst his audience gazed wisely upon each other as they applauded the only part of the sentence which they could repeat, *the despotism and absurdity of Popery.* The very principles of the British law as of force in these States when they were colonies, were predicated upon the assumption that our religion was an illegal superstition bordering upon treason. Thus the very study of science in Britain and in her colonies was calculated to create prejudice of a very formidable nature against us.

In belles lettres, the same consequence was insured. The mythology of the heathens was explained by an exhibition of its analogy with our creed; we were represented as the enemies of taste, the lovers of ignorance, the destroyers of the fine arts; worse than Vandals and more ferocious than Goths. Geography, as with an English tongue she described the nations of the earth, was always sure to dwell upon the vices and the crimes and the follies of every nation in which our religion was established or prevailed, and she became hyperbolically eloquent, as she glowed in her description of the virtues, the glories, the wisdom and the superiority of the few Protestant states that concentered in themselves every real and imaginary good which the mind could conceive. Even Protestant England never persecuted, and Catholic Italy blazed with the fires of the Inquisition.

I am tired of the enumeration. My object was to shew how it was morally, I was about to say physically impossible for any American Protestant, however high his rank, exalted his mind, extensive his reading, or comprehensive his charity, to be free from violent prejudice against Catholics at the period of the revolution, just fifty years ago. My friends, if we were placed in the same situation as they were, would not our prejudices be what theirs were? I would now bring your attention to another topic. We say they did not know us: but the present generation ought to know what we are. This, I contend, is an error. It is impossible that as yet they should know what we are, and therefore whilst we regret the prejudice which even as yet extensively exists to our disadvantage, we should rather endeavor by proper means to remove it, than blame those who are its victims, because they cannot do what is impossible. I shall shew you briefly the obstacles which are as yet in their way.

They are still subject to the operation to a certain extent, though thank God, greatly

diminished, of that prejudice which springs from family affection; to which is added the prejudice which springs from that pride of adherence to party, to which we all are subject, from which it is extremely difficult to become disengaged. They are yet liable to nearly the same extent to religious prejudices, with the diminution that is caused by the greater caution of making an attack where a reply and a retort may be expected, and in some places, but not very many, the opportunity which is afforded for correcting mistakes. They have still the same distorted histories, to correct whose statements so little has been done; and that little so lately as to have yet scarcely excited curiosity; much less, research; much less, change of opinion. Scarcely a change has taken place in the mode of abusing science or literature for the purpose of injuring us. I have once, not very long since, felt a kind of melancholy amusement, in which however my reveries were occasionally disturbed by a glow of involuntary indignation, at contemplating one of the first graduates at the annual commencement of the College of this State, pouring out as copious a collection of black vomit against our creed as if he was upon the point of expiring of a religious yellow fever. The poor creature could not be so much blamed, for he had probably been infected in the library, if not tainted from his childhood; but I can vouch that no professor of that institution was guilty of creating his disease, nor had the simpleton himself the slightest opportunity of becoming acquainted with several topics upon which he raved; but the books too often contain what the teacher would not have written. How many volumes of *religious* tracts; how many Gospel and Evangelical and Christian periodical publications, teem with misrepresentation and abuse of our creed? Nay, look at the common newspapers of the day, whose editors boast of their liberality, and confirm their claim to the title by most copious and liberal quotations from every British hireling or malevolent infidel; in the midst of all this, how is it possible for us to expect that we should be held in just estimation by our fellow-citizens? It is then a duty which we owe to them and to ourselves, to attempt our vindication. As we cannot assemble as a body to do this; as our Bishops do not find it convenient or expedient to act as the Irish Bishops and English Vicars have done under similar circumstances, an individual has taken the liberty of addressing to you his sentiments upon the subject. I shall therefore examine the charges made upon us, and give the best answers that I can, in hope that some of our Protestant fellow-citizens may examine the accusation and the defence, and that I may thus happily, at least lessen the amount of that prejudice which I cannot hope to destroy. I shall begin by examining the charges made by the Rev. Joseph Blanco White; because I observe that his work is particularly lauded by the clergy of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches of the District of Columbia, and that strenuous efforts are now making to disseminate the same, for the purpose of adding to the prejudice which unfortunately exists. I know that I undertake a weighty task, but labor does not discourage me. These pieces shall appear in the Miscellany, addressed to you, and should I find that you approve of them by patronizing the paper, and that they are thought by my Protestant fellow-citizens to lead to a better feeling between them and us, and that God should give me health and leisure, when I shall have done with Mr. White, I have many more to succeed in turn. I am my friends,

Yours, &c. B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 4th, 1826.

LETTER II.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I stated that I would commence my investigation by examining the charges which are made upon us by the Rev. Joseph Blanco White. You will naturally ask who he is. I beg to inform you that I know nothing more of him than the account which he gives of himself in his evidence against our religion. That evidence, if I must so call it, is contained in a book which he appears to have published in London, in April or May, 1825; and which is dedicated to the Provost of Oriel College, Oxford; as also in Letters from Spain under the signature of Don Leucadio Doblado; and which appeared in the New, Monthly, London Magazine. In the dedication, Mr. White very plainly exhibits his object, in the following passages; to understand which, it is necessary to know that the writer complains of having been the victim of Catholic persecution in Spain. He states that his patron and he have a "similarity of views as to what is called the *Catholic question*." We are all well acquainted with the sentiments generally entertained in England by the Rev. dignitaries and officials of the established Church, upon this question: but Mr. White and his patron appear to be men of the most liberal and tolerant disposition, if the gentleman himself is worthy of credit. He writes:

"From the friendly intercourse with which you have honored me, I know that you hold it

wrong to put down religious error by force, or to propagate religious truth by degrading and branding those who do not think with us. I have suffered too much from religious despotism, not fully and cordially to hold the same doctrine. The fetters which, by God's mercy, I have been enabled to break, I would rather die than help to rivet upon a fellow-Christian."

This would do very well, had it not the following tailpiece:

"But the power which made me groan in protracted bondage, is striving to obtain a direct influence in this Government; and I cannot regard such efforts with apathy. For myself, I have nothing to fear; but I deem it a debt of gratitude to volunteer my testimony in the great pending cause, that it may be weighed against the studied and colored evidence of such writers, as would disguise the true character of the spiritual tyranny, whose fierce grasp I have eluded. Indeed I would never have shown myself in the field of controversy, but for the appearance of a book evidently intended to divert the public from the important, and, to me, indubitable fact, that *sincere* Roman Catholics cannot conscientiously be *tolerant*. How far, my dear sir, you are convinced of this, I cannot take upon myself to say: but I am sure you will allow, that if such be the real character of Catholicism, the only security of *Toleration* must be a certain degree of intolerance, in regard to its enemies; as prisons in the freest governments are necessary for the preservation of freedom."

In this we observe that the Rev. writer asserts it to be an *indubitable fact that sincere Roman Catholics cannot conscientiously be tolerant;* that their religion is *spiritual tyranny;* that it is striving to obtain a direct influence in the British Government, that he cannot regard its efforts with apathy, that he deems it necessary for him to serve in the great pending cause, viz. the discussion of the Catholic's claims to civil and religious liberty; that he deems it as necessary to have a certain degree of intolerance against Catholics as to have prisons. Thus his object evidently, from his own declarations, is to prevent Catholic emancipation; to keep the British Catholics politically incarcerated; and the manner in which he will contribute to this end will be, by giving what he calls the real character of Catholicism.

The Rev. writer would find some difficulty in reconciling his contradictions, "that he would rather die than help to river fetters upon a fellow-Christian," "that he has volunteered his services to help to keep his fellow-Christians in civil and political incarceration under a free and tolerant government, which has persecuted and still afflicts its subjects for adhering to the ancient religion of the founders of that government itself."

But, my friends, were I to dwell upon every contradiction of this liberal persecutor, I should indeed have a long series of letters to write. One specimen more, and I shall be done with this dedication. After candidly stating in all appearance the truth, in the outset, viz. that his principal motive was what he calls a generous impulse of gratitude to save a generous country, he next tells us that such was not the motive; for in truth his work is only *indirectly* connected therewith; and although his object was that "his testimony in the GREAT PENDING CAUSE, should be weighed against the studied and colored evidence" of the advocates of Catholics, yet "the parliamentary question about the claims of the Roman Catholics is by no means the object he had in view whilst writing."

"I have thus far thought it necessary to touch upon the political question with which my work is indirectly connected. I say *indirectly*, because the parliamentary question about the claims of the Roman Catholics is by no means the object which I have had in view while writing. I will not deny that I should be glad if my humble performance could throw any light on a question in which the welfare of this country is so deeply concerned; but it is probable that it will not appear till after the decision of the Parliament. Let this, however, be as it may, still I humbly hope, that, whether the Roman Catholics are admitted into Parliament, or allowed to continue under the disabilities which their honest opponents lament, my labor will not have been thrown away. For as the danger which may threaten this country in the admission of Roman Catholic legislators, depends entirely upon their religious sincerity; I shall not have troubled the public in vain, if either I can convince the *conscientious* of the papal communion, that a Roman Catholic cannot honestly do his duty as a member of the British Parliament without moral guilt; or, what I ardently wish, my arguments should open their eyes to the errors of their Church."

I believe we may fairly conclude that the writer was sincere in his declarations, that his object in writing was not the question of the claims of Catholics, but of his own recompense; that his book is one of those compilations which has been got up just in time to be put into the hands of members of Parliament, so as to influence votes, but not in time to admit of any refutation before that vote is given: for it was avowedly written in reference to the great pending question, at a time when it was certain of being carried in the House of Commons, and by no means certain that a majority could be got up in the House of Lords to reject it; and Mr. White and his patron, though very liberal men, had

determined to do their utmost to keep the Catholics in their state of degradation. I give them very little credit, however, for their bungling mode of keeping their own secret.

Mr. White's object, then, very clearly was, to write as forcibly as he could, to prove that Roman Catholics ought not to be admitted to an equality of civil and political rights with their Protestant fellow-subjects. Can this be the object of Bishop Kemp of Baltimore, and the twenty pastors of the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist Churches of the District of Columbia and its vicinity, in procuring a re-print of this book in America? They deserve the approbation of their fellow-citizens for their zeal in promoting Christian charity. They deserve the lasting gratitude of their Roman Catholic neighbors for their exertions on their behalf.

I have now to take Mr. White's account of himself. He is a Priest in the English Protestant Church, who was formerly of the Roman Catholic, and who received his orders in that Church, in Spain, of which he is a native. He is now, I understand, a minister in some Church, in or near London; he was a graduate of Seville, and took out his theological certificate of qualification at Osuna. He held a prebend's stall in the Royal Chapel at Seville, and was a member of the collegiate Churches of that city, a synodal examiner in the diocess of Cadiz, and a member of some literary society: the whole of which is appended to his name in the title page of his book, together with a statement that he is the author of Doblado's Letters from Spain. Of course the object is to shew how great a man and therefore how good a witness is Mr. White. Upon all this, I shall merely remark, that it is with titles sometimes as with coats of arms in heraldry, the plain field which is without any emblazonment is evidence of the most remote and illustrious antiquity, and a single emblem of that which is next in dignity. The undecorated name of the individual, when good, is the best recommendation: hence GEORGE WASHINGTON sounds better than if six kings at arms lost their breath in the successive enumeration of orders and decorations: and the plain title of virtuous man or "good priest" would have raised Mr. White more in our estimation, than if the whole title page were filled with the offices which he had held, and the stations which he had deserted. To us, the enumeration of those places conveys no idea of any superior acquirements in the individual, for with the exception of one, they are all within the reach of any young man of very moderate capacity, much less than I believe Mr. White to possess, though I rate his low enough. The two first titles merely shew that he went through his usual collegiate examinations, the third shews that he had license to preach and had an appointment; if the College of St. Mary a Jesu in Seville is, as many such are, a mere sinecure benefice, or as several others in Spain are, one next to a sinecure, the qualifications for its rectorship are merely nominal; the place of a synodal examiner in the Diocess of Cadiz would indeed be some evidence of his good standing in the Church, if he lived in that Diocess and discharged its duties; but with him, living in Seville, it was a mere honorary appointment, and no evidence whatever of theological standing.

Indeed, the gentleman gives us, himself, very clearly the value of his titles, when he informs us, p. 17, of the manner in which he obtained his degree in Osuna. "He was not of sufficient standing" to obtain it at Seville, it was necessary to have a diploma to take the place in the College of St. Mary, at Seville, he therefore took it at Osuna which was not strict. The value of a degree at Osuna is known in Spain, but it sounds very well in England and America. In p. 18, Mr. W. writes: "I owed my preferment to a public display of theological knowledge." To understand this, it is necessary to know what is required by the canons of the Roman Catholic Church, on such occasions. When a benefice is vacant, public notice is given, the candidates for the place are to produce their documents of qualification to discharge its duties, and they who are admitted to be sufficiently qualified enter into contest before a board of sworn examiners, who are generally appointed, by alternate nomination, by the Bishop and by the Chapter: the clergymen who form this board of examiners make a written return of the names of the candidates, arranged according to their respective merits. If the benefice is in the gift of a patron or of electors, the selection is then made from the three highest names upon the list; the patron has the right of presenting the selected individual to the Bishop, who if he approves of him inducts him, or if he disapproves of the person presented requires another name, which must be furnished within a given time, or the patron loses his right for that time, and the Bishop fills the vacancy. This examination takes place in public. The principle was wisely laid down by the Church, for those places in which there exists a right of patronage, to prevent the introduction of improper persons; but frequently the practice is very different from what was contemplated by the theory. By the contrivance of the patrons,

it frequently has happened that a person who would be a candidate was taught that contention would be madness, because that the patron had already fixed upon the person who was to fill the place, and that any other even successful opponent would not be presented; but would earn the patron's ill-will, and that of the friends of the designated candidate. Thus frequently the examination was but a form. Again, in all the contests between young men for lesser offices, such as Mr. White's, the examination was far from severe, and contest was not difficult. From the gentleman's own shewing in p. 17, "the high rank which the author sustained as a minister of the Roman Catholic Church," is not in point of fact equal to the rank of any pastor of that Church in the city of Baltimore; yet the Right Rev. Dr. Kemp and his clergy put it forward as a very strong feature to recommend the work.

"RECOMMENDATION.—The Letters of the Rev. Blanco White contain a temperate and able exposition of the errors of Popery. The high rank which the author sustained as a minister of the Roman Catholic Church, eminently qualified him for the task which he has undertaken and so well fulfilled; and his familiar acquaintance with all the secret springs and movements of that wonderful system, has enabled him to diversify his discussion with many highly interesting and important incidents. We therefore cheerfully recommend the work as highly deserving of public attention.

Rt. Rev. Jas. Kemp, D.D.	Rev. J. N. Campbell,
Rev. W. H. Wilmer, D.D.	C. Harrison,
Basil Keith,	J. Guest,
S. H. Tyng,	S. B. Balch, D. D.
W. Hawley,	R. Post,
E. Allen,	W. Nevins,
J. P. K. Henshaw,	A. Helfenstein,
J. R. Keech,	T. E. Bond, M. D.
C. B. Tippet,	S. K. Jennings, M.D.
H. N. Gray,	

As a theologian we may find his qualifications, by his own account of the manner in which he attended to his studies. The following extracts are from Letter V. Vol. 2, for 1821, from July to December, printed by Littel of Philadelphia, and Henry of New York, to the pages of which edition I shall always refer, p. 290:

"An *imperfect* knowledge of Logic and Natural Philosophy was all I acquired at the University before I began the study of divinity."

P. 292. "French philosophy had not found its way to the University of Seville at the time when I was studying divinity."

P. 293. "The greatest part of my time, with the exception of that required for my daily attendance at *the dull lectures of divinity professors*, was devoted to the French critics, Andre Le Bossu, Batteux, Rollin, La Harpe, and many others of less note. The habit of analyzing language and ideas, which I acquired in the perusal of such works, soon led me to the French metaphysicians, especially Condillac."

The young gentleman is very angry with the ignorant theologians who would decry the metaphysics of materialism, or attempt to insinuate that man is a being composed of a spiritual soul and material body.

P. 289. "To acknowledge, on the authority of revelation, that mankind will rise from their graves, is not sufficient to protect the unfortunate metaphysician who should deny that man is a compound of two substances, one of which is naturally immortal."

That Bishop Kemp and his venerable associates may know the full extent of this gentleman's high rank as a divine, I shall exhibit the completion of his theological studies in his own words, in the Letters of Doblado.

Pp. 298 and 299. "This first taste of mental liberty was more delicious than any feeling I ever experienced; but was succeeded by a burning thirst for every thing, that by destroying my old mental habits could strengthen it and confirm my unbelief. I gave an exorbitant price for any French irreligious books, which the love of gain induced some Spanish booksellers to import at their peril. The intuitive knowledge of one another, which persecuted principles impart to such as cherish them in common, made me soon acquainted with several members of my own profession, deeply versed in the Philosophical school of France. They possessed and made no difficulty to lend me all the anti-Christian works of the French press."

"Pretending studious retirement, I have fitted up a small room, to which none but my confidential friends find admittance. Here lie my *prohibited books*, in perfect concealment, in a well contrived nook under a stair case. The *Breviary* alone, in its black binding, clasps, and gilt leaves, is kept upon the table, to check the doubts of any chance intruder."

I could give other extracts, but these will suffice to shew what learning and especially what extensive theological knowledge the writer possessed. How then, it will be asked, did he rise to such an eminent place? My answer is, the place was not eminent: and that he got it in the manner which I have suggested he gives good reason to believe, for, in p. 287 of his Spanish letters, he states that those fellowships as he called them were obtained by partiality, and in p. 288 he shews how they who had not interest to secure a strong party amongst the electors, could not offer themselves "as champions at those literary jousts."

The standing of the author as to grade, in the Roman Catholic Church, was therefore far from high. But of that I shall make no

point; I shall treat him as if he was the most learned Pope that ever existed. There is another criterion besides knowledge and talent required in a witness: this writer coming forward to testify, must submit to the ordeal of examination upon the score of character. I know nothing more of him than is furnished by his own book; and upon his own statements I shall form my judgment.

He is the grandson of an Irish emigrant who was obliged to leave Ireland and to take refuge in Spain, because of that code, whose principles the grandson of this refugee has returned from Spain to advocate. (p. 15.) The author's father was sent to Ireland in his childhood for a time, that he might not lose the attachment to the land of his progenitors; and the son of that father returns to England to exhort the oppressors of his father's land to continue their oppression: to call upon the British Parliament in the name of the God of charity and justice to continue the fetters of political and civil persecution on the score of religion, upon the children of calumniated martyrs!!! His mother was a Spanish lady, whom he describes as decorated with every virtue; of his parents he says, "It is enough to say that such were the purity, the benevolence, and the angelic piety of my father's life, that at his death, multitudes of people thronged the house to indulge a last view of the dead body. Nor was the wife of his bosom at all behind him either in *fulness of faith* or *sanctity of manners*." Yet they were rigid Roman Catholics! He informs us that his education was well attended to.

"At the age of fourteen, all the seeds of devotion which had been sown in my heart sprung up spontaneously. The pious practices which had been hitherto a task, were now the effect of my own choice. I became a constant attendant at the congregation of the Oratory, where pious young men, intended for the Church, generally had their spiritual directors. Dividing my time between study and devotion, I went through a course of philosophy and divinity at the University of Seville: at the end of which I received the Roman Catholic order of subdeacon."

From the above extract, p. 16, one would imagine that a more immaculate and holy young gentleman had never taken orders. If this testimony be worth any thing, it will prove, that the education of a child of virtuous parents in the Roman Catholic Church, has not any taint by which virtue is contaminated by bad doctrine; it will prove that the education of candidates for holy orders in the Catholic Church is one which cultivates and developes the germs which the seeds of virtue shoots forth; our witness in his last letters has not made any charge of a neglect of cultivating learning or Christian virtue upon the Roman Catholics, who have charge of educating youth. He gives a farther testimony on this subject in p. 140, [where] he writes—

"A more *blameless*, ingenuous, *religious* set of youths than that in the enjoyment of whose friendship I passed the best years of my life, the world cannot boast of. Eight of us, all nearly of the same age, lived in the closest bond of affection, from sixteen till one and twenty; and four at least, continued in the same intimacy till that of thirty-five. Of this knot of friends *not one was tainted by the breath of gross vice*, till the Church had doomed them to a life of celibacy, and turned the best affections of their hearts into crime."

Upon this, all I shall remark is, that it supports the testimony before given that in the education, in the religious instruction, there was nothing but the highest purity and most perfect virtue; whether his crimes and those of his companions were caused by the obligation of celibacy is a different question. In p. 143 he writes—

"I have seen the most promising men of my University obtain country vicarages, with characters unimpeached, and hearts overflowing with hopes of usefulness."

We have now from the Rev. gentleman full testimony that the education was excellent and the demeanor virtuous and the disposition good, at the time of ordination. We have also his statement regarding himself, that from fourteen to twenty-five he was most virtuous. P. 18, he says his religious doubts began, but still he was pious, and prayed, and was devout, and they were dispelled. But to prove that unbelief does not always arise from immorality and levity, he assures us that his conscience did not then reproach him with any *open breach of duty but those committed several years before*. He does not vouchsafe to say how many years, but the gentleman was now in his twenty-sixth year, and he has informed us that in his childhood "no waywardness of disposition appeared in him to defeat or obstruct the labors of his parents to educate him in virtue," and that afterwards, to wit, from fourteen to this period, he and his companions were the most *blameless* and *religious* youths in the world. Still *he had committed open breaches of duty several years before*. Whichever side of this contradiction is true, matters very little; the conclusion is inevitable; the truth of both sides being irreconcileable, one of them must be false; and our witness has consequently under his own hand stated that which he must have known to be untrue. I shall not dwell longer on exhibiting the wit-

ness's self-contradiction, for of that abundance shall be furnished. I am now only examining his credibility as a moral man, and from his own disclosures. He exhibits himself as an impostor who would persuade the public that up to his twenty-fifth year he was *blameless, religious*, and virtuous, though he knew that several years before he had committed open breaches of duty.

We shall however now give the same Mr. White's testimony, upon the same subject, from another of his works. Speaking of his childhood, he writes in his Letters from Spain, in the Magazine, Vol. 2:

P. 31. "The Church cannot be wrong, we know, but to say the honest truth, all her pious contrivances, have, by a sad fatality, produced in me *just the reverse* of what they aimed at. Though the clergyman who was to shrive this young sinner (himself at between seven and eight years of age) had mild, gentle and affectionate manners, there is something in auricular confession which has revolted my feelings from the first day I knelt before a priest, in childish simplicity, to the last time I have been forced to repeat that ceremony as a protection to my life and liberty, with scorn and contempt in my heart."

In page 32, he informs us, that at making his first communion, he was guilty of making it with the imaginary guilt of sacrilege for having made a bad confession; at fourteen, he made a good confession. He was intended for the counting-house, to which he took a disgust at the age of ten, and desiring to be a learned man, resolved to become a clergyman. His mother was pleased at this, because amongst other reasons, he would have no wife who would steal his affections from his parent. He does not say that his mother used the expression; but he thinks she must have had this motive. In p. 161, he tells us that at the age of sixteen, father Vega, the superior of the Priests of the Oratory at Seville, discovered that one of the associates of Mr. White had *prohibited books*, and White being admonished to denounce this student of divinity; either his head or his heart, he knows not which, in spite of a frighted fancy, endued him with resolution to "baffle the blind zeal of his confessor." "The development of his reason saved him from sinking into the dregs of Aristotelic Philosophy." "The categories of St. Thomas were unsavory food for his mind, and he never opened the dismal book." In p. 164, he finds in the 2d vol. of the Aristotelic Natural Philosophy of the Dominicans that the reason why water rises in a pump is the horror which nature has at being wounded and torn. (This is a discovery which no other person has had the happiness of being able to make during the last three hundred years.) He quarrels with his professor, leaves the college and goes to the university. In the former part of his letter, I have shewn his account of his mode of studying theology. He had been the associate of a number of concealed infidels, and had totally neglected his studies, and baffled the blind zeal of his religious directors; left the old father Vega, and picked up a confessor more to his taste, who was his literary and spiritual director. He now gives us an account in his Spanish letters of his disposition for subdeaconship.

P. 293. "I will not describe the misery that embittered my youth and destroyed the peace of my maturer years. The struggles, perhaps the crimes, certainly the remorse, that were the consequence of the barbarous laws of my country."

All this arose from Catholicism he assures us, because she did not bring love to her side, but *forced* him into an inseparable league with immorality. We shall see the *force*. No one could compel him to enter upon a clerical state; and certainly neither his country nor the Church compelled him. He had already been a criminal, why should he now enter upon a state for which he knew himself to be unfit? Read what he says—

"Often did I recoil at the approach of the moment when I was to bind myself forever to the clerical profession, and as often my heart failed me at the sight of a mother in tears. It was not worldly interests—it was the eternal welfare of my soul which she believed to depend upon my following the call of heaven, that made the best of mothers a snare to her dearest child."

To this he adds the persuasions of the bad man whom he had chosen as a guide: and therefore, the law is bad, because a man who knows he ought not to enter upon the state, takes the advice of a man who he knew was misleading him, and acted against his conscience after other crimes, because his mother cried.

My friends; you will observe the innocent and studious young man going with fine dispositions to ordination: and the idle student who insults his teacher, neglects his regular studies, associates with infidels, is criminal in his conduct, insincere in his confession, selects the worst clergymen for his guides and binds himself to a state for which he has made himself unfit.

Mr. Blanco White has given you the two pictures of himself, it is for you to choose. I have only sketched the outline: when I shall have laid on all my colors, I shall be happy to receive Bishop Kemp's remarks.

Yours for the present, B. C.

Charleston, September 11, 1826.

LETTER III.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—I shall continue my examination of Mr. White's character, at some length; and that my object in so doing may be manifest, I shall inform you what it is; you will first bear with my stating to you what that object is not. I do not examine his character to vilify him, in exposing his faults, of which the best of us has enough, by way of retaliation for his deserting our Church, or for his having written a gross attack upon our tenets. I should despise myself were I capable of such misconduct: however deficient this priest might have been in ecclesiastical knowledge, his ignorance could not make good any practice of our Church, which in its own nature would be bad; however bereft of faith he might be, his infidelity could not make a foolish or vicious human invention become a part of the revelation, or institution of God, and however corrupt or profligate his own conduct might have been, its criminality could not make the crimes of other profligates become virtues, nor could they be excused because of his wickedness. My object then, is not, by exhibiting the true character of Mr. White, to justify in our Church, practices which deserve condemnation; nor to excuse criminals of our communion, because he who denounces them has deserted our Church, and was himself a criminal; no, my object is to shew that the bare assertion of Mr. White is no evidence; and I believe that I shall effect this by proving that from his character as given by himself, he is totally unworthy of credit. This is my object in the very painful task which I am performing. I consider this to be very necessary, because the chief value attached to his publication arises from his being a credible witness of facts which he alleges to have been under his own observation.

I believe I have fully shewn that neither from his rank, nor from his ecclesiastical information, does this priest deserve any of that extraordinary attention which Bishop Kemp and his Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Methodist associates so emphatically claim on his behalf. Mr. White's rank was that of a mere possessor of a benefice *without the care of souls*, having indeed a rank which pre-supposed some attainment of knowledge, a certificate of which attainment he could not obtain in the university where he was educated; but to effect his purpose he attained it at one of those places which by virtue of an old charter can grant to any one, and does grant to the unworthy what was intended to be given only to the learned. We see that he scarcely studied his treatises whilst he was attending the dull lectures on divinity; but that he read light works of taste, and subsequently devoured the anti-christian productions of the French school of infidelity. He in one book tells us of his innocence and his religion, whilst in another he avows his criminality; and even in this testimony of his innocence, the recollection of his misdeeds involuntarily escapes from him. He in one place appears to be filled with the spirit of virtue at the time of his ordination; and yet he testifies that it was against his will, and because his mother was bathed in tears, [that] he became an ecclesiastic. He bound himself to celibacy, because his mother cried; when he hated to bind himself, because if he did so he could not lawfully cherish love. Do not, my friends, do not turn away in disgust. It is unpleasant; but you must bear more if you will have correct information. I have as yet made no incision; I am only marking the surface. It is necessary for you to view the subject, and to observe the dissection.

Mr. White having been ordained subdeacon, informs us, in his evidence against Catholicism, p. 17, that upon his receiving his benefice about a year after his ordination to the priesthood, he felt it to be his duty "to devote his whole leisure to the study of religion." He adds, p. 18, "I need not say that I was fully conversant with the system of Catholic divinity; for I owed my preferment to a public display of theological knowledge; yet I wished to become acquainted with all kinds of works which might increase and perfect that knowledge."

I have shewn you what his studies were. Now allow me to say that the writer of these letters has made theology his principal study during twenty years; that he has had patience to study for, and to attend to the *dull lectures* of divinity professors; that his love for that study so far from being diminished, grows stronger every day, and that he still feels his deficiency to be so great, that although he knows much; he could not presume to say that now he is *fully conversant with the system of Catholic divinity.* It may be weakness on his part; but he never can hear any young man, let his attention to study have been ever so great, make such an assertion as Mr. White has here made, without at once looking upon him to be very superficially instructed, and impertinently vain: but in this man's case, how could he have been fully conversant with a system which he never studied? which he despised? Let us now from his other letters (Doblado's) take his own ac-

count of the interval between his receiving subdeaconship and his being ordained priest.

In my last letter I stated from his own words the very improper dispositions with which he approached to subdeaconship: allow me to exhibit to you his mode of preparing for priesthood.

Pp. 293 and 294—

"Often did I recoil at the approach of the moment when I was to bind myself for ever to the clerical profession, and as often my heart failed me at the sight of a mother in tears. It was not worldly interests—it was the eternal welfare of my soul which she believed to depend upon my following the call of heaven that made the best of mothers a snare to her dearest child. The persuasions of my confessor, and above all, the happiness which I experienced in restoring cheerfulness to my family deluded me into the hope of preserving the same feeling through life. A very short time, however, was sufficient to open my eyes. The inexorable law that bound me was the bitterest foe to my virtue. Yet devotion had not lost her power over my fancy, and I broke loose more than once from her thraldom, and was as often reclaimed, before the awful period which was to raise me to the priesthood."

In p. 293, he tells us that his confessor "was a sound Catholic and a devout man," though in the preceding page he exhibits him to us, holding principles completely subversive of faith and devotion, and as having induced himself to read a work, which as the mind is prepared for its reading, is one of the best or one of the worst books which a theologian could study. But Mr. White was by no means sufficiently well informed to read it with advantage, and the consequences are plainly exhibited by him in p. 293, "Vague fears and doubts haunted my conscience for many days," and again, "His abilities and affection to me had obtained a most perfect command over my mind, and it was not long before I could match him in mental boldness, on points unconnected with articles of faith." Thus, before he received subdeaconship the groundwork of infidelity was laid; and he had neglected a powerful remedy, his attention to *dull divinity*. This "sound Catholic and devout man," in pages 290, 291, 293, and 294 is, evidently, a covert infidel, who gradually sapped the faith of a club of unfortunate young men, of whom White was one; this is the confessor who permitted this young man to enter into a state for which by his contrivance he was thoroughly disqualified. I cannot avoid making one extract, to shew their systematic progress. It may be useful, if for no other purpose than to shew, if this letter should fall into the hands of young men who study religion, the great cause of infidelity; viz. the substitution of speculative theory, for evident fact.

"It was the favorite amusement of myself and those constant associates of my youth that formed the knot of friends, of whom the often mentioned *major collegian* was the centre and guide, to examine all our feelings, in order to resolve them into some general law, and trace them to their simple elements. This habit of analysis and generalization extended itself to the customs and habits of the country, and the daily incidents of life, till in the course of time it produced in me the deceitful, though not uncommon notion, that all knowledge is the result of developed principles, and gave me a distaste for every book that was not cast into a regular theory."

"While I was thus amused and deceived by the activity of my mind, without endeavoring to give it the weight and steadiness which depends upon the knowledge of facts, Catholicism with its ten thousand rules and practices, was mechanically keeping up the ill-contrived structure of devotion, which it had raised more in my fancy than my heart. It had now to contend, however, with an enemy whom nothing but fixed *hope* can keep within bounds—but religion had left me no hope. Instead of engaging love on her side, she had forced him into an inseparable league with immorality."

Now, with the materials before us, I shall give what I conceive the author of both sets of letters to have been, at the period of his ordination. I believe him to have been originally a well disposed youth, who, if he had fallen into proper hands might have been an intelligent, well-informed, and pious clergyman, though more brilliant than learned; or a useful member of society in some other station. But at an early period he indulged his vanity and was insincere in his declarations. Of this insincerity he repented, and his vanity would have been cured by God's grace and his own experience. Unfortunately however for him, he entered too early upon his more severe studies, than which perhaps a greater literary misfortune cannot occur; whilst his fancy might have been cultivated it was restrained: he became disgusted with the dry and abstruse treatises which were prematurely made his task. A covert infidel of ability, and taste, and ingenuity, who had disguised himself in a cassock, won his affections, indulged his taste, cultivated his fancy, misled his judgment, made him deceive and disobey his spiritual director, weaned him from his classes, seduced him to scepticism, and usurped the place of his confessor. He now was bereft of the religion of the heart, and adhered to external observances which became tiresome and disgusting, save when they amused the fancy. The young man

himself did not suspect that his faith was undermined. At the age when he was most susceptible of love, he desires to abandon a state for which he is now totally disqualified; his treacherous guide urges him to undertake obligations from which he should have recoiled as he actually did, and the tears of a fond mother ignorant of the state of his soul, and his own desire of gratifying his family, come to aid these importunities. In contradiction to every principle of religion and prudence, he assumes the obligations of a state to which he was averse and for which he was disqualified. I believe Mr. White has no reason to complain of this view. If he has acted improperly in selecting and freely entering upon such a state of life, he has to blame his own indiscretion, not the laws of that state which he freely, though improperly and perhaps criminally undertook to observe.

Having freely entered upon the state, he ought to have observed its laws; and if he found any difficulty, that God, who always grants his aid to those who avoid temptation and have recourse, with proper dispositions, to prayer and to the sacraments, would have preserved him. But this gentleman is one of those beings whose ardent minds too often mislead them; they believe momentary enthusiasm to be the evidence of unshaken resolution; and passing excitement to be the lasting fervor of steady zeal; they rely upon their strength; they neglect precaution; and they quickly run from one extreme to another. Mr. White, before he became a subdeacon, was a criminal deceived by the activity of his own mind, and having occasional remorse, p. 293. He made an effort to prepare for orders, and indulged a hope of preserving some feeling of religion through life. But how could he? His faith was undermined—his heart lost all religious sentiment—devotion had some power over his fancy, p. 294. But this is not religion; this forms no foundation for virtue; this is merely a delusion. He consequently finds the law of his state "a foe to his virtue," he breaks loose more than once, and as often is reclaimed before his elevation to the priesthood, p. 294. This needs no explanation; but if it did, the next page furnishes it in abundance.

After describing, in p. 294, another of those transitory illusions of his fancy; in p. 295, describing his sentiments on the day of his ordination to the priesthood, and the celebration of his first mass, he has the following passage:

"I had still a heart it is true—a heart ready to burst at the sight of my parents on their knees, while impressing the first kiss upon my newly consecrated hands; but it was dead to the charms of beauty. Among the friendly crowds that surrounded me for the same purpose *were those lips, which, but a few months before, I would have died to press;* yet I could but just *mark their superior softness.*"

I believe we need no more proof to convince us, that a more improper candidate for orders was seldom, if ever raised to the priesthood. Just reflect, my friends; you who know what we expect from our clergy, reflect upon the prospects of a man who makes *love and infidelity* his preparations for the priesthood; and whose mind, on the solemn day of his ordination, could indulge such thoughts as those here alluded to. Can you wonder that this man should become an apostate? Did Bishop Kemp read the Letters of Doblado, and compare the two accounts which his hero gives of himself, before he insults the Catholic Church by adducing this profligate man as a good specimen of her clergy? Is this the witness so eminently qualified to inform the world of the character of our Church.

Having been ordained priest, he received no benefice until nearly a year had elapsed, *Evid.* p. 17. In p. 18, he informs us that he *now* conceived himself bound to devote the whole of his leisure time to the study of religion. In his other letters, p. 295, he tells us that, immediately after his ordination,

"To exercise the privileges of my office for the benefit of my fellow-creatures, was now my exclusive aim and purpose. I daily celebrated mass, with due preparation, preached often, and rejected none that applied to me for confession. The best ascetic writers of the Church of Rome were constantly in my hands. I made a study of the fathers; but, though I had the Scriptures among my books, it was, according to custom, more for reference than perusal. These feelings, this state of mental abstraction, is by no means uncommon, for a time, among young priests whose hearts have not been withered by a course of premature profligacy."

To me it is matter of perfect indifference which of those two incompatible assertions is the truth, or whether either is true. My own opinion is, that neither accords with the fact; but I will suppose him to have stated the truth in Doblado's Letters, as it will be giving him that position most favorable to himself. The question will then be, how long this course of study continued. He tells us, p. 295, "I shall conclude my narrative, by faithfully relating the origin and progress of the *total change* which took place in my mind, within *little more than a year* after I had received priest's orders." This accords pretty well with the statement in p. 18 of "*The Evidence,*" as to time. "My

religious belief had hitherto been undisturbed; but *light clouds of doubt* began now to pass over my mind, which the warmth of devotion *soon dissipated*. Yet they would gather again and again, with an increased darkness which prayer would scarcely dispel." It is not, however, so easy to reconcile *light clouds of doubt, soon dissipated*, to a *total change of mind*; nor does this last agree with recurring darkness which prayer could *scarcely* dispel; nor can I reconcile this assertion, that his *religious belief had been hitherto undisturbed* with his statement, *Letters*, p. 293, that even three or four years before, "vague fears and doubts haunted his conscience for many days." I care not which of those contradictions is the truth. My object is only to learn Mr. White's moral character, as a credible witness, from himself. He has now been exhibited up to the period when his settled infidelity is about to commence; and by comparing his account of himself in his "Evidence" against our Church, and that given by him in his "Letters of Doblado," we perceive that nothing can be more natural than to calculate upon his infidelity, unless it should be prevented by a miracle of grace. And nothing is more palpable, than that much of what he wrote must to his own knowledge be totally untrue.

He states in both productions, that his unbelief was a consequence of the principles of our Church. This is not the time to examine that assertion; we shall have it fully under our examination more than once hereafter. In pp. 18 and 19 of his "Evidence" is the following passage:

"That immorality and levity are *always* the source of unbelief, the experience of my own case, and my intimate acquaintance with many others, enables me most positively to deny. As to myself, I declare most solemnly, that my rejection of Christianity took place at a period, when my conscience could not reproach me with any open breach of duty, but those committed several years before: that during the transition from religious belief to incredulity, the horror of sins against the faith, deeply implanted by education in my soul, haunted me night and day; and that I exerted all the powers of my mind to counteract the involuntary doubts, which were daily acquiring an irresistible strength. In this distress, I brought to remembrance all the arguments for the truth of the Christian religion, which I had studied in the French apologists. I read other works of the same kind; and having to preach, in the execution of my office, to the royal brigade of carbineers, who came to worship the body of St. Ferdinand, preserved in the king's chapel I chose the subject of infidelity, on which I delivered an elaborate discourse. But the fatal crisis was at hand. At the end of a year, from the preaching of this sermon, the confession is painful, indeed, yet due to religion itself—I was bordering on atheism."

I would merely ask Bishop Kemp, in this place, what he thinks of Mr. White's credibility in his assertion of purity of conscience? or, if his conscience did not reproach him, what sort of conscience must he have had? Again, I shall object to his evidence being received in respect to the feelings of others, whilst I am occupied in showing that he is not worthy of credit in testifying his own. In his Letters, p. 297, he writes:

"The involuntary train, however, both of feeling and of thought, which was to make me break out in complete rebellion, *had long been sapping the foundation of my faith*, without my being aware that the whole structure nodded to its ruin."

In the same page, he gives us as full evidence, that not only was his faith during a *long time* in danger, but that it was actually destroyed:

"My heart sinks within me at the view of the interminable list of offences, every one of which may finally plunge me into the everlasting flames. Everlasting! and why so? Can there be revenge or cruelty in the Almighty? Such were the harassing thoughts with which I wrestled day and night. Prostrate upon my knees, I daily prayed for deliverance; but my prayers were not heard. I tried to strengthen my faith, by reading Bergier, and some of the French apologists for Christianity. But what can they avail a doubting Catholic? His system of faith is indivisible; whatever proves it all, proves absurdity. To argue with a doubting Catholic is to encourage and hasten his desertion. Chateaubriand has perfectly understood the nature of his task; and, by engaging the feelings and imagination in defence of his creed, has given it the fairest chance against the dry and tasteless philosophy of his countrymen. His book propped up my faith for a while."

With what feelings can the Right Rev. and Rev. gentlemen exhibit as peculiarly worthy of belief, a man who so freqnently and palpably contradicts himself?

Here is then the only proper explanation of his state of belief from under his own hand. What is the doubt which tortures him? Purgatory? No—Hell. And the Roman Catholic Church is not so complaisant as to be satisfied with Purgatory alone. Will Bishop Kemp allow Mr. White to strike out such doctrines as do not suit his taste? Will the Presbyterian and Methodist patrons of this "Book of Evidence" give up their doctrine of hell? The Roman Catholic Church taught this amongst *other absurdities*, and her faith was indivisible. Mr.

White had *long been prepared for this change*; his conscience still recollected the "lips of superior softness," and all those desires to gratify which he "could have died;" that conscience recollected those "crimes," and that "remorse," the "misery that embittered youth," and why should God be cruel? Yet the Catholic Church could not give up one tittle. Is this witness to be credited, when he asserts that his infidelity was not the result of a troubled conscience? After the exhibition which he has made of himself, how could he assert as he does, p. 20 of his "Evidence," "When I examined the state of my mind previous to my rejecting the Christian faith, I cannot recollect any thing in it but what is in perfect accordance with that form of religion in which I was educated." In how many palpable contradictions has he not been detected? And yet this man is to be a witness against the Roman Catholic world! Nay, he is to testify against others also. Observe how kindly he treats his old Catholic friends, when compared with some of his American patrons. "Letters of Dobaldo," p. 30:

"Enthusiasm — that bastard of religious liberty, that vigorous weed of Protestantism—does not thrive under the jealousy of infallible authority. Catholicism, it is true, has in a few instances produced a sort of splendid madness; but its visions and trances partake largely of the tameness of a mind previously exhausted by fears and agonies meekly borne under the authority of a priest. The throes of the new birth harrow up the mind of a Methodist, and give it all that phrenzied energy of despair, which often settles into the all-hoping, all-daring raptures of the enthusiast."

What say his Methodist patrons to this? I shall now close this letter with a statement of our progress. This redoubtable witness in his account of himself in his "Evidence against Catholics" exhibits for himself to us, the picture of a well-disposed, pure, ingenuous, religious youth, led through the path of virtue and learning to the altar, but becoming an infidel because of the absurdities of Catholicism. In "Doblado's Letters," he exhibits himself the victim of infidelity, and a gross criminal, totally disqualified in a moral, religious, and literary point of view, for the state of life which he embraces; the profligate companion of profligate infidels, yet not totally bereft of all leaning to faith, until about a year after his ordination. Already his character as a witness against the Catholic Church is lower than despicable; but as yet we do not see him as low as he must appear. Yours, B. C.

Charleston, Sept. 18, 1826.

From the Catholic Miscellany of Sept. 23, 1826.

BLANCO WHITE.

Besides the letters of B. C. in our columns, we observe the New York Truth Teller of the 9th has taken up the subject, and an advertisement has appeared in the Baltimore Gazette, which we subjoin to these remarks. This unfortunate man has gained a bad fame in the United States. In England he has received a few side blows from Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, the agent of the Irish Catholics, some little twitchings in the papers, and a cuff or two from the Edinburgh Review. Mr. M'Donnell gives a reason for his leaving Spain, of a very different kind from that given by the gentleman himself. As, however, he does not accompany the statement by any proof, we do not copy it. For our own parts, we have no objection to the circulation of his book, as we find it a much milder libel upon our Church than the others which have preceded it in those States. This will draw some attention to the topic of which it treats: they will be discussed; and upon those subjects, any change of sentiment in the general opinion must be for the better.

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From the Baltimore Gazette.

NOTICE OF BLANCO WHITE'S WORK.

To a candid and liberal public.—In a late paper appeared the advertisement of a book peculiarly offensive to the Catholic portion of our community. To ensure its more extensive circulation, the advertisement is loaded with an imposing catalogue of ministers of the Gospel, who recommended it to their respective and discordant flocks, as containing a *faithful, temperate,* and *able* representation of the "wonderful system of Catholicism." Since the days which gave birth to the envenomed ribaldry of the "Key of Popery," no publication has appeared more replete with scandal, gross immorality, calumny, and irreligion. The author, whilst he palms upon his harmless and unoffending brethren, doctrines of which they are ignorant, practices which they blush to name, and general conduct which would disgrace the untutored savage, is exhibited by his reverend patrons to our American commonwealth, as *eminently qualified* for the execution of his task. With one accord, they cheerfully engraft him upon their authority; and from the conspicuous eminence to which he is thus raised, make him address their flocks in their name, and pourtray for their information and edification, the character of their Catholic brother. What would be the result, should a jury of Catholic priests be empannelled, and give in a verdict against any single communion of their Protestant friends, amounting to a recommendation of a work written by one of themselves, and glaringly defamatory of their dissenting brother? To the man inclined to receive the character of his Protestant brother, as represented by the Catholic body, sound criticism would say: pause, ere you assent to the bare testimony of a single man, interested perhaps in the compilation of the work which he affirms

to repose on authenticated evidence. Pause, ere you assent to charges against a brother whom you cordially love; charges which, if established, will entail the most painful consequences on this brother, and point him out an object of public hate, infamy, and scorn. Pause, even should these charges stand vested with the signatures of very imposing names. Let testimony from another quarter, than perhaps the invention of an interested accuser, be adduced and outweigh the opposite evidence: then yield assent.

With sentiments of warm, unfeigned approbation, a large portion of this enlightened Protestant community, beheld their pastors refuse to affix their seals to an instrument, by them deemed libellous and ungenerous. It is hoped that the work thus censured, was not perused by the gentlemen whose names lie recommending it to the public.

A fair opportunity will now be afforded to their candor and benevolence, to withdraw their signatures, else the ill impressions entertained of their mind and heart, by a discerning and freely thinking commonwealth, must be placed to their own account. The recommendation of Blanco's book could not be the work of gravity and deliberate reflection. To spare much unpleasant and acrimonious feeling, therefore, notice is amicably given, that if its approvers are resolved to continue arrayed in hostility to a large portion of their Catholic brethren, and hold themselves jointly responsible for the consequences, an exact, impartial, and rigorous criticism will be passed on its contents. The tenor of the strictures which shall be offered to the equitable and religious public, will be to show the minister's work, immoral and obscene in its tendencies, profane and impious as regards Christianity, illiberal and antisocial in its antipathies to Catholic freedom in the united realms of Great Britain and Ireland, and a mere party engine to prop up a Church establishment by law.

Sept. 11. SACERDOS.

For our part, though we admire the politeness of the advertiser, we doubt its effect upon those of whom he complains.

LETTER IV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends:—I have disposed for the present of Mr. White's claims to ecclesiastical rank, ecclesiastical information, youthful piety, ordinary purity, and religious feeling. That is, in other words, I have shewn you, from his own writings, that he was by no means a man of theological knowledge or of respectable rank; I have shown you that he exhibits himself to us an insincere, youthful profligate, who entered into orders with every improper disposition, and who lost his faith because of his having taken the most effectual means for its destruction; I have also shewn you that his mind rejected, not the special doctrines of the Catholic Church, but the doctrine of the existence of hell, which I suppose is held by Bishop Kemp and the Rev. Mr. Post, to be good Protestant and Presbyterian doctrine. Of course one would now suppose this gentleman would leave the ministry, and not pocket money for doing that which he must condemn as imposture. Such would have been the advice of St. Paul, and such was his practice—even this principle regulated the practice of the Martyrs; such is the principle which the Roman Catholic Church enforces; but it would indeed be a very extraordinary presumption on our parts to expect, that Mr. White, now discovering Catholicism to be imposture, should act upon Catholic principles. We must not look for it. No, Mr. White will aid the imposture and take that money to which he has no title. In a Catholic, this would be a crime, but in Mr. White, it would probably be reckoned a virtue. A Catholic who would confess that he acted thus, would be obliged, before he could obtain absolution, *to refund all this ill-gotten pelf* to the Church which he had plundered: but as Mr. White thinks confession to be folly, if he went to the tribunal, as he insinuates he did, he either concealed his crimes; or again disobeyed his confessor; or to deceive his superiors, he went to some infidel with whom he was leagued, to add still more to his hypocrisy. In p. 22, he writes,

"To describe the state of my feelings when *believing religion a fable*, I still found myself compelled *daily to act as a minister and promoter of imposture*, is beyond my powers. An ardent wish seized me to fly from a country where the law left me no choice between death and *hypocrisy*. But my flight would have brought my parents with sorrow to the grave."

Upon reading this, one would at all events say, the man is a hypocrite of the very worst description by his own avowal. But his love for his parents keeps him in this state, because of the cruelty of his government; thus, at least, though we cannot justify his "ten years' continuance of daily hopocrisy," we must palliate it. I will admit no such excuse for Mr. White, because nothing can palliate hypocrisy. The martyrs of Christ, that is, *his witnesses*, were not hypocrites; they laid down their lives for truth. Mr. White, our Protestant martyr, declares he has no such disposition, and I believe him in this.

I cannot then rank him with the ancient martyrs. Mr. White's grandfather made sacrifices for truth, and if this priest inherited the virtues of his house, he would not be a hypocrite, and a hypocrite who deliberately

every day, during ten years, was the promoter of imposture.

It is a fair principle of commentary upon the testimony of such a man, to take all his acknowledgments of guilt to the full meaning of the words which he deliberately uses. He has avowed himself to have been during ten years in the daily practice of "promoting imposture," that during this time he was a "hypocrite," p. 22. What degree of credit is due to a man who thus describes himself, it is for those who receive his testimony to determine: for my own part, if I was upon a jury to decide in any ordinary case which might come before a court; and one of the witnesses made such an avowal respecting himself, I would, in considering the case, discharge his testimony from my view altogether. Would any person give it full credit? I shall only say of Mr. White at present, that his testimony in his own favor is of an extremely equivocal character, and not to be admitted without extraordinary scrutiny and strong corroboration.

He says that he continued to be guilty of hypocrisy and imposture, because there was no other mode left to him by the barbarous laws of his country to save his life, except one which would bring down his parents to the grave with sorrow. In the first place this is nothing short of a plain untruth. If he resigned his clerical office, as very many persons of eminent piety have done, he need neither leave his parents, nor expose himself to that death of which he stood so much in terror. In such a case he would cease to promote what he calls imposture, and he could continue to soothe his parents. But if the gentleman made this resignation, where would he have the means of support? An honest man, a man who has any feeling of conscience, never asks such a question. If our witness then kept his office by which he was obliged "daily to promote imposture," in order to have the means of support, the result is inevitably: that our informant continued during ten years to be a hypocrite, and an impostor, for his support. Good God! what a witness has the conclave of discordant divines produced against Catholicism!!! Painful as is the alternative between want and systematic imposture, the wretch who is brought to receive sentence for his crime under a verdict of guilt in our courts, may indeed plead the temptations of want to mitigate the severity of the sentence. Humanity will shed a tear, and mercy will sue with justice to alleviate the infliction which the laws of God and man require. But Mr. White cannot have even this excuse, unless he was guilty of deliberate fraud at the time of his ordination. His first benefice was that which he calls a fellowship in the college of St. Mary a Jesu, at Seville: because though as unlike as was the frog to the ox, it would have the bloated appearance of the dignity of a fellowship of one of the Oxford Colleges, and our witness would have the semblance of erudition. Previously to this he had been ordained subdeacon, p. 17. In Spain he could not have received this order as a secular, unless he had exhibited to the Bishop or to his official, his good title to a benefice, or to a fixed patrimonial or personal property fully sufficient to support him as a clergyman; and on the day of his ordination he must have been solemnly called to come forward for ordination upon the ground of that special title. Mr. White was a secular, *without a benefice*, and consequently must have been ordained upon the title of his patrimonial property fixed upon him, and to which he had a good legal and equitable claim, or having a good personal property: he then must have been guilty of gross fraud upon the very day of his ordination, or he could not have been driven by want to the necessity of being a hypocrite and an impostor, who repeated those crimes daily during ten years. I leave to the Right Rev. Doctor Kemp, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland, and to his Reverend associates to select which side they please of the alternative; but one or the other they must inevitably take. I believe the gentlemen will hardly contest with me now the truth of my assertion that their witness, who must have known his own motives, was guilty of a falsehood, when he asserted, that his filial affection and the cruel laws of his country, left him no alternative; that it became necessary for him to be an impostor and a hypocrite.

To catch such a man as this in trifling fibs, is only to pluck a leaf from a forest: still there are some falsehoods which for their very appearance will be sufficient to arrest our observation. Mr. White is continually forcing upon our attention, his fine feelings of family affection. It may not be amiss to examine a few specimens. I have drawn you to view his hypocrisy by his insinuating that he was an impostor out of respect to his parents; the same motive he says, made him take orders when he knew that he ought not. In a word, nothing was wrong in his whole conduct which did not flow from affection for some one of his family.

In p. 15, of his Evidence, he tells us that he "hallowed the pages of another work (Letters from Spain, by Don Leucadio Doblado), with the character of his parents,"—

"that such were the purity, the benevolence and the angelic piety of his father's life, that at his *death*, multitudes of people thronged the house to indulge the last view of the *dead body*." In p. 29, of Doblado's Letters he tells us of his father: "under these unpromising circumstances (pecuniary losses) he married his mother, who if she could add but little to her husband's fortune, yet brought him a treasure of love and virtue, which he found constantly increasing, till *death removed him* on the first approaches of old age." In p. 151, of his Evidence, he tells us of a younger sister, "at the age of twenty she left an infirm mother to the care of *servants and strangers*, and shut herself up in a convent." Of course if the old gentleman was not living, and her good son Joseph, what a profanation of the name of two venerable patriarchs! would not look after her, she was left only to servants and strangers. Mr. White gives us the account of his hearing his sister's confession after she became a nun, and she was in the convent when he left Spain. In p. 26, this affectionate son is nearly heart-broken at the separation from that father when he was leaving Spain, and the more so, as the old gentleman was now bending I suppose, with age and grief. "I was too well aware of the *firmness of my resolutions*, not to endure the most agonizing pain when I irrevocably crossed the threshold of my father's house, and when *his bending figure* disappeared from my eyes, at the first winding of the Guadalquiver, down which I sailed. Heaven knows that time has not had power to heal the wounds which *this separation* has inflicted on my heart." This is that same Mr. White who knew the *firmness* of his resolutions, but yet who took orders *against* his resolution because this mother was in tears: the same Mr. White who practiced systematic fraud, robbery, and hypocrisy daily during ten years, lest his "flight would have brought his parents with sorrow to the grave." But when the passages are placed in juxta-position who can tell how the dead father came to life, or the living father was dead, and his wife left to the care of only servants and strangers? But this is not my object. I suppose all this reconcileable. I only wish to know whether Mr. White had this filial affection, and whether it was necessary to be a hypocrite in order to save his parents from sinking with grief into the grave.

This affectionate son has shamefully treated his virtuous parents in his Doblado's Letters. In p. 29. he indeed informs us,

"My mother was of honorable parentage. She was brought up in that absence of mental cultivation which prevails to this day, among the Spanish ladies. But her natural talents were of a superior cast. She was lively, pretty, and sang sweetly. Under the influence of a happier country, her pleasing vivacity, the quickness of apprehension, and the exquisite degree of sensibility which animated her words and actions, would have qualified her to shine in the most elegant and refined circles."

Of his father, he says, p. 29, Doblado.

"Benevolence prompted all my father's actions; endued him, at times, with something like supernatural vigor; and gave him, for the good of his fellow-creatures, the courage and decision he wanted in whatever concerned himself. With hardly any thing to spare, I do not recollect a time when our house was not a source of relief and consolation to some families of such as, by a characteristic and feeling appellation, are called among us *the blushing poor*. In all seasons, for thirty years of his life, my father allowed himself no other relaxations, after the fatiguing business of his counting-house, than a visit to the general hospital of the town—a horrible scene of misery, where four or five hundred beggars are at a time allowed to lay themselves down and die, when worn out by want and disease. Stripping himself of his coat, and having put on a coarse dress for the sake of cleanliness, in which he was scrupulous to a fault, he was employed, till late at night, in making the beds of the poor, taking the helpless in his arms, and stooping to such services as even the menials in attendance were often loath to perform. All this he did of his own free will, without the least connection, public or private, with the establishment. Twice he was at death's door from the contagious influence of the atmosphere in which he exerted his charity. But no danger would appal him, when engaged in administering relief to the needy. Foreigners, cast by misfortune into that gulf of wretchedness, were the peculiar objects of his kindness."

In p. 30, after describing his father, he adds:

"The principle of benevolence was not less powerful in my mother; but her extreme sensibility made her infinitely more susceptible of pain than pleasure—of fear than hope—and for such characters, a technical religion is a source of distracting terrors. Enthusiasm—that bastard of religious liberty, that vigorous weed of Protestantism—does not thrive under the jealous eye of infallible authority. Catholicism, it is true, has in a few instances, produced a sort of splendid madness; but its visions and trances partake largely of the tameness of a mind previously exhausted by fears and agonies, meekly borne under the authority of the priest. The throes of the new birth harrow up the mind of the Methodist, and give that phrenzied energy of despair, which often settles into the all-hoping, all-daring raptures of the enthusiast. The Catholic saint suffers in all the passiveness of blind submission, till nature sinks exhausted,

and reason gives way to a gentle visionary madness. The natural powers of my mother's intellect were strong enough to withstand, unimpaired, the enormous and constant pressure of religious fears, in their most hideous shape. But, did I not consider reason the only gift of heaven, which fully compensates the evils of this present existence, I might have wished for its utter extinction, in the first and dearest object of my natural affection. Had she become a visionary, she had ceased to be unhappy. But she possessed to the last an intellectual energy equal to any exertion, except one, which was not compatible with the influence of her country—that of boldly looking into the dark recess where lurked the phantoms that harassed and distressed her mind."

He then adds of both:

"It would be difficult, indeed, to choose two fairer subjects for observing the effects of the religion of Spain. The results, in both, were lamentable, though certainly not the most mischievous it is apt to produce. In one, we see mental soberness and good sense *degraded into timidity and indecision*—unbounded goodness of heart, confined to the *lowest* range of benevolence. In the other, we mark talents of a superior kind, turned into the ingenious tormentors of a heart, whose main source of wretchedness was an exquisite sensibility to the beauty of virtue, and an insatiable ardor in treading the devious and thorny path it was made to take for the 'way which leadeth unto life.' A bolder reason, in the first, it will be said, and a reason less flattered by sensibility in the second, would have made those virtuous minds more cautious of yielding themselves up to the full influence of ascetic devotion."

Is this, then, the affection of a son for his fond parents? Has that man a heart, who seeks to degrade religion by mocking the virtues of his amiable family? Can that man have a sense of religion, who violates the command of heaven, and vents his malice against the Church of his youth, by dishonoring the authors of his being, and publishing what even a less ferocious enemy to them who gave him birth, would call the interesting weakness of their virtue, but what this parricide of family honor publishes as the criminality of their religion? Yet we shall find this man, in several places, put on the semblance of affection to cry out against a tribunal which, he says, obliges the parents to denounce their criminal children, though his hand has struck through both his parents, to endeavor to plunge his dagger into their Church! Yet, see what a picture he has drawn of that father; occupied in the work of devoted charity, whilst probably his wretched son was sneering, with his infidel companions, at the religion which gave such heroism; or ruining that innocence which, tainted and degraded by criminals like him, was to find its last earthly refuge in that hospital, and the last consolations from that clergy whose name he has disgraced, and whose fame he has libelled. Can this man have family affection? Not content with dishonoring his parents, he betrays his sister; or he has added to the catalogue of his falsehoods, and mocked the best feelings of the human heart. I believe the latter to be the fact. No brother could have written as he does in p. 151 of his "Evidence." Had he a sister in the state that he describes, he could not have heard her confession, as I shall afterwards show, by the strongest evidence; and if he could, neither as a priest, as a brother, or a man, could he have published to the world the disease of her conscience, of which he had been informed under the solemn pledge of religion, of affection, of honor, and of confidence in the most inviolable secresy. No person can for a moment, reflect upon the statement without concluding, that it is the foul fabrication of a man bereft of all feeling of affection; or if by chance this is not the fact, the alternative is worse. He has betrayed the confidence of his sister, and published the weakness of her conscience to the world. Like a practical dealer in fable, he has acquired the knack of killing off his sisters, his parents and his friends, as they cease to excite interest; he has, however, bungled the mode of getting rid of his father. But no, I cannot—nature herself will not allow me, when such a man as this is before me—I will not unbend from my indignation and disgust, to exhibit him to ridicule. Mr. White weeps for that sister! As we have nothing but the succession of tears, it will be as well to admit more.

In page 73 of the "Evidence" is the following passage:

"I too 'had a mother,' and such a mother, as did I possess the talents of your great poet ten-fold, they would have been honored in doing homage to the powers of her mind and the goodness of her heart. No woman could love her children more ardently, and none of those children was loved more vehemently than myself. But the Roman Catholic creed had poisoned in her the purest source of affection. I saw her during a long period, unable to restrain her tears in my presence. I perceived that she shunned my conversation, especially when my university friends drew me into any topics above those of domestic talk. I loved her, and this behaviour cut me to the heart. In my distress, I applied to a friend, to whom she used to communicate all her sorrows; and to my utter horror, I learned that she suspected my anti-catholic principles. My mother was distracted by the fear, that she might be obliged to accuse me to the Inquisition, if I

incautiously uttered some condemned proposition in her presence. To avoid the barbarous necessity of being the instrument of my ruin, she could find no other means but that of shunning my presence."

The good old lady must have been a better theologian than was her son, or than he is at present; and must be qualified to fill one of the chairs of dull divinity, if she could so easily detect a condemned proposition; or else Mr. White must have been openly and glaringly anti-catholic in his expressions. Why need he remain then a deliberate impostor, detained by filial affection, "until the approach of Bonaparte's troops to Seville enabled him to quit Spain, without exciting suspicion as to the real motive which tore him for ever from every thing that he loved?" More than suspicion had been excited. Affection and honesty would have warned him to the same course.

If Mr. White's mother shunned his presence, and saw him only with tears, because she feared he would speak, and she would denounce him to the Inquisition, would it not be a greater alleviation to her grief, that he should be out of the reach of this tribunal? Was it then affection which detained him to practice imposture ten years? Was it affection that kept him in view of that mother, who shunned his presence, whom he forced to tears?

I have done with dissecting his heart, to search for what, if it ever contained, it must have been long void of—affection for his family. My soul has been oppressed during the operation. I have risen from it with feelings which no one need envy. I have been intimately acquainted with the base and the profligate: they have unfolded their secrets to me; the assassin has led me through his history of crime; in the dead of the night, and in the depth of his dungeon, the murderer of his own child has turned away from viewing the innocent companion of her upon whom he once doated, but afterwards slew, to pour the story of his woe into my ear. I have recalled to memory what I knew of their affections. I have compared it with what I believe Mr. White's to be. I must unhesitatingly aver, that if that man's family affection, and that of the worst of those, were weighed against each other, I doubt whether that worst had less than I believe him to possess. Though they were great criminals, no one of them attempted to palliate his own crime by defaming even the victim which he slew. In my estimation, this hypocrite is below any of them; and I can only say, that there is but one alternative which can bestow upon him a claim to any semblance of affection, and which I hope is the fact: that is, that a considerable portion of his narrative is fiction. I think I shall easily prove much of it to be palpably false. But yet the man had at least a father and a mother. He tells us that he hallowed the pages of a book by the record of their virtues; and then tells us those virtues, became the fears of superstitious weakness, and the publication of [this] weakness to the world, in order to enslave his father's father's country, is the filial affection of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White!!! Come, Bishop Kemp, take this man to your bosom—cherish him who stung his mother—embrace him whose fangs have not spared his father—hold forth to your flock, as a model of affection, the reptile who has bedaubed his sister. Doctor Wilmer recognizes in him some congeniality of feeling, as regards the ancient Church; the Rev. Mr. Hawley is too modest to march in front to the attack; but covered by you both, he believes himself secure. Before I close my examination of this apostate priest, I shall convince even you, if you do not already know it, that he is as completely at variance with the doctrines of the Church of England as he is with mine. I have already shown, that he likes Methodists as little. I assure you, your Presbyterian associates shall have no victory. Why then did you bring him forward? My friends, this Right Rev. Gentleman and his associates shall get Mr. White's character more fully developed in my next.

Yours, B. C.

LETTER V.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—The occupations of men are of such a nature, as generally to require from each individual his principal, if not his exclusive attention to some one study or employment; and as the human mind is extremely limited in its faculties, it must generally happen that they who are deeply engaged in any one department, can be only imperfectly acquainted with all others. The common sense of mankind and the experience of ages and of nations, has therefore established the general maxim; that the best judge of any science or art, is a person who has made that science, or that art his principal study. The great body of mankind will observe any glaring defect, or monstrous irregularity in a public building; others will frequently feel, even where no palpable error is seen, that something is amiss, in the appearance, though they cannot particularize the fault; but a skilful architect not only perceives the want of symmetry, but can specify the exact seat and the extent of the

blunder; and few if any, save they who are conversant with the object of the structure and the details of the business for which it is to be employed, can say whether its apartments are judiciously and conveniently laid out. Probably, upon this principle, we may excuse the commendators of Blanco White, except for their uncalled for interference.

Bishop Kemp and his associates, are pleased to call our religion, "a wonderful system." And so it is. It is a system deriving its origin from the Deity, who first planted it in the human heart: he enabled our great parent in the first development of his understanding to discover the only principle which this whole system comprises, man is bound to adore his creator. Yes, my friends! this is the *only principle* of our Church; this is the summary of out religion. This was discovered by Adam in the day of his innocence; and it was recollected by Adam in the midst of the gloom which succeeded to his fall; it was transmitted by him as the most valuable legacy to his children. Patriarchal tradition preserved it to the days of the deluge. It remained with Noe in the Ark; and it came forth to cheer him in the midst of the desolation with which he was surrounded upon the hills of Armenia; he beheld its calm and peaceful beauty in the rainbow; it preserved his faith at the bloody sacrifice, and enkindled his hope when the holocaust was consumed upon the blazing altar. It was misapplied and misdirected at Babel; and the roaming outcasts who were spread over the face of the earth, still in their migration preserved the principle though they mistook the object of adoration. But the young Chaldean who came out from his father's house and from his kindred, brought it with him in purity, to the land of strangers which was to be given as an inheritance to his descendants; in the valley of vision and upon the hill of sacrifice, he conversed with the God of his fathers, who gave to him ordinances calculated to preserve the principle from the corruptions of human speculation. That God went down with Joseph into Egypt, and after exhibiting his might by the hand of Moses, he brought his people through the yawning valley of the Red Sea. In the midst of wonders he proclaimed his law, and gave its sanction at Sinai. He established then a priesthood and a tribunal for the careful preservation of that original principle which the varying speculations of restless men had so disguised throughout the world, as to make the objects of their adoration every real vice and every imaginary virtue; as well as every material being, from the glorious sun of Persia to the putrid leek of Egypt. Again at the appointed time; the heavens were rent; the great teacher descended, an incarnate God wrought wonders in Judea; the Sun of Justice succeeded to that orb which had only announced his glories by reflection: the twinkling prophets were lost in the brilliancy of his light. The new tribunal is established, that tribunal whose commission was extended to every nation, and all days to the end of time. In wonders, the Apostles go forth to victory, and to death. In wonders, the world is convinced that God has directed how the great principle should be carried into practice. But the human mind is restless, and speculation again misleads from the evidence of fact: man begins to inquire how can God do those things, instead of inquiring whether he has proof of God's declaration that he has done them. Separations are made, nations fall away, new nations are converted, empires are overturned, kingdoms are destroyed, death sweeps dynasties from their thrones, their monuments vanish at the touch of time; oblivion blots their names from the memories of men: ages have passed away, every thing else is new, save that system which in the midst of wonders the Son of God has permanently established: all the old separatists have dwindled to almost shadows; but others of a different kind have succeeded; every civilized nation has embraced the system, and in every civilized nation has it been opposed and persecuted; and still in every age its adherents form the vast majority of the civilized portion of the human race. It began in wonders, it has been established by wonders, it has been propagated by wonders, its wonders are seen now, even now, amongst ourselves, even before the eyes of the originators of the libel against which I write. The very perpetuation of the system is a wonder, and will continue so to be, until time shall be no more. Well then have our opponents described ours as a wonderful system. I feel happy that in this at least we are agreed.

But in describing the parts of this wonderful system; he who is but slightly acquainted with them is liable to err. When Mr. White has entered upon this description, he has exhibited to us at once his rashness, his malice and his disregard of truth. Those my friends are very serious charges, and very strongly expressed; I can, however, by the abundance of proof, justify my assertion, or I would not thus deliberately make it. In looking over his pages, no Protestant, not even Bishop Kemp, nor Doctor Hawley, nor any other of the zealous gentlemen who volunteered his own exposure, is capable of forming an opinion as to Mr. White's credi-

bility upon those topics. Those gentlemen have never studied either the system of the theology or canon law of the Catholic Church; they are as little qualified to give an opinion upon the merits of the work as they are to explain the composition of the ring of Saturn. I write this without disrespect, I write it, with deep regret that a sense of duty compels me to expose them, for my own protection. The general body of Roman Catholics may feel, in reading the work, that it is a foul, slanderous misrepresentation; but, except to persons who have made the canons and usages of the Church their study, the greater portion of its falsehood will not be specially evident. To endeavor by the exhibition of a few of the most gross mistatements of this sort to exhibit Mr. White as altogether regardless of truth, will require from me a minute reference to some laws, customs and decisions of the Catholic Church, in full force in Spain, which may have the appearance of pedantry, and will be altogether a different description of style from that which the subject would appear to demand. I however have formed my opinion, which is, that my case will be best sustained, and Mr. White best exposed by this mode. I shall therefore follow it at present.

Mr. White tells us in p. 151, of his "Evidence" respecting a young sister,

"At the age of twenty she left my infirm mother to the care of servants and strangers, and shut herself up in a convent, where she was not allowed to see even the nearest relations."

"Disease soon filled her conscience with fear and I had OFTEN to endure the torture of witnessing her agonies at the CONFESSIONAL."

Of his eldest sister he tells us, p. 150,

"I saw my eldest sister at the age of two and twenty, sink slowly into the grave within the walls of a convent."

"I saw her on her death bed. I obtained that melancholy sight at the risk of bursting my heart, when in my capacity of priest, I heard her last confession."

P. 144. "The picture of female convents requires a more delicate pencil: yet I cannot find tints sufficiently dark and gloomy to pourtray the miseries which I have witnessed in their inmates. Crime indeed makes its way into those recesses, in spite of the spiked walls, and prison gates which protect the inhabitants. This I KNOW with all the certainty which the SELF ACCUSATION OF THE GUILTY, can give."

That those guilty who made this self-accusation, which gave him the certainty, were the nuns, is plain from the succeeding passage—

"It is besides a notorious fact, that the nunneries of Estremadura and Portugal, are frequently infected with vice of the grossest kind. But I will not dwell on this revolting part of the picture. The greater part of the nuns, whom I have known were beings of a much higher description—females whose purity owed nothing to the strong gates and high walls of the cloister, &c."

One more passage is all that I shall now quote to place this side of the case upon its proper ground, pp. 138, 139 and 140.

"Of monks and friars, I know comparatively very little, because the vague suspicions, of which even the most pious Spanish parents cannot divest themselves, prevented my frequenting the interior of monasteries during my boyhood. My own judgment, and the general disgust which the prevailing grossness and vulgarity of the regulars create in those who daily see them, *kept me subsequently away from all intercourse with the cowled tribes:* but of the secular clergy, and the *amiable* life prisoners of the Church of Rome, few if any *can possess a more intimate knowledge than myself.* * * *

"The intimacy of friendship, the undisguised converse of *sacramental confession*, opened to me the hearts of many, whose exterior conduct might have deceived a common observer. * * * * Such are the sources of the knowledge I possess: GOD, sorrow, and remorse are my witnesses."

From those passages the obvious conclusion may be embodied in the following propositions, viz.

1. That Mr. White had no intercourse with the regulars, that is with monks or friars.

2. That few if any persons knew more intimately than he did, the true state of nuns.

3. That he derived his knowledge from the undisguised converse of *sacramental confession*, and from the intimacy of friendship.

4. That common observers might be deceived by exterior conduct, but from his peculiar opportunities he could not be so easily deceived.

5. That in spite of walls and spikes, &c. nuns are criminals; of which he has all the certainty which the self-accusation of the guilty can give.

6. That he calls God to witness that what he discloses is derived from those sources.

7. That the greater number of the nuns whom he knew were females of purity.

My friends.—You are disgusted!—I solemnly assure you that in a life of many trials, I have never suffered more exquisite torture than I do, at being obliged to write in the manner, and upon the topic which this wretched man, and his———yes, I will use the epithet, *uninformed*, compurgators have forced upon me. It has been my lot, in the discharge of duty, to bury myself amidst

the worst offscourings of immorality! I have had during years to be made familiar with loathsome disease and moral turpitude. You can scarcely name a moral or a physical plague, with which I have not come in contact. I have shrunk from none of these: but I do avow it; I shrink back from Blanco White and Bishop Kemp, and their heartless associates!!! But truth and justice require of me to proceed. Away then with feelings—I shall do it.

This miserable man next asserts:

8. That he heard the confession of his eldest sister on her death-bed.

9. That his younger sister shut herself up in a convent where she was not allowed to see her nearest relations.

10. That he OFTEN heard her confession.

11. That to him it was a torture to witness *her agonies at the confessional*, because of the fears with which her conscience was filled.

Now of those eleven propositions, seven must of necessity be palpable and deliberate falsehoods, two others are the most improbable which I can conceive, and the other two, viz. those marked 1 and 7, may be true.

It requires no depth of theological learning to perceive the truth of the following principles. 1. The person who imagining, even under delusion, that she is obliged by the law of God to reveal what nothing but obedience to that law could induce her to reveal, makes to her brother under that impression a declaration which she is persuaded no torture could drag from him, when he is pledged by every tie which heaven and earth hold solemn, to the most inviolable secresy; has upon him the highest possible claim to preserve that secresy, and should he violate it, and thereby expose the weakness of his sister!! can there be upon earth a more mean and contemptible and wicked wretch? 2. Suppose the whole system of the Catholic religion to be erroneous and delusive: is there not a bond which nothing can loose, upon him who receives from a deluded being, whom his office brought to disclose to him the troubles of her soul, that he shall preserve her secrets, though he and she were in error when she confided in him? If he betrays them, ought he ever be received into society? The betrayer of a sister's religious confidence!!!—Could White have had a sister? Impossible!!!—Or he knew not how a brother ought to feel!—A brother in such a situation!—It is folly to imagine one syllable of truth in the whole narrative. Nature contradicts the self-accusing hypocrite, the avowed impostor! Religion unites with nature in the disclaimer—a sister to confess to her brother is next to unheard of in the Church of God. In the medical profession, there is a creditable delicacy which is a counterpart to what exists in our Church. The intimacy of family connexion often requires from delicate minds that a stranger shall be the depositary of some secrets, the witness of some weaknesses, the healer of some imperfections; and the heartless being who could make himself master of his sister's religious terrors, in the station of her confessor, and publish them to the world contrary to every law of the Church, of nature, and of God, is only to be equalled by him who—— No, there is not a miscreant on this earth of so deep a stain of iniquity. I shall rescue the remnant of this man's character from his own malevolence by proving that he had it not in his power to be as great a wretch as he pretends he was.

The law of the Church was in full vigor in Spain at the time to which he alludes.

Mr. White tells us, p. 189, of his "Evidence," "at the age of *five and thirty*, religion, and religion alone, tore him away from his country."

Now I assert, that in Spain he never could have been a confessor to a convent of nuns, and therefore that he was not: and consequently, he called God to witness a foul falsehood in p. 140 of his "Evidence."

In Doblado's Letters, Vol. 3, Magazine, p. 321, Mr. White describes convents, particularly those of Seville. No person who had a particle of delicate feeling could have written some of the passages contained in this letter. Take one of the least objectionable as a specimen:

"But I cannot discover the least shadow of reason or interest for the obstinacy which preserves unaltered the barbarous laws relating to the religious vows of females; unless it be that vile *animal jealousy* which persons deprived of the pleasures of love, are apt to mistake for the zeal of chastity: such zeal as your Queen Elizabeth felt for the purity of her maids."

He calls the convents "*Bastilles* of superstition where many a victim lingers through a long life of despair or insanity." He then describes the nunneries as of two kinds, those under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, and those under the jurisdiction of the Friars: the first he says are comfortable: the latter horrible; of the latter, there are some which are Reformed, in those, p. 322, the nuns see and converse with their parents once a month. "The religious vows of the Capuchin nuns however, put a final end to all communication between parents and children." As he informs us that his younger sister "shut herself up in a convent, where she was not allowed to see her nearest relations," she

must have become a Capuchin nun. The Capuchins are one of the regular orders—in regular nunneries no priest OFTEN hears the confession of a nun except the regular, ordinary confessor. By a regulation of the 10th Chapter, Session xxv, of the Council of Trent, an extraordinary confessor must sit to hear them three or four times in the year. Mr. White had no one qualification, save his priesthood, to make him eligible either as ordinary or extraordinary confessor of a Capuchin nunnery. It was decided by the Sacred Congregation of Cardinals in the affairs of Bishops and Regulars, (or friars) which is the competent judicial tribunal in such cases, on four several causes:

1st. That the nuns could not elect their confessor.

2d. That the Bishop was to appoint the confessor for the convents subject to him.

3d. That the regular prelates, that is, friars, were to appoint confessors for the nuns of their own order.

Those decisions were made, in a case from Loretto, on the 20th of September, 1588; in a case from Tusculum, on the 15th of October, 1601; in a case from Riga, on the 4th of September, 1602; and in a case from Valladolid, on the 26th of October, in the same year. Now, he assures us himself, that he had *no intercourse with the cowled tribes*, and yet he wishes us to believe that the most rigid, and of course to him, the most hateful of those tribes gave to him that place to which they always appointed the most virtuous and respectable men of their own order!!! I suspect this is a sort of reasoning which Bishop Kemp will not understand, but to a person conversant with the laws and customs of the Catholic Church, Mr. White's assertion will appear the most absurd and preposterous.

In the second place this man is a secular priest; now by a multitude of canons and decisions, it has been regulated and is an universal custom, that the confessor of a nunnery of a regular order generally is, and ought to be, a friar of the same order. To this rule there is but one exception in such a place as Seville, and this exception could scarcely occur: viz. That the community of nuns could not be prevailed upon to confess to a friar of their own order. But this must be for the community, not for an individual, as was decided by the congregation in a case from Palermo, May 27, 1623, and one from Genoa, 27th April, 1657.*

Mr. White tells us that about the age of twenty-five he became an infidel; for he spent ten years in the hypocritical support of what he calls imposture, before he left Spain at the age of thirty-five; his conduct did not escape suspicion, for he tells us, his mother avoided his presence lest she should hear what would be against faith; both in his "Evidence" and in "Doblado's Letters," he informs us that profligate clergymen were his companions; but if their conduct was not glaringly bad, it was at least highly suspicious; he gives us abundant proof in his "Doblado's Letters," Vol. 2, p. 291, of the Magazine, that it was, for he is found openly the companion of men under censure.

"I have visited Salamanca after the great defeat of the *philosophical* party, the strongest that ever was formed in Spain. A man of first rate literary character amongst us, whom merit and court favor had raised to one of the chief seats in the judicature of the country, but whom court caprice had, about this time, sent to rusticate at Salamanca, was doing me the honors of the place, when approaching the convocation hall of the University, we perceived the members of the faculty of divinity strolling about, previous to a meeting of their body. A runaway slave, still bearing the marks of the lash, at his return, could not have shrunk more instinctively at the sight of the planters meeting at the council room, than my friend did at the view of the cowls "white, black, and grey," which partially hid the sleek faces of his *offended* masters. He had, it is true, been lucky enough to escape his imprisonment and subsequent penance in a monastery, which was the sad lot of the chief of his routed party; but he himself was *still suspected* and *watched closely*."

Whether this is the same gentlemen who held an important place in the provincial judicature, and who narrowly escaped the Inquisition; whom he mentions as an infidel companion in p. 298, I cannot conjecture. But in that page he informs us that after the acquaintance then formed, he "performed mass with a heart in open rebellion to the Church that enjoined it; but he had now settled with himself, to offer it up to his Creator, as he imagines that the *enlightened Greeks and Romans did their sacrifices*. He was like them, *forced* to express his thankfulness in an absurd language." The attempt which failed was to introduce into the Spanish Universities the principles of French infidelity, as he himself informs us in p. 291. The Theses which were introduced he describes as "genuine offspring of the French school, the very turn of their phrases 'in spite of the studied caution of their language,' gave strong indications of a style formed in defiance of the Holy Inquisition." That a man of this description should be selected confessor to a nunnery, is an absurdity so palpable to any divine, that I am only astonished how the man himself had

[* Vid. Ferrarius, Biblioth. Jurid., etc. Voc. *Moniales*.]

the hardihood to make the assertion. But he knew who his readers were likely to be; persons, who greedily swallow every libel against our Church, and neither know whether its truth is even possible, [nor] perhaps care [whether it is or not.] I am certain I do not judge rashly when I assert that amongst the Right Rev. and Rev. approbators of the work there are not three, perhaps not one, who knows that ordinary approbation to hear confessions, does not confer power to hear confessions in nunneries; that approbation to hear them in one nunnery does not include approbation to hear them in another, that approbation to hear the confession of one nun, for instance upon the approach of death, does not include approbation to hear another. And that one of the most unheard of cases, though not absolutely impossible, is that a brother should be the confessor of a nun who is his sister.

But suppose all those obstacles removed, suppose those all to have been dispensed with; one other insuperable difficulty remains. By the common law of the Church no special age is requisite in a priest to be qualified generally to hear confessions. But the congregation before mentioned, decided on the 2d of May, 1617, and on the 7th of June, 1620, in cases from the Patriarchate of Venice, that the confessor of a nunnery ought to be *at least over forty years of age.* In the Franciscan order, of which the Capuchins are a branch, there is a special statute, *Sambuc. cap.* 11, § 17, *num.* 1, of the minor Observantines, which requires this age, and the force of this statute was decided to extend to the reformed of the order, by a decree of the congregation of the council, the proper tribunal in this case, on the 26th of November, 1689, upon a question from the Archdiocess of Cosenza. When the confessor goes to the discharge of his duty he is accompanied by another clergyman, who remains within view though not within hearing, and by a decision of the congregation of the affairs of Bishops and regulars, on a case from Nola, on the 21st of February, 1617, it is ruled that this companion must be *over fifty years of age.* And on the 16th of March, 1603, a papal circular order was issued, chiefly to the Bishops of Italy and the adjacent islands, in which the qualifications which are every where required for persons of this description, are enumerated in general terms, "*ætate provecti, prudentes, zelantes, et vita exemplari conspicui:*" "advanced in age, prudent, zealous, and remarkable for their exemplary life."

Let us now review the acknowledged, technical obstacles, if I may so call them, which rendered it *impossible; legally and morally impossible*, that White could have been a confessor to any nun; except perhaps he might [have been], though in itself [it is] highly improbable, to his eldest sister, at her own request, before her death: but, I believe it will now be admitted that we have no evidence of his ever having had a sister; because, his assertion is no evidence.

First, his conduct was by no means such as to be conspicuous for giving good example; next, he had no appearance of zeal; again, even as a hypocrite, he was imprudent in his company; fourthly, he was a virulent enemy to friars, who of course would not give him their highest appointment; fifthly, a priest who lived as he did, would no more undertake such an office, than he would retire into a desert: again, a man of his principles would infallibly betray himself, by some expression for which he would be denounced to his superior; and a seventh reason, which outweighs the whole, is that he had not attained the necessary age until five years after he had left Spain!!! Now I would request of his compurgators, our Baltimore and Columbia canonists, to look back to the eleven propositions, which this man *swears a solemn oath* were true. *He called God to witness their truth, and that truth is legally and morally impossible!!!* And if there is any part of the Church in which that law is most fully in vigor it is in Spain.

Was my expression too strong when I wrote that those men were *uninformed* in volunteering an exhibition of their own ignorance, from their desire of assailing Popery?

In my next, I shall exhibit some more of Mr. White's veracity, and test the value of his unanswerable argument against Popery.

Yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C. Oct. 2, 1826.

From the Baltimore Gazette.

Gentlemen, this new attempt of yours to root out Popery, by means of Blanco and his book, is almost too ridiculous to be treated seriously; with such broken arrows you cannot wound us. If it really be so desirable to you to attack us by a Renegade Priest, let me advise you to procure one, if you can, whose life has been uniformly irreproachable, who diffuses around him the sweet odor of piety to God and to man, who changes not his religion for the more convenient indulgence of his lustful appetites; but, in obedience to the voice of God, to the dictates of his own conscience and to become more widely useful to his fellow men. To such a man, when you find him, we will lend a respectful ear; from his lips we shall expect wisdom to flow; and we shall know that a good man cannot be a liar. If you cannot, as is probable, find such a man, then gentlemen, there is another mode by which you may easily bring about, if not our de-

struction, at least our conversion. Show us in your lives the model which you exhibit to us in your sermons;—be like your Divine Master filled with zeal for the glory of his and your heavenly Father; be like him, humble, meek, chaste, poor; take up your cross honestly, and follow him; love not father, mother, wife nor children more than him; but let all men know by the innocence and sanctity of your lives, that you are his disciples. Be and do all this, gentlemen, and you shall find it no difficult task to draw us after you into the narrow road that leadeth to life. But if you will not take this good counsel, if you will still continue your efforts to exterminate or to lord it over us, as erst some of you were wont to do; let me tell you that such ambition ill becomes you, at least in this State of Maryland.

Our fathers planted this Colony; they were the Pioneers in the Wilderness, and when they had planted their vine and their fig tree, they generously invited your fathers to come and sit down with them in the shade thereof. They made no distinction of sects, they proclaimed all men equal and forbade all molestation on account of religious opinions. What was your conduct in return for such kindness? Like the viper in the fable, no sooner had you got well warmed in our bosoms, than you stung your friends and preservers. You obtained laws to be passed in England subjecting us to you; you took from us not only the liberty of conscience, but likewise our civil rights, unless we would purchase them by treason to God and our consciences; but the glorious day of the Revolution dawned: then, as John Randolph says, we threw the head of the Church, the King, overboard, God bless him; and without an effort or a wish to retaliate past injuries, we contented ourselves with resuming our proper station in the land, which the Lord our God had given to us. Here we are content that all shall be as free, in every point, as we are; but, the liberty which we hold as the price of the blood of our fathers; we will never yield to any man or set of men, while we have an arm to raise in its defence.

This book of Blanco White was written to perpetuate the slavery of the Catholics of Britain and Ireland; what other object then can we impute to those who introduced it here, than that of reducing the Catholics of Maryland under the galling yoke, beneath which they groaned before the Revolution? Certain attempts made heretofore at Annapolis to recover a portion, at least, of the old supremacy and which cannot yet be forgotten, justify this supposition. The wisdom of the Legislature frustrated those attempts, which now merely stand as beacons, to warn us where our danger lies. This flourishing promulgation of Blanco's despicable book, must satisfy the Catholics, that some at least of your reverences would gladly wrest from them their religious freedom; but they may fearlessly trust their cause to the justice and good sense of their fellow-citizens, and leave you to enjoy all the benefit and all the honor which you can reap from this contemptible production.

Pray, gentlemen, how did it happen that you did not obtain the signatures of some of the most eloquent and learned Protestant divines, in this city, to your introduction of your friend Blanco, to the public? Were not those gentlemen thought worthy of a call on this important occasion: or did they with a generous and honorable disdain, refuse to join you in your hue and cry against Popery? Take my word for it, that they will not, by such independent magnanimity, suffer any diminution of the love and respect of their congregations, nor of the high standing and reputation which they enjoy with the public at large; whilst they have thus merited and secured the gratitude and affectionate attachment of the Catholics of Maryland. Let me advise you, Rev. gentlemen, to imitate their example in future, and rest assured that if you let the Catholics alone, they will not molest you.

A Catholic Layman.

LETTER VI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—Mr. White has been adduced against us as a witness of extraordinary qualifications. We have seen that he had not the proper theological knowledge to fit him for being a sufficient judge of doctrine. We have seen that he was immoral in his conduct, deceitful in his youth; an early infidel; a confirmed and steady hypocrite: pretending to have affection in order to excite sympathy; and falsely calling God to witness that he filled places, which it was legally and morally impossible for him to hold; and the solemn secrets of which, if he did hold them, he had sacrilegiously betrayed. I now ask the Right Rev. Dr. Kemp, and his associates, whether this is the witness upon whose testimony they asked the people of America to condemn the great Church of Christendom, and to despise its members? I ask whether the testimony of this man would be taken as of value, in any case of moment, in any court? Whether his simple assertion is evidence?—I shall be told, that Mr. White's character is not the true question.—That the true question is the character of our Church. Yes! But Mr. White is the witness who defames our Church, and the value of the defamation depends upon the competency of the witness; and therefore it was, that I delayed so long in examining his competency, and took up so much of your time in shewing, that as regarded knowledge and honesty, he was an incompetent witness. Therefore whatever is supported only *by his testimony* is to be disre-

garded. I shall examine all his charges, separating what rests *only upon his testimony* from that which has other support, and thus, by this apparently useless examination of his character, we shall find our work greatly abridged. But I cannot consent as yet to close my inquiry into the history of the gentleman himself. To use his own words, I believe it very useful since he is one of a class which presents a moral phenomenon "to proceed with his moral dissection however unpleasant the task may be."

I recommence his "Evidence," p. 20.

"When I examine the state of my mind previous to my rejecting the Christian faith, I cannot recollect any thing in it but what was in perfect accordance with the form of religion in which I was educated. I revered the Scriptures as the word of God; but was also persuaded that without a living, infallible interpreter, the Bible was a dead letter, which could not convey its meaning with any certainty. I grounded therefore my Christian faith upon the infallibility of the Church. No Roman Catholic pretends to a better foundation. "I believe whatever the holy mother Church holds and believes," is the compendious creed of every member of the Roman communion. *Had my doubts affected any particular doctrine*, I should have clung to the decisions of a Church which claims exemption from error; but my first doubts attacked the very basis of Catholicism. I believe that the reasoning which shook my faith is not new in the vast field of theological controversy. But I protest that if such be the case, the coincidence adds weight to the argument, for I am perfectly certain that it was the spontaneous suggestion of my own mind. I thought within myself that the certainty of the Roman Catholic faith had no better ground than a fallacy of that kind which is called arguing in a circle; I believed the infallibility of the Church, because the Scripture said she was infallible; whilst I had no better proof that the Scripture said so than the assertion of the Church that she could not mistake the Scripture. In vain did I endeavor to evade the force of this argument; indeed I still believe it unanswerable. Was, then, Christianity nothing but a groundless fabric, the world supported by an elephant, the elephant standing on a tortoise! Such was the conclusion to which I was led by a system which impresses the mind with the obscurity and insufficiency of the written word of God. Why should I consult the Scriptures? My only choice was between revelation explained by the Church of Rome and no revelation. Catholics who live in Protestant countries may, in spite of the direct tendency of their system, practically perceive the unreal nature of this dilemma. But wherever the religion of Rome reigns absolutely, there is but one step between it and infidelity."

Before I proceed farther, allow me to note the falsehoods of this passage.

No. 1. Previous to his rejecting the Christian faith, he cannot recollect any thing in his mind that was not in perfect accordance with the form of religion in which he had been educated!!!

Should you not recollect his avowals, multiplied and repeated during years, and deliberately written in direct contradiction to this: look back to my second, and third letters.

No. 2. "Had my doubts affected *any particular doctrine*, I should have clung to the decisions of a Church which claims exemption from error, but my *first doubts* attacked the very basis of Catholicism."

That this is a falsehood we have abundant evidence. In the first place, in his "Evidence", p. 30, he writes,

"As my rejection of revealed religion had been the effect, NOT *of a direct objection to its evidences*, but of weighing *tenets* against them which they were not intended to support; the balance inclined in favor of the truth of the Gospel, in proportion *as I struck out dogmas*, which I had been taught to identify with the doctrines of Christ."

In this passage it is plain that he asserts that as soon as the *particular doctrines* to which he objected, that is concerning whose truth he had doubts at first, and subsequently unbelief, were stricken out; the old evidences became strong, and he believed by virtue of their force.

In Vol. 2, of the Magazine, p. 297, Doblado's Fifth Letter, he shews that his *first doubts*, "against which he wrestled day and night," affected *the particular doctrine* of hell.

No. 3. The pretended arguing in a circle from the infallibility of the Church to the knowledge of the Scriptures, and from the knowledge of the Scriptures to the infallibility of the Church, was the absurdity the force of which he could not answer, and which of course made him lose his faith.

In p. 296, of Doblado's Letters he gives as the cause one far more rational, and as different from this as may be conceived. It is substantially this, "The Church is the infallible teacher of the doctrine of truth. I must then believe all that she teaches, or I am an infidel. Let me prove that there exists a single flaw in the system, and it will all crumble to dust. Catholic divines can see no medium between rejecting her infallibility and rejecting revelation, and if she teaches as faith *one untrue doctrine*, she cannot be infallible." In p. 297, he finds what he will not believe, what he looks upon to be *an absurdity* taught by her as a doctrine of faith, viz. *the existence of hell;* his words then are, that as this is a part of her doctrine, what can arguments avail a doubting Catholic!

"His system of faith is indivisible. Whatever proves *it all*, proves *absurdity*." In p. 298, he adds "whatever in this state could break the habit of awe, which I was so tenaciously supporting—whatever could urge me into uttering a doubt on *one of the articles* of the Roman creed, was sure to make my faith vanish like a soap bubble in the air." After conversing with an infidel, "utterance transformed his doubts to demonstrations." What were the subjects? "monks, ecclesiastical encroachments, extravagant devotion." "*The very hell I had just denied*, appeared yawning before my eyes!" Not one syllable of the vicious circle. No,—his argument was—"If the Church is infallible *all her doctrines* must be true; but her doctrine of *hell cannot be true*, because it would argue cruelty in God; to suppose him cruel is an absurdity: therefore she is not infallible." Such, my friends, was the process which he first described. Now he tells us, that it was the argument of the vicious circle: whether you will believe him in either case: or if in either, which is more credible, is for yourselves to determine. Perhaps, however, another passage of his in p. 298, Doblado, might aid you to a third cause. He is describing the mode in which he lost his faith; probably the scenes from which his very modest figure is drawn could help you in forming your opinion. "I had been too earnest in my devotion, and my Church too pressing and demanding. Like a cold and interested mistress, she either exhausts the ardor of her best lovers, or harasses them to distraction. As for myself, a moment's dalliance with her great rival freedom, converted my former love into *perfect abhorrence*."

I shall not quarrel with his expressions, nor ask how Catholics living any where can perceive that which does not exist. I shall leave the remark which would suggest itself, to a more proper time, and bring the gentleman to a dilemma more practical for our present purpose.

No. 4. He says the argument of the vicious circle was, he is perfectly certain, the spontaneous suggestion of his own mind.—

Perhaps so.—But it only adds to the proof against his patrons, because, if true, it will necessarily establish that he never studied a treatise on the nature of the Church; for there is not one such treatise, in which this argument is not adduced against the conclusion: "that the Church is infallible." Well may Bishop Kemp and his associates blush for the "high rank" which they have so generously bestowed upon one who by his total neglect of theological studies was so "eminently qualified for the task which he has undertaken and so well fulfilled." There is not a tyro in theology to whom it is not familiar—and my own impression is that Mr. White was intimately acquainted with it before he lost his faith: not from its having been spontaneously suggested by his mind; but read in his books.—We shall now see its value.

One of the most fallacious modes of exhibiting an argument which is founded upon the observation of facts, is to change the relation which the facts have to each other. Thus, if any effect flows from a particular cause; he must be inclined to deceive, instead of to instruct, who would exhibit both cause and effect as always co-existing, because they do co-exist *after* the effect has been produced; when in truth there was a time when they did not co-exist, for the cause existed alone, *before* the effect was produced. An honest, well regulated mind will view them in their natural and historical order, and from the succession of their existence will deduce the reasoning, giving the value of its priority to that which first existed; and never forgetting or concealing, that there was such a relation as priority in one, and dependence, if I may so call it, or consequence in the other. He must indeed be stupid, who because they have co-existed for a long time, forgets that there still is, and always will continue, the distinction of precedence between them to the end of time. And he who knowing the fact of this precedence would labor to conceal it, for the purpose of confounding cause and effect, would be dishonest. This want of intellect or want of honesty must exist in every person who charges upon the Roman Catholics the fallacy of the vicious circle: or else he must fall into another mistake equally unfortunate.

There is scarcely a moral or religious truth which has not two sorts of arguments in its favor; one which is strong, cogent, and sufficient, and may be called properly and exclusively its proof; the other, not so clear, full or satisfactory, and which rather tends to confirm that which has received previous proof, than to be the motive for its credibility. When both those modes are had recourse to, for maintaining a proposition, it must argue no great share of love for truth in those who know the fact, to speak and to write as if the latter mode only had been used. Yet such is the conduct of those who knowing our doctrine charge upon us the fallacy of the vicious circle.

Again, the connexion between the premises and the conclusion of a sound argument, is so complete and perfect, that although the truth of the former should be apparent, still when by their means the truth of the conclusion becomes evident, though in reality the

certainty of their truth is not increased, still the satisfaction of contemplating it is enhanced, and the mind becomes more gratified from the exhibition. This additional pleasure is, by several, mistaken for a new proof of the premises themselves. Thus, though I should know a man to be wise and good and generous, I feel additional pleasure from contemplating the new exhibitions of his wisdom and his goodness and his generosity; my gratification, but not my conviction, is increased. Should I from a Church, which I know to be infallible, receive books, of whose inspiration I could have no knowledge, but for her testimony; should I find in those books themselves, additional exhibitions of what I already knew, viz. her infallibility; my former knowledge is not derived from this late discovery, though I feel my pleasure thereby augmented. And although I cannot fairly use this late and gratifying discovery to prove my original premises, it will not be the error of a vicious circle to apply it as a confirmation of that for which I had already convincing evidence.

It not unfrequently happens regarding the proof and value of written documents, that their authenticity can be proved only by the authority of a tribunal; the authority of which tribunal was evident without the documents, and before they existed; but when by the authority of the tribunal their value was established, the documents themselves were found to contain new proof of the authority of the tribunal. Yet to use this new proof in addition to that which was old and sufficient, and which existed before the documents were written, would not be arguing in a circle; because though admitting their value, their testimony would prove the power of the tribunal: still it was not by them it was originally proved. Thus if a stranger has the public testimony that the persons who preside in one of our courts are the supreme judges of the state, this testimony is evidence for him of their authority.

Having this knowledge of their power, he observes their proceedings; he beholds them not only declare that certain books have legal authority, but he finds that they interpret certain passages of those books, as being good testimony in favor of their exercise of power; they never refer to the commission by virtue of which they sit, but they refer to the book, which their decision explains. Surely, no person would say that this court was guilty of a vicious circle, by claiming their power of decision from the book, and by their decision making the book to be authority. For it is obvious that their power of decision existed and was generally known, without the book: and the general tenor of the book might be known before their decision, and might be valuable before the decision; yet it was by the decision of what was the exact import of the passages, the application became precisely fixed.

It now rests with me to show that it is not from the Scriptures that Roman Catholics learn the infallibility of their Church, though it is from that Church they do learn the inspiration of the Scriptures. And, indeed, my friends, after deep and serious investigation, I hesitate not to avow, with one whom I should not name in the same line with myself, the great St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, "I would not believe the Gospel, were I not induced thereto by the authority of the Church."*

In order to view the case fairly, and without prejudice, we must go to its origin, in the mode of creating the ecclesiastical tribunal, and of getting from that tribunal the testimony of the inspiration of the Scriptures. We must then take the facts in their historical order. We, in such a case, have no Scriptures of either old or new law recognized as being inspired, and we go back to Judea at the time previous to the death of our Saviour. I know from history what I now assert. I know the facts, also, from documents and monuments of the highest character. The observant person would, at that time, have witnessed a vast number of miracles performed by the Saviour; from the evidence of the miracles, the truth of his doctrine, and his power to grant a commission, and to state what the extent of that commission should be, must result. He does teach doctrine, and gives his commission to some of his followers. He is put to death; he arises; this resurrection is proclaimed: miracles prove its truth. He sends the Holy Ghost upon those whom he commissions, they prove and confirm this fact by miracles. Their commission is now evidently established, and they may be easily known. The commission is extended, and is to be still more extended and perpetuated, and the miraculous confirmation accompanies its extension and its continuance. No fact was ever more evident to any community, than was the commission of the early teachers to those who beheld them. That they were commissioned, amongst other things, to teach the doctrine of Christ to all men, and to provide for its continuance to the end of the world, and for its extension to every place, became also matter of evident

[* Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas. *Lib. contra Ep Manich.* cap. v, 6. *Migne*, vol. viii, col. 17.]

notoriety. It was equally evident to the persons who lived with them, that one of the principal objects of Christ was, to preserve for all times that truth which he came from heaven to preach; and that the mode in which he provided for its preservation, was by establishing a tribunal from which it was to be learned; and that they who learned the doctrine, obtained their knowledge, not by philosophical disquisition, not by perusing documents which as yet had not been written, not by taking the opinions of what men thought reasonable, or liberal, or becoming, or convenient, but simply by receiving from the commissioned body of teachers, the testimony of what was originally taught—and by resting upon their authority for its truth. It is plain, they could have had no other way of learning what Christ had taught. Did any one of those teachers differ from another in his testimony, the general body was consulted. History leaves not a shadow of doubt as to the fact; and reason exhibits the correctness of the mode; and the evidence derived from the general testimony of the body, led to the correction of the mistake of the individual. Those first Christians also knew, that the solemn injunction which had been given by Christ was, to receive unhesitatingly the testimony of the body of the Apostles and their associates; and that, in doing so, the people received the testimony of Christ himself. The miracles wrought by those persons confirmed the belief of those principles, and they themselves inculcated it as derived from Christ. It is a plain fact of history, that, when the members of this tribunal gave a doctrinal decision, they gave it in full accordance with this principle: for they declared that the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, who descended upon the first teachers, and was communicated by them to their associates, joined in their assembly, presided over their meeting, and spoke in their decision. It is matter of historical evidence, that all those who refused to receive and to submit to such decision, were considered as opposed to revealed truth, and disobedient to the command of the Saviour, because they did not hear those whom he sent as their teachers. Thus, *before* the Scriptures were known to the Christians, they knew the Church; and they recognized its infallible authority in teaching the doctrine which had been revealed, and of which it was made the witness and the depository. Thus, it was not by the Scriptures the first Christians proved the infallibility of the Church; but they proved it *before the Scriptures existed*, by the plain fact, that he who had proved his authority by miracles, had used authority in giving the power of teaching his doctrine, with infallible certainty of correctness, to this tribunal, which he created for that purpose. It is admitted by all persons, that the teaching of truth was one of the principal objects of commissioning the Apostles and their successors. It would be indeed beneath the wisdom and power of the Godhead to send teachers, evidently commissioned by heaven, to whom men respecting that commission ought to listen; and still, that this body commissioned by heaven were equally liable as any other body to teach error instead of truth!!! Of what value, then, would be their divine commission? If they led men to error, how were men to find those who would bring them back to truth? Even Mr. White himself admits the soundness of this Catholic principle. Doblado, p. 296, Vol. ii, Letter V:

"I have often heard the question, how could such men as Bossuet and Fenelon adhere to the Church of Rome, and reject the Protestant faith? The answer appears to be obvious. Because, according to their undoubted principles on this matter, they must have been either Catholics or infidels. Laying it down that Christianity was chiefly intended *to reveal a system of doctrine necessary for salvation*, they NATURALLY AND CONSISTENTLY *inferred* the existence of an authorized judge upon questions of faith; otherwise the inevitable doubts arising from private judgment *would defeat* the object of revelation. Thus it is that Bossuet thought he had triumphantly confuted the Protestants, by merely showing that they could not agree in their articles. Like Bossuet, most Catholic divines (Mr. White might have written *all*) can see no medium between denying the infallible authority of the Church and rejecting revelation.

"No proposition in Euclid could convey a stronger conviction to my mind than I found in this dilemma. Let me but prove, said I to myself, that there exists a single flaw in the system, and it will all crumble into dust," &c.

Thus, if Mr. White believed that a principal object of our Saviour was to reveal to the world a system of doctrine, the belief of which would be necessary for salvation, NATURALLY and CONSISTENTLY, *he must infer from this, the infallibility of the Church.* From Mr. White's denial of this infallibility, we must naturally and consistently infer, that Mr. White does not believe a principal object of the Saviour was to make a belief of his doctrines necessary for salvation. What says Bishop Kemp now to Mr. White's principles of faith? If it be a matter of indifference, so far as regards salvation, what system of doctrine man is to believe, why did those good gentlemen separate from the Catholic Church? Why not come back to us now? Why use such pains to correct

our "errors of Popery?" Why collect so much money to convert Heathens? Why keep separate Churches from each other? Why will not the Bishop, and the Presbyterian, and the Methodist, meet together, and proclaim to their people that it matters not, so far as concerns salvation, to which flock they are attached? Why not proclaim to them that they might as well be Roman Catholics? I promise you, my friends, Mr. White will turn the tables upon those who brought him forward to annoy us.

Then, it is plain, that the first Christians believed that a principal object of their divine teacher was to reveal a system of doctrine, which was so necessary to salvation, that he commanded them to lay down their lives sooner than desert it; and all its teachers gave them, not only such injunctions, but confirmed the injunctions by their example. They shed their blood sooner than deny one article of faith! Mr. White might have left his Indian story of the world resting upon the elephant, and the elephant upon the tortoise, for some more appropriate subject; because, in the first place, it is no exemplification of a vicious circle, and next, the first Christians believed naturally and consistently from the nature of their doctrine, as Mr. White shows, that the Church was infallible; and I have shown that history will prove it to have been necessarily one of the first principles which they received, years before any of the evangelists began to write his gospel. And when the Church was deluged with several foolish, spurious, ridiculous, and blasphemous productions, purporting to be inspired Scriptures, the distinction between what was really inspired, and what was not, could never have been drawn with certainty, unless by a tribunal whose decisions must be infallibly correct: because, if it were possible for the tribunal which made the selection of what was inspired, from the mass, to err, we may without absurdity or irreligion suppose that it really did err, in giving to us this one book. Without an infallible guide, how shall we now know how to discern this from amongst the others? What then becomes of the certainty of faith? How shall we now know the books of God from the production of a fanatic? A Roman Catholic knows, without the Scripture, that the Church must be and is infallible, in giving to him the doctrines which God revealed, and amongst these, the mighty portion of that doctrine which the sacred volume contains. His knowledge of the infallibility of his Church, and of the inspiration of the sacred volume *now co-exist*, and have for ages co-existed; he has by traditionary documents, by authentic records, by standing monuments, by a thousand proofs which his Church has always preserved and exhibited, obtained the knowledge of both together; but, formerly, at its proper time, one did *precede* the other; the Church existed *before* the New Testament, as the Jewish Church existed *before* the Old Testament. We received them all together: the Christian Church brought the Old Testament from the Jewish Church; she testified the New when it appeared; she kept both from corruption; and at this day, I stand as much in need of her testimony, to assure me that the book which I receive is unchanged, as my predecessors did, to know that the book given to them was inspired. Deprive me of the testimony of the Church, and how shall I discern if the book which I read is the production of an inspired writer, or of a fanatic? Though I should know that the evangelists were inspired, how shall I know that what I read is their production? Deprive me of the witness given to the world before the book existed, and which testified the nature of the book to my predécessors, and which was commissioned as the witness of all ages, and I shall be now, as they would have been, without the testimony. This is no vicious circle, nor will it become one, though the book thus proved should contain testimonies in confirmation and in support of what was believed upon sufficient proof before the book itself was proved or even written.

You must also, my friends, observe what an egregious contradiction there is, between the several accounts which this unfortunate man gives of the process which led to his infidelity. I have frequently examined those who fabricated; but such a constant and yet varying adherence to falsehood, I do not think ever struck me in any other as in Mr. White.

As Bishop Kemp has kindly undertaken the patronage of this charge of the vicious circle, I think he ought now, in common justice, to give to the world his mode of ascertaining, how any portion of the Scripture is the result of inspiration. I will point out but one chapter, and if he will prove its inspiration, or even its authenticity, without having recourse to the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church, I shall give him more credit than I am at present inclined to bestow. Let him signify his intention, and I shall point out the chapter, in the Bible which he receives; and I am much mistaken if I shall not in that event be able to afford to my fellow-citizens, a good specimen of the world, the elephant and the tortoise, exemplified.

My friends, I shall continue my examination. Yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 9, 1826.

LETTER VII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—We have seen Mr. White's account of his loss of the Catholic faith. He next presents us with a history of his conversion to the Protestantism of the Church of England. When he arrived in that country in the year 1810, he was thirty-five years of age.

He informs us that he expected to find no piety or religion in England, and pays the English people a compliment by stating that as they were enlightened, and as the French philosophers led him to believe, that in the ratio of his information, man was irreligious, therefore England must be very irreligious. But providentially, he in London met a good and pious friend, and he afterwards found many excellent men of the same description. He found the protection of British liberty and was ashamed of being thought a Roman Catholic. By the bye, if he [had been] a Roman Catholic, he would in England have felt the benefit of penal infliction, and he was very wise as he had no religion, not to subject himself to persecution, by continuing to be a hypocrite. The soreness arising from the endurance of his ten years' subjection to scrutiny began to heal. *Professing himself an infidel*, he was received with mildness and toleration. There is nothing strange in this. The law of England *does not punish a man for being an infidel;* it punishes him seriously, *only for being a Catholic.* Thus it is not against the conscience of *an atheist* to swear that he does not believe in transubstantiation, it is not against the conscience of a *pagan* to swear that no foreign prelate hath or ought to have any ecclesiastical or spiritual authority within the realm of England. It does not injure the conscience of any person but of a Catholic to swear all or any of their oaths. White might indeed say they were mild and tolerant to him, infidel as he was, but neither Sir Thomas More, nor the present Duke of Norfolk could say the same of themselves. But of course Mr. White calls cherishing himself, toleration, and he calls the political incarceration of the noble duke, because he will not become a member of some one of the new religions, or an infidel, toleration!—Mr. White found then for the first time he says "that a Christian is not necessarily a bigot." I have yet to learn that this writer knows either what a Christian or a bigot is. I shall give my own statement of what they are. A Christian is a person who steadily and upon principle believes all the doctrines which Christ has taught and adheres to the institutions of Christ. However vague the meaning which is usually given to the phrase may be, its true meaning is precise and definite: that man who has not a fixed principle of belief, who doubts to-day, what he believed yesterday, and who knows not, and cares not to know, what God has taught and established in the Christian law, is not a Christian, in the proper meaning of the word. What would be thought of me, were I to assert that a man was a good American citizen, who neither knew nor cared for what were the principles of our constitution or our rules of law, and would as soon take them from the explanation of an inhabitant of Hayti as from the decision of the Supreme Court? Revealed religion consists in that collection of doctrine and law which God has made known: the Christian religion is that body of doctrine and that code of law which Christ has given. What Christ gave was not contradiction; but coherent truth, consistent in all its parts; and it is unchangeable, for if it be changed it ceases to be what it was before the alteration; it ceases then to be the institution of Christ, it becomes something different from Christianity. A Christian firmly adheres to what Christ has taught and established, he avoids changes; he cannot call error truth, nor change the old institutions. Thus a Christian firmly and reasonably adheres to truth; and refuses to call recent changes the original institution. Bigotry is unreasonable and obstinate adherence to a religious opinion, combined with a hatred of those who are opposed thereto. The Christian does not adhere to opinion, for it is not upon his own opinion he rests, but he receives the testimony of that Church to which Christ originally gave his doctrine, that what she now teaches is what she originally received: he believes the doctrine upon her testimony, not upon his own private opinion. That she is an infallibly correct and competent witness we shall afterwards see: thus his adherence to doctrine is not unreasonable, for it is holding to public known truth, not to private opinion, and his steady adherence to it is not obstinate attachment. He has no hatred against those who err, he is full of charity and of affection for them, and if he informs them of their error, it is not for the purpose of wounding their feelings but of enlightening their minds, and inducing them to serve God, that they may be happy. The bigot is known by his rancor, by his obstinacy, by his personally vindictive disposition, by his vague rhapsody; the Christian is known by his steady calm adherence to doctrine, by his plain declaration, by his firm expostulation, by his precise, definite enunciation of what he knows to be true. If Mr. White had written truly, he would not have asserted that he had to journey from Seville

to London, and to wait during upwards of thirty years until he met with a pious Protestant, to find "that a Christian is not necessarily a bigot." My friends, I have the happiness to rank amongst my acquaintance some of the most intelligent and enlightened Protestants in both hemispheres. I have been in close intimacy with Catholics of almost every grade. I assert as the result of my close and continued observation, that if Mr. White's assertion is meant to convey the idea, that there is amongst Catholics less true charity, less kind feeling, less of correct liberality for those separated from their communion, than there exists amongst any division of Protestants for Catholics: a more untenable and baseless position was never taken. Before I close this series, we shall have full opportunity to prove it. At present, I shall advert but to one fact. Has any body of the Catholic clergy of the United States ever been guilty of solemnly recommending to their flocks the libels of any Protestant clergyman, who joined their church, as the best mode of learning the tenets and character of the Protestant people? Has any one of the respectable clergymen, who have joined our Church, made an atrocious attack upon those whose communion he had left? Yet we have many such amongst us. This at least is a sort of bigotry which does not belong to our Christianity. No one of our Bishops has made himself as notoriously conspicuous as Bishop Kemp. When we assail their system, it is not by such a work as no modest woman should read, such a work as no man of fine feelings or gentlemanly principle could recommend, if he had read it, as I hope and trust the Right Rev. and Rev. approbators did not.

But to return: White, having met this mild and tolerant Christian, began to perceive that he might again become a believer, *provided he saw religion divested of all force but that of persuasion.* Will you believe it? He would tell us that this was the case in England!!! In England, whose disgraceful code of persecution, according to Edmund Burke,* was more barbarously afflictive than was that of Nero or of Dioclesian! In England, which by her persecution on the score of religion, has thrice depopulated Ireland! In England, whose bloody scourge has lacerated more Christian flesh than did all the Pagan persecutors. In England, whose myrmidons long desolated Scotland, and followed her hardy sons into their most remote fastnesses, to massacre them for their dissent from her liturgy, and their dislike of her surplice! In England, whose bench of Bishops still rivets the chains of millions who refuse to desert the religion of their fathers, and those, the men who bled at Salamanca, at Orthes, at Vimiera, at Talavera, upon the Pyrennees, before Toulouse, at Waterloo; and whom her spirit of aggression led to the slaughter-pen of New Orleans! In England, which by the blasphemous oath of the craven of Dunkirk and of the Helder, keeps shorn of the mighty meed of their large honors, the descendants of the peers, who with the Catholic princes of Catholic England swept the fields of Cressy, of Poictiers, and of Agincourt; the descendants of the men who claimed at Runnymede the restitution of their rights, at a period when he who basely gave to his profligate concubine the patronage of the English army, and of a portion of its Church, would be at a loss to discover the stem or root of his German ancestry. Yes, in that England, within the walls of whose Parliament the ungrateful Duke of Wellington, but the other day declared, that it was by the sword the Protestant religion was planted in Ireland, and that by the sword alone it should be maintained; and to keep it in which wretched country, an army of every species of oppressive hirelings is employed! Yet,—In that England, this man tells us that he saw religion divested of all force but persuasion! How is it that even by accident he will not write some truth?

He next read Paley's Natural Theology, and was struck by the author's peculiar manner and style: he was much interested. Did Mr. White study his treatise *Of God*, in metaphysics; *On Religion*, in ethics; *On Natural Religion*, in theology; every one of which was in his course of studies at Seville, he would have found nothing new in Paley, except his English and his false assertions. But the gentleman quarrelled with his professor of philosophy and could not attend to the "dull divinity" lectures. Perhaps the arguments he found were, to him, new. But who will believe him when he says that he now felt pious towards the great author of nature? Natural Theology establishes no revelation. White tells us that he only from being a Catholic, became a hypocrite—an infidel of the French school, I presume, not an atheist; though really it is impossible to say what the grade of French infidelity is. I have met it of every size and shade and appearance, and after much reflection have concluded, that neither can the infidel himself or any other person tell what he believes; but like the man who began to take a catalogue of the goods which he had not; there is no knowing where or when you would be likely to conclude, if you began to write

[* Vid. "*Tracts relative to the Laws against Popery in Ireland*," passim.]

down what he did not believe: I have known one of them go so far as to assure me that he did not believe in his own existence, because he would cease to be a Pyrrhonist if he could be certain of his existence; yet I know not how he escaped the difficulty, by the absurdity; for *he was certain*, that he did not exist. Unless Mr. White went as far as this good humored, facetious and accommodating nonentity of a gentleman, he must have been certain of his own existence, and of that of the universe; and he need not then be in doubt of the existence of God, until he struck his foot against a watch, or read the Archdeacon's book.

In this state of mind he went into a Protestant Church, and was greatly affected by the solemnity, and the music and hymn. For years before he had not entered a Church without feelings of hostility, though he was to officiate, and of irritation, though he was to get money for submitting to what he calls tyranny. Yet in this very passage, Mr. White tells us that he did not believe what was contained in the prayers, and still "there was nothing that could check sympathy or smother the reviving sentiments of natural religion which Paley had awakened." For my part, I can have no sympathy with a person who prays for what I do not believe to be correct,—Mr. White's doctrine of sympathy is not intelligible to me. If his sentiments of *natural religion* were only awakened by Paley, how could he in the day of his infidelity have offered his sacrifices as Plato and Socrates did, who had *natural religion?* Thus we must believe that he possessed, and did not possess natural religion, at the same time; that is, whilst he was a Deist he was an Atheist. I suspect after all the Pyrrhonism of my French friend will answer equally well for my regenerated Spaniard. Now the solemn and affecting prayers which pleased him so much are nothing more or less than translations from those which he tells us in another place disgusted him; but perhaps they sounded better in English than in Latin.—No question about tastes.—The Protestant Episcopal Church has very wisely contented itself with our good old Popish prayers, most of which have seventeen centuries of age, and several almost eighteen centuries. Mr. White was by the law of his Church bound, and is still, if he lives, bound to recite daily those prayers and psalms in Latin, but this was troublesome. Doblado's Letter V, p. 297.

"An *unmeaning and extremely burthensome practice* laid by the Church of Rome upon her clergy, contributed not a little to increase the irksomeness of my circumstances. A Catholic Clergyman, who employs his whole day in the discharge of his duty to others, must yet repeat to himself the service of the day in an audible voice—a performance which neither constant practice, nor the most rapid utterance, can bring within the compass, of less than an hour and a half in the four and twenty. This *exhausting* exercise is enjoined under pain of mortal sin, and the restitution of that day's income on which any portion of the office is omitted."

What a difference the same prayer may exhibit to him in an English dress, I know not. But Mr. White ought to know that in the present Church of England the clergy were originally bound in the same way to the Common Prayer which is but an abridged translation of the Breviary, but like Mr. White they thought it *unmeaning and extremely burthensome* to spend so much time in prayer, and a contrary custom has made the law fall into disuse. Being now impressed, he never passed a day "without some ardent aspirations towards the author of his life and existence." But lest this should not have a sufficiency of effect, we of course are not left without "eyes streaming with tears." Yet the conversion was not complete.

I shall here give the passage by which the English Protestant clergy were bound to read the Office daily, to shew Mr. White's friends that originally the Church which that gentleman joined required, if not an hour and a half, at least upwards of half an hour in the twenty-four to be spent in reciting prayers. In the first preface to the Liturgy of Queen Elizabeth was the following passage:

"And all the priests and deacons are bound to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, except they be let by preaching, studying divinity, or some other urgent cause."

To which the Scotch Liturgy added:

"Of which cause, if it be frequently pretended, they are to make the Bishop of the diocess, or the Archbishop of the province, the judge and allower."

To show that this was not public reading in the Church, the next sentence provides specially for that object:

"And the curate that ministereth in every parish church or chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably letted, shall say the same in the parish church or chapel where he ministereth, and shall toll a bell thereto, a convenient time before he begin, that such as may be disposed may come and hear God's word, and pray with him."

But what altogether removes any doubt upon the subject, is the testimony of Hammond L'Estrange upon the subject; in his *Alliance of the Divine Offices*, printed in Lon-

don in 1699, third folio edition, p. 27, letter S.; commenting upon the above passage, he has the following:

"The act preceding (respecting the liturgy, 5 and 6 Edw. VI), telling us so expressly that *open prayer* is such as is made in a *cathedral, church, chapel*, or *oratory*, in a consecrated place, we need no Œdipus to unriddle the import of *private*, or to doubt that it signifieth any thing other than such as is performed at home. But, why is the minister bound to say it daily either in publick or at home? Some think our Church had under consideration how ignorant and illiterate many vicars were, and ordered thus, that they might *con* in private, the better to enable them for the publick. But I am of another perswasion: for first, the Church I conceive would not as she doth enjoin them to officiate in publick, did she not suppose them already in some tollerable degree fitted for the service. Again, the words are general, not definitely such and such of those mean abilities, but *all ministers* without exception. Now, though very many were, yet it is no charitable judgment to believe them all dunces; and it is apparent, that where such ignorance fell under the consideration of authority, the phrase doth vary, with a particular application to them alone who were guilty of it; so it is in the Queen's injunctions (Eliz. Injunct. 35) *such;* (such only, not *all*) *as are, but mean readers, shall peruse over before, once or twice the Chapters and other Homilies, to the intent, that they may read to the better understanding of the people, and the more encouragement of godliness.* So that I rather think the Churche's policy was the better to inure and habituate clergy to religious duties," &c.

From this, it is plain, that originally the Church of England, which only omitted some portions of our breviary, and translated the retained part into English, enjoined its daily recital to her clergy, as a good and sanctifying religious practice. I believe, like Mr. White, they considered it to be *an unmeaning and extremely burthensome practice*, and have long since permitted this and many similar regulations to fall into disuse. My object is to show that the prayers were no novelty to the gentleman, if he had been in the habit of reading his breviary; but I ought to have recollected what he had written in Dobaldo's Letters, p. 299: "The breviary, in its black binding, clasps, and gilt leaves, is kept upon the table to check the doubts of any chance intruder;" and in all probability this was the only use which had been made of it during several years; so that, perhaps, the prayers were new to the gentleman, and what he could have known in the Catholic Church was forgotten.

I shall conclude this letter, by giving you a tolerable large extract from Mr. White's "Evidence," so as in his own words to lay before you the whole process of his conversion from infidelity to the English Protestant Church:

"This was all the change that for a year or more took place, in my religious notions. Obliged to support myself chiefly by my pen, and anxious at the same time to acquire some branches of learning, which Spanish education neglects, my days and nights were employed in study; yet religion had daily some share of my attention. I learned that the author of the Natural Theology had also written a work on the Evidences of Christianity, and curiosity led me to read it. His arguments appeared to me very strong; but I found an intrinsic incredibility in the facts of revealed history, which no general evidence seemed able to remove. I was indeed laboring under what I believe to be a very common error in this matter—an error which I have not been able completely to correct, without a very long study of the subject and myself. I expected that *general* evidence would remove the natural *inverisimilitude* of miraculous events; that, being convinced by unanswerable arguments that Christ and his Apostles could be neither impostors nor enthusiasts, and that the narative of their ministry is genuine and true, the imagination would not shrink from forms of things so dissimilar to its own representations of real objects, and so conformable in appearance with the tricks of jugglers and impostors. Now, the fact is, that *probable* and *likely*, though used as synonymous in common language, are perfectly distinct in philosophy. The *probable* is that for the reality of which we can allege some reason: the *likely*, that which bears in its face a semblance or analogy to what is classed in our minds under the predicament of existence. This association is made early in life among Christians, in favor of the miraculous events recorded in the Holy Scriptures; and if not broken by infidelity in after-life, the study of the Gospel evidence gives those events a character of reality, which leaves the mind satisfied and at rest; because it finds the history of revealed religion not only *probable* but *likely*. It is much otherwise with a man who rejects the Gospel for a considerable period, and accustoms his mind to rank the supernatural works recorded by revelation, with falsehood and imposture. *Likelihood*, in this case, becomes the strongest ground of belief; and *probability*, though it may convince the understanding, has but little influence over the imagination.

"A sceptic who yields to the powerful proofs of revelation, will, for a long time, experience a most painful discordance between his judgment and the associations which unbelief has produced. When most earnest in the contemplation of Christian truth, when endeavoring to bring home its comforts to the heart, the imagination will suddenly revolt, and cast the whole, at a sweep, among the rejected notions. This is, indeed, a natural consequence of infi-

delity, which mere reasoning is not able to remove. Nothing but humble prayer can, indeed, obtain that faith which, when reason and sound judgment have led us to supernatural truth, gives to unseen things the body and substance of reality. But of this I shall have occasion to speak again.

"The degree of conviction produced by Paley's Evidences was, however, sufficiently powerful to make me pray daily for divine assistance. This was done in a very simple manner. Every morning I repeated the Lord's prayer seriously and attentively, offering up to my Maker a sincere desire of the knowledge of him. This practice I continued three years. My persuasion, that Christianity was not one and the same thing with the Roman Catholic religion, growing stronger all the while. As my rejection of revealed religion had been the effect, not of direct objection to its evidences, but of weighing tenets against them, which they were not intended to support; the balance inclined in favor of the truth of the Gospel, in proportion as I struck out dogmas, which I had been taught to identify with the doctrines of Christ. The day arrived, at length, when, convinced of the substantial truth of Christianity, no question remained before me, but that of choosing the form under which I was to profess it. The deliberation which preceded this choice, was one of no great difficulty to me. The points of difference between the Churches of England and Rome, though important, are comparatively few; they were, besides, the very points which had produced my unbelief. That the doctrines common to both Churches were found in the Scriptures, my early studies and professional knowledge left me no room to doubt; and, as the evidence of revelation had brought me to acknowledge the authority of the Scriptures, I could find no objection to the resumption of tenets which had so long possessed my belief. The communion in which I was inclined to procure admission was not, indeed, that in which I was educated; but I had so long wandered away from the Roman fold, that, when approaching the Church of England, both the absence of what had driven me from Catholicism, and the existence of all the other parts of that system made me feel as if I were returning to the repaired home of my youth.

"Upon receiving the sacrament for the first time, according to the form of the English Church, my early feelings of devotion revived; yet by no means, as it might be feared in a common case, with some secret leaning to what I had left; for Catholicism was thoroughly blended with my bitterest recollections. It was a devotion more calm and more rational; if not quite strong in faith, yet decided as to practice. The religious act I performed, I considered as a most solemn engagement to obey the laws of the Gospel; and I thank God that, since that period, whatever clouds have obscured my religious views, no deliberate breach of the sacred law, has increased the sting of remorse, which the unbelieving part of my life left in my breast.

"The renovated influence of religion, cherished by meditation and study, induced me, after a period of a year and a half, to resume my priestly character; a step without which I thought I had not completed the re-acknowledgment I owed to the truth of Christianity. If any one, unacquainted with my circumstances, should be inclined to suspect my motives, he may easily ascertain his mistake, by inquiring into the uniform tenor of my conduct since, in 1814, I subscribed the articles of the Church of England."

I must reserve my comments upon this passage to my next letter, and remain

Yours, respectfully, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 16, 1826.

LETTER VIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—I now come to consider the process by which Mr. White asserts he became a member of the Church of England. He attributes his conversion, in the first place, to the study of "Paley's Evidences of Christianity." But he informs us, that no reasoning can remove infidelity, p. 29, that "nothing but humble prayer can obtain that faith which when reason and sound judgment have led us to supernatural truth gives to things unseen the body and substance of reality." Concerning this, to use his own phrase, we shall have more hereafter.

Archdeacon Paley sets out with a plain proposition: That it is only by miracles a revelation can be made. "*Preparatory Considerations*," parag. 3. "Now in what way can a revelation be made but by miracles? In none which we are able to conceive." If Mr. White was then converted to Christianity by Archdeacon Paley's Evidences, he must have been convinced of the truth of the miracles by which the divine mission of the Apostles was attested; and indeed, the Archdeacon has put the proof strongly. But if Mr. White had been in the least degree conversant with the history or theology of his former Church, which is ours, he must have plainly seen that in the two chapters of the archdeacon's proofs of his second proposition part I, he was guilty of a great number of palpably false statements; and it was only by supposing the truth of those statements, he was able to prevent the full force of his Evidences in support of Christianity, from becoming proofs of the exclusive truth of Catholicism. Here Mr. White must have been either very ignorant of what he ought to know; or it is perfectly impossible that he could, through Dr. Paley's Evidences, have become a Christian without becoming a

Roman Catholic. I do not think his ignorance is so great as this would require, and therefore I am of opinion that to this moment Mr. White is not a believer in the truth of the Christian religion.*

Doctor Paley having in his first proposition established the fact, that miracles were wrought to attest the commission of the teachers of Christianity, and having in his preparatory considerations, admitted the principle, that it is only by miracles we can obtain a revelation: it followed as a matter of course, that the first teachers were commissioned to tell mankind what those revealed doctrines were. It also inevitably followed that wherever a miracle was proved to exist, the consequence would be the same. Thus the great difficulty which Paley had to encounter presented itself in the fact that the doctrines of Popery as he was pleased to call them, were supported by the very same evidence by which he established the truth of Christianity. And until he could get rid of this difficulty, Popery and Christianity must stand or fall together. From the earliest days of the Church, and through every age, Roman Catholics have constantly adduced this proof. We shall exhibit in our Church, miracles; *the author of our religion has declared that miracles would continue amongst the believers in his revelation*, therefore either the whole system of Christianity is a delusion; or we are the true believers.

The archdeacon takes the most compendious mode of evading the difficulty; for he never alludes to the declaration, and he boldly denies the truth of the fact. Now if Mr. White had paid the least attention to his theological studies, he must have seen that the facts which archdeacon Paley denied were in several instances true, and that those whose truth might be denied had no influence or bearing on the question at issue. I shall exhibit to you those parts of Paley's dissertation to which I allude.

Part I, prop. ii, sec. 1: he states that he may omit as unworthy of examination so far as regards proof of doctrine "such accounts of supernatural events as are found only in histories by some ages posterior to the transaction, and of which it is evident the historian could know little more than his reader." With this principle I fully concur. Amongst the exemplifications, he classes "a *great part* of the legendary history of Popish saints, the very best attested of which is extracted from the certificates that are exhibited during the process of their canonization, a ceremony which seldom takes place till a century after their deaths." This is properly divisible into two parts, 1st, his general proposition: "a *great part* of the legendary history of Popish saints," has been written long after they died: and 2d, "the *best attested miracles* of those saints are extracted from certificates exhibited at their canonization, which seldom takes place till after the lapse of a century." Suppose I were to grant the truth of his first proposition its extent is *only to a great part* but *not to the whole* of this legendary history. Now if even any part of the history of miracles is true, it is true that miracles have been wrought in the Popish Church, and therefore Popery stands upon the same grounds as far as regards miracles, as does Christianity itself. The archdeacon's argument will be perfectly valueless if he admits even one substantial miracle for Popery; because, if one miracle can be wrought in support of error, a miracle ceases to be an infallible test of truth; if a miracle be not an infallible evidence of truth, we have no certainty of the Christian doctrine being a divine revelation: the archdeacon dared not to assert openly that no one of the miracles wrought in the Popish Church was evident: but he used that stratagem, which must be the refuge of a bad cause; by equivocal and vague propositions, he endeavored to approximate insensibly to his menacing position.

His next assertion is an exhibition of disingenuity. He does not state an open falsehood, but he artfully constructs his sentence, so as to convey to the reader an untruth which he does not plainly write. A cursory view of his sentence would lead his reader to believe that the first time the certificate of the truth of miracles was submitted to public and solemn investigation, was not until a century after the alleged occurrence: that such an assertion was necessary to render his argument of any avail is plain, when we look to the principle, which asserts that proof to be insufficient which is only adduced *ages posterior to the transaction.* Now the archdeacon knew, and if Mr. White did not know he ought to have known, that the substantiated and sworn and sifted history was contained in the certificate drawn up at the time of the occurrence, although it was only produced at the process which preceded the canonization. If the certificate was the official attestation of the result of a public and strict inquiry, at the time and on the spot, where the transaction occurred, it became a history, whose true date was the period of its formation, not that of its production. As well might Doctor Paley be told "Sir, you ask me to believe the truth of a miraculous occurrence which you say took

* See Appendix—Note A.

place eighteen centuries ago, you produce a book which contains the account: why did you not ask me to examine it in Judea at the time of its occurrence?" The doctor would answer, that the transactions testified were examined by competent witnesses at the time, and place, and that these books were the certificates which contained the result of the examination. Such is my answer to the doctor. By your looking to his phraseology, you will find he does not state that the certificate was *framed* during the process of canonization, but was *exhibited* at that time. Now the doctor's principle cannot bear upon the fact, if the certificate was "cotemporary history," for he distinguishes the proofs "which are found only in history by some ages posterior to the transaction," and which he deems insufficient, with what he calls sufficient, and what supported Christianity: this he describes [in the sentence] "ours is cotemporary history." If then the certificates which are *exhibited* be *cotemporary history*, Doctor Paley's reasoning is bad, and he is disingenuous. But the certificates are "cotemporary history," as I have shewn.

A plain principle of common sense and of common law is, that no person can testify any thing but what he has observed: a hear-say witness can only testify that an assertion has been made, but as several false assertions are made, our knowledge of the assertion is not knowledge of its truth. Thus a certificate of hear-say is no evidence: nor is a certificate of a fact evidence of the fact, unless in the same manner that history would be evidence thereof. It will be necessary to digress a little, by way of historical inquiry, in order to shew the value of Dr. Paley's assertion.

Roman Catholics believe that it is now equally in the power of God to work a miracle as it was at any former period, and if there exists evidence of a miracle having been performed at any time, it ought to be believed: the archdeacon himself will not object to this principle. Roman Catholics have regulated that the proper judges officially to examine and to decide upon the truth of the fact, and of its nature, are the Bishops, and those men of prudence and piety and science whom they may call upon. When miracles were said to have occurred, the Bishops, so aided, examined upon the spot, publicly, and proclaimed their judgment. The proofs required for the pious belief of any person's being a saint after death, were extraordinary sanctity of life, and repeated miracles performed, especially by occasion of the person, at or about or even after death. The Bishops after diligent inquiry upon the spot, at the time, frequently found those proofs, and publicly proclaimed their belief and judgment. It was complained of, that sometimes this examination was not as rigorous as it ought to have been, and precautions were taken to guard against partiality and precipitancy. By an ordinance of the Council of Trent, passed in the 25th session, on the 3d of December, 1563, the Bishops were directed to have as their council in the examination of alleged miracles, learned theologians, and other proper persons; and when they [have] made diligent inquisition by *sworn* witnesses, upon the spot: and those witnesses separately examined, and their depositions separately drawn up: and all hear-say excluded; no deposition being allowed to contain any but direct testimony of what fell under the senses of the witness: and proper persons skilled in the natural philosophy having been consulted: if, upon a review of the whole case deliberately made, the Bishop should be satisfied of the truth of the facts and of their miraculous nature, he transmits a certified copy of the process and depositions to the Holy See *for more full examination*. In Rome, it is laid before the Congregation of Cardinals specially appointed for such examination, having attached to them one or more lawyers and physicians, whose duty it is by the closest scrutiny to try whether there be any defect in the evidence as to the fact, or whether, the facts being admitted, their truth will admit of any explanation that will destroy their miraculous character. Should they pass this ordeal, the depositions are sealed up, and kept together with the certificates of the two tribunals, and at the end of fifty or of one hundred years, they are opened and laid, together with any additional evidence which might have been procured, for or against the facts, and examined with equal scrutiny by a tribunal of persons who without the heat of enthusiasm, the partiality of a former expression of opinion, or any other undue motive to sway them, now calmly review the two former examinations, hearing all the arguments of ingenious counsel against the facts, and having for their light the aid of any progress which might in the interval have been made in science, and they pronounce before God, as they will answer to him, a solemn final judgment upon the case. It is true then, as Doctor Paley wrote that "the very best attested of our Popish miracles are extracted from the certificates that are *exhibited* during the process of the canonization of our saints, a ceremony which seldom takes place till a century after their deaths," but it is not true as he insinuates, that those certificates are not "cotemporary history;" they are cotemporary history of the best kind. Thus the

doctor taught falsehoods whilst he wrote disguised truth, and in the support of his second proposition of his first part, he has all through exhibited the most ingenious ability in the perversion of truth, to avoid a formidable difficulty.

I shall now examine a few of the special examples brought by Doctor Paley to illustrate his principle. He says the principle "applies also with considerable force to *some of the miracles* of the third century." To make his argument conclusive, he ought to have written *all the miracles*, for if any one of them is proved, the proof of that one will suffice: thus his disproving twenty would not destroy our position, provided we should succeed in proving the truth of even one, for we could argue thus, upon the doctor's own principle. The working of a miracle is evidence of God's commission for the revelation or the confirmation of truth. But here is the plain proof that a miracle has been wrought. Therefore, here is plain proof of God's testimony, for revelation or confirmation. Thus, although the proof of several might be defective, the proof of one will be sufficient. The archdeacon proceeds; "especially to one extraordinary instance, the account of Gregory, Bishop of Neocæsarea, called Thaumaturgus, delivered in the writings of Gregory of Nyssen, who lived one hundred and thirty years after the subject of his panegyric."

Now I would merely remark, that if the question was, whether upon the evidence which we *now* possess, of the miracles wrought by the Bishop of Neocæsarea, taken in a sole and isolated way, we were called upon to determine the truth or falsehood of the doctrines of our Church, perhaps that proof would not be fully sufficient. But such is not the case: we do not claim that our doctrines are true because they are supported by the testimony of God manifested *only* in the miracles of this holy man and of others having no better proof. We will give them up, and also those of hundreds of others, and still we will have hundreds not liable to this objection, nor to any other objection of any weight: and upon those we will found one of our arguments, that if miracles prove the truth of Christianity, they also prove the truth of our Church.

But it will not be loss of time to examine the archdeacon's assertions somewhat more closely.—1st. St. Gregory of Neocæsarea died in 271; Gregory of Nyssa was chosen Bishop of his see in 372, after having assisted his brother, St. Basil, who was Archbishop of Cæsarea; Basil was born in the year 329, between Basil and Gregory was a brother named Naucratius; probably Gregory was not less than forty years of age when he was chosen bishop; thus between the death of one Gregory and the birth of the other, there did not intervene half the period of one hundred and thirty years. The latter Gregory was born in Cæsarea of Cappadocia, between which place and Neocæsarea in Pontus there was no extraordinary distance: and his father's family were living in Pontus: Nyssa, *not Nyssen*, of which he was bishop, was in Cappadocia; thus between the time and place of the residence of Thaumaturgus and his panegyrist, there was no extraordinary distance. Gregory Thaumaturgus was no obscure personage. His parents were eminent for their rank and fortune in the city of Neocæsarea; they were not Christians; their daughter being married to the assistant governor of Cæsarea in Palestine, Gregory and his brother Athenodorus, went to stay with her for a time; they attended a famous school of Roman law in the neighborhood of Berytus, and were subsequently disciples of the famous Origen, during his sojourn in Cæsarea; Gregory also studied Platonic philosophy and physics at Alexandria in Egypt, and upon his return to Pontus, he not only was a Christian, but eminent for piety. Phedimus, archbishop of Amasea and metropolitan of Pontus, prevailed upon him to undertake the episcopal charge of his native city, in which there were only, as we are informed, seventeen believers. A vast number of miracles are said to have been wrought by him: and the public statements were, that their evidence was so great, that it was the principal cause of the conversion of the whole city and its vicinity. The fact of the conversion is not contested, nor is it contested, that the public testimony was, that the conversion was the consequence of miracles. Nor is the fact contested, that ever since, he has been known through the Christian world, by the name of Thaumaturgus, or worker of miracles. Those facts are and have been notorious. St. Gregory of Nyssa had very excellent opportunities of examination upon the spot; he describes to us some of the documents which in his time were preserved in the archives of the Church of Neocæsarea, and which had been left there by its founder. He then spoke of a public series of facts, which he asserts were notoriously true, in the vicinity of the place where those facts occurred, and some of the monuments of the miracles to which they relate being as he states in existence; and others testify without contradiction, at a subsequent period by two or three centuries, that the monuments still existed as evidence of the facts; and the generation who witnessed the facts and tes-

tified to their successors, having yet scarcely disappeared from the place when Gregory of Nyssa flourished. But a stronger circumstance remains to be observed upon, which is, that although only the account of Gregory of Nyssa has been transmitted to us, yet it by no means follows that this is the first history which was written. The question is concerning a public fact, or rather a series of public facts, well known in the place, and at the time, and having full evidence of truth when the record which we possess was penned; but a variety of circumstances make it clear, that although this is perhaps the oldest document which we possess, yet it is not the oldest which was drawn up. The question is easily solved by asking, whether Gregory of Nyssa could have been deceived in his inquiry, and whether he would or could have imposed upon the credulity of his flock: and how did it occur, that a vast number of other flocks in the vicinity were similarly persuaded. Archdeacon Paley has been very uncandid, for he has not stated the fact accurately, nor is it upon even such facts we build our argument.*

Paley's next exemplification is the following:

"The value of this circumstance is shown to have been accurately exemplified in the history of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of Jesuits.† His life, written by a companion of his, and by one of the order, was published about fifteen years after his death. In which life, the author, so far from ascribing any miracles to Ignatius, industriously states the reasons why he was not invested with any such power. The life was republished fifteen years afterwards, with the addition of many circumstances, which were the fruit, the author says, of further inquiry, and of diligent examination; but still, with a total silence about miracles. When Ignatius had been dead nearly sixty years, the Jesuits conceiving a wish to have the founder of their order placed in the Roman calendar, began, as it should seem, for the first time, to attribute to him a catalogue of miracles, which could not then be distinctly disproved; and which there was, in those who governed the Church, a strong disposition to admit upon the slenderest proofs."

Paley refers to Douglas, who only takes up a refuted objection of Bayle; and thus the archdeacon's argument to exclude Popery is without any good grounds. Let us examine the facts of the assertion. "In which life, the author, so far from ascribing any miracles to Ignatius, industriously states the reasons why *he was not invested with any such power.*" Any person reading this passage, would naturally suppose that Ribadiniera, who is the biographer referred to, asserted that *Ignatius did not work any miracles:* such is evidently the meaning insinuated by Paley. Yet no such assertion is made: the expression is, "Quamobrem illius sanctitas *minus* est testata miraculis."—"Wherefore his sanctity is *less* proved by miracles." Producing a *smaller* quantity, is by no means omitting to produce any quantity, and still less is it asserting *no* quantity of evidence could be produced. But in truth the *minus* does not appear to refer to the quantity of the miracles, but to place the evidence of sanctity, by inference from miracles, in minor distinction to the direct evidence of sanctity exhibited in conduct. This is no denial of the existence of miracles, but the assertion of a more plain and higher species of direct proof. Ribadiniera in the last chapter, p. 209, of the first edition, denies beforehand the truth of the archdeacon's assertion in two very effectual ways. "Mihi tantum abest ut ad vitam Ignatii illustrandam *miracula* deesse videantur, ut *multa* eaque *præstantissima* judicem in luce versari." "So far am I from believing that there exists any want of *miracles* to illustrate the life of Ignatius, that I would judge that *many* and those of the *best description* are plainly evident." How could Bayle, or Douglas, or Paley assert that this man stated that Ignatius *wrought no miracles?* The second mode of contradicting Paley's assertion is given in that same chapter, where he recapitulates several miraculous facts which he had already stated in his narrative. This first history was published in 1572. The same author did, fifteen years after, viz. in 1587, publish the history of the life of Ignatius with some additions; but it is not true as the archdeacon asserts, "still with a *total silence about miracles.*" Nor is his next insinuation true, that *nothing more was done* until sixty years after his death: for the same author shortly after this second edition, published a Latin abstract of the first compilation which is styled "Alteram breviorem vitam, sed *multis ac novis miraculis* auctam." "Another shorter life but augmented by *many and new miracles.*" In this he states that he was

[* Vid. *S. Greg. Nyss. de Vit. B. Greg. Mirac. Opif. Orat. opp. Tom.* 1. *Ed. Morell, p.* 916.

Of one of the miraculous events in the life of S. Gregory, the Protestant Bishop Bull thus writes: "No one should think it incredible that such a providence should befall a man whose whole life was conspicuous for revelations and miracles, as all ecclesiastical writers who have mentioned him, (and who has not,) witness with one voice."—*Defens. Fid. Nic.* ii. 12. cit. in "*Essay on Development,*" *p.* 180.]

† Douglas's Criterion of Miracles, p. 74.

cautious before of relating miracles, which though duly testified, had not been as yet duly and fully examined and approved, and that those which he did previously relate were selected by the judgment of prudent persons; being but a few of those which were commonly testified and believed. Of course there is no truth whatever in the assertion of Paley that when Ignatius had been dead nearly sixty years, the Jesuits *began* for *the first time* to attribute to him a catalogue of miracles which could not then be distinctly disproved. He died in 1556. All the cotemporary historians tell us that the people esteemed him a saint even before his death; and that their opinion was upheld amongst other testimony, by miracles. In 1572, an intimate companion of his selects from amongst *many and those of the best description of miracles*, some which he specifies in his book which is published. In 1587, a new edition with additions is published by the same author, afterwards, an abridgment of the first, with *many new miracles* added, is published: the writer states that a reason for not having inserted many of those at an earlier period was caution, until the proofs of the fact and the nature of the works should have been more closely examined. In 1604, the same author prints again an account of the life of Ignatius amongst his "Lives of holy persons." This was in Spanish; and he states "Though when I first printed his life in 1572, I knew some miracles of the holy father, I did not look upon them to be so verified by process (averiguados) as to think I ought to publish them, but they were afterwards fully proved by credible witnesses to be true, during the authentical process taken in order to his canonization; and the Lord who was pleased to exalt him, and make him glorious on earth, daily works, on his account, such miracles as to oblige me here to relate them; taken from the original juridicial informations which several bishops have taken and from the depositions made on oath of the persons upon whom they were wrought," &c.

Thus we have public, common testimony during his life; and after his death, we have the written testimony of his biographer to the general proposition and to some special facts, fifteen years after his death. But those facts had been examined at the time, though not judicially established even as yet, though the evidences and certificates, and the processes were preserved. The law of the Council of Trent, which had closed but a few years before, prevented their hasty publication; within the space of thirty years the whole is re-asserted, after more mature examination, new developments are made, and the former certificates and inquiries are made now available, and another publication with additional evidence and new facts appears: in 1604, within 40 years after his death, extracts are made from the authenticated and maturely examined depositions and informations, and new testimonies of recent miracles are added. With all this accumulation of facts before us, what are we to say of Archdeacon Paley, who asserts that it was *not until nearly sixty years* after his death, which would be about 1616, that miracles began to be first attributed to Ignatius? The documents having been fully substantiated and tested, application was made for the examination of the evidence in Rome, now that it had passed the scrutiny of several other tribunals. In 1609, after mature examination, Pope Paul V. admitted the sufficiency of the evidence. Again in 1622, Gregory XV. heard the report of the Cardinal de Monte and the other commissioners, who examined the evidence after a re-examination at the tribunal of the *Rota*, and a review of that examination by the Congregation of Rites. Upon the hearing of the report, the Pope Gregory gave his full assent in that year, and in 1623, Pope Urban VIII. published the bull of canonization.* I shall merely ask, whether if Paley knew those facts, he was candid and honest in the construction of his sentence. If Paley, who was originally educated a Protestant and who only copied Douglas, as Douglas followed Bayle, might perhaps have been excusably ignorant, surely White can have no such excuse. If then Paley had led him to believe that a miracle was evidence of revelation, he must have been the most illiterate Catholic clergyman, that could be ordinarily met with, if he did not see that the Roman Catholic religion was revealed by God: for it possesses the most indubitable proofs of a succession of miracles. In the very case of St. Ignatius adduced by Paley, so far from being true as he asserts, that nearly sixty years had elapsed before the Jesuits *began* to attribute miracles to him, the sixty-six years which intervened between his death and his canonization were marked by close and extensive inquiries into the truth of several miracles, which were frequently published and kept under the public view. Of this it is barely possible, charitably to suppose Paley ignorant; but White could not have been ignorant of the fact unless he was a grossly ignorant priest. I care not which side of the alternative the accumulating phalanx of our Reverend opponents will take: they are welcome to choose. But I

* See App. Note B.

shall proceed to examine Paley still farther, to shew that he could not make White resume a belief in the truth of Christianity, without causing him to embrace Catholicism.

I remain yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 23, 1826.

LETTER IX.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—I shall in this letter continue my examination of Dr. Paley's alleged reasons why the principle, that although miracles prove revelation, they ought not to prove Catholicism, is to be held. You will recollect, that this reasoning is founded upon the assumption that no miracle in favor of Catholicism exists; my assertion is that Mr. White had evidence of the existence of many such miracles, and that if he therefore believed Paley's principle that miracles prove revelation, he ought to have become a Roman Catholic, and farther that he must, if he had been a well instructed Roman Catholic, have seen that Paley was guilty of several falsehoods in his attempt to avoid the conclusion "that Catholicism must be a divine institution, if Christianity is a divine institution;" because the reasons which prove the one prove the other. It was for this purpose that in my last letter I examined Paley, and for this purpose I now continue the examination.

Under the second head of Chap. I, prop. ii, part i, the archdeacon says of miracles, "We may leave out of the case, accounts published in one country, of what passed in a different country, without any proof that such accounts were known and received at home." With this principle I fully agree; because the account of the miracle is the account of a fact, and the fact must necessarily be first known, and received as truth, where it occurred, and it then travels abroad with authority. But the principle has its main value in its last clause, *without any proof that such accounts were known and received at home*, for certainly, the mere publication in one country of what passed in a distant country, would be no reason for disbelieving the truth of the occurrence; otherwise, the archdeacon could not expect that any person in England should believe that Moses caused water to gush forth miraculously from a rock in Arabia. The whole force of the principle is then found in the clause which I have marked in *italics*.

The archdeacon thus exemplifies. "Those miracles of Francis Xavier, the Indian missionary, with many others of the Romish Breviary, are liable to the same objection, viz: that the accounts of them were published at a vast distance from the supposed scene of the wonders." We have seen that the bare publication at a distance from the scene of action is not the jet of the principle which Paley laid down, yet in his phrase, this is the *only circumstance* which he objects to the miracles of this saint; therefore, as logicians would say, he has changed his middle term, than which a more ingenious or discreditable artifice could scarcely be used. His fallacy in such a case would be enough to convict him of deliberate dishonesty: to save him from which, we must suppose he meant, that those miracles of St. Francis Xavier which were published at a vast distance from the scene of action, *were not known or received as truths in India*, and in *Japan*, where they were said to have occurred.

We are thus brought to a simple inquiry regarding the fact of their having been known and received as true, where they are stated to have occurred: if they were so received, the archdeacon is erroneous; if they were not, we must give up the miracles. Let us therefore examine: I shall give but an outline, which I shall at any time that the cause of truth may require it, be ready to fill up. In the years 1542, and 1543, the miracles of St. Francis Xavier were so well known and received as truths at cape Comorin, that in consequence of their splendid evidence, the prince of that region, on their account, gave leave to his people to change their religion and to become members of the Church, and vast numbers, amongst whom were many of the principal inhabitants, consequently became Christians of the Catholic Church. In the year 1543, upon the Pearl Coast, he procured the conversion of vast numbers, and the respect of others, and the hatred of many, by his miracles, amongst which were the raising to life of four dead persons. In 1544 and 1545, in the kingdom of Travancor he received the gift of tongues, so that he preached and instructed, and familiarly conversed in languages which he had never previously heard spoken. The very fact of which was testified by the people to whom he preached, and by the consequences of his preaching, in their conversion and reformation. At Coulon, a village in Travancor, near cape Comorin, when the people did not appear disposed to conversion by his preaching, after a short prayer, he caused them to open a grave, in which a body had been interred by them on the previous day, and which body was now putrifying and emitting a noisome stench, and commanding the dead man to arise in the name of the living God, he was restored to life, and the people were converted, and demanded baptism; he also in the same kingdom raised to life a

young man, a Christian, whose friends were bearing the body to interment: those facts were so notorious, and so far believed and received as to produce the conversion of the great bulk of the people in the course of a few months, in those years. In 1549, he publicly restored to life a young pagan lady of quality, who had been dead during an entire day, and by his blessing restored a deformed child to beauty, in Maxuma in Japan; the consequences of which miracles were several conversions. In 1550, at Amanguchi, in Japan, he had the gift of tongues, speaking several new languages to persons of nations in whose tongues he had never been instructed. In 1552, he restored to life at Malacca, a young man named Francis Ciavos, who afterwards became a member of the society of Jesuits. This fact was notorious and received at the place. King John III, of Portugal, ordered, besides the usual examinations which the Church requires, as mentioned in my last letter, that the depositions should be taken, and the examinations made in the several places, and a process of the whole drawn up at Goa; the examination was made in the several places, and the results were transmitted to Europe. Subsequent travellers and missionaries found in all the places the most satisfactory evidence of the miracles amongst the people. The miracles themselves are known in the several places to have been the principal cause of the conversion of vast numbers, who became martyrs, and of the creation of the Churches which still in many of those places subsist and preserve the testimonials. I avow to you that no effort which ever has been made to destroy or to discredit evidence, appears to me more barefaced and desperate, than that of Paley, when he asserts that the miracles of "Francis Xavier, the Indian missionary," belonged to that class which were "published in one country as having passed in a distant country, *without any proof that such accounts were known or received at home.*" I was confounded and shocked when I read it. I saw, of course that he had a desperate game to play, but when I reflected upon this passage, all my respect for Archdeacon Paley vanished: and I still lament that so clear a head should have had recourse to so unprincipled a mode of sustaining any cause. It is true that Paley endeavors to escape upon the shoulders of Douglas, to whose work he refers: but for a man who had to treat of so important a subject, such a reference is no excuse. White is still less excusable, because if he had paid one particle of attention to his own early studies, he must have seen how flagrantly erroneous was Paley's statement, and of course how inconclusive his argument. Did Bishop Kemp ever take the trouble of examining our evidence of those facts?

Doctor Paley, in his section vii, of the same chapter, has the following passage:

"We have laid out of the case those accounts which require no more than a simple assent; and we now also lay out of the case those which come merely *in affirmance* of opinions already formed. This last circumstance it is of the utmost importance to notice well. It has long been observed, that Popish miracles happen in Popish countries; that they make no converts; which proves that stories are accepted, when they fall in with principles already fixed, with the public sentiments, or with sentiments of a party already engaged on the side the miracle supports, which would not be attempted to be produced in the face of enemies, in opposition to reigning tenets or favorite prejudices, or when, if they be believed, the belief must draw men away from their preconceived and habitual opinions, from their modes of life and rules of action. In the former case, men may not only receive a miraculous account, but may both act and suffer on the side, and in the cause, which the miracle supports, yet not act or suffer for the miracle, but in pursuance of a prior persuasion. The miracle, like any other argument which only confirms what was before believed, is admitted with little examination. In the moral, as in the natural world, it is *change* which requires a cause. Men are easily fortified in their old opinions, driven from them with great difficulty. Now how does this apply to the Christian history? The miracles there recorded, were wrought in the midst of enemies, under a government, a priesthood, and a magistracy, decidedly and vehemently adverse to them, and to the pretensions which they supported. They were Protestant miracles in a Popish country; they were Popish miracles in the midst of Protestants. They produced a change; they established a society upon the spot, adhering to the belief of them; they made converts; and those who were converted gave up to the testimony their most fixed opinions and most favorite prejudices. They who acted and suffered in the cause, acted and suffered *for* their miracles: for there was no anterior persuasion to induce them, prior reverence, prejudice, or partiality to take hold of. Jesus had not one follower when he set up his claim. His miracles gave birth to his sect. No part of his description belongs to the ordinary evidence of Heathen or Popish miracles. Even most of the miracles alleged to have been performed by Christians, in the second and third centuries of its æra, want this confirmation. It constitutes indeed a line of partition between the *origin* and the *progress* of Christianity. Frauds and fallacies might mix themselves with the progress, which could not possibly take place in the commencement of the religion; at least, according to any laws of human conduct that we are acquainted with. What should sug-

gest to the first propagators of Christianity, especially to fishermen, tax-gatherers, and husbandmen, such a thought as that of changing the religion of the world; what could bear them through the difficulties in which the attempt engaged them; what could procure any degree of success to the attempt; are questions which apply with great force, to the setting out of the institution, with less, to every future stage of it."

In this the writer evidently forgets both himself and history; he also lays down a principle which is untrue, or the scriptures of the old law are false records, and Mr. White ought to have seen this if he was a theologian. I shall dwell a short time upon this latter proposition of the archdeacon, that we are to leave out of the case all those miracles which come merely "*in affirmance* of opinions already formed," and which "circumstance it is of the utmost importance to notice well." The conclusion which the archdeacon would have us to draw, is necessarily, that when a person says that he is commissioned to work a miracle, to affirm the truth of a doctrine previously received, we need not inquire whether a miracle is wrought or not, but we must disbelieve him altogether. Therefore, in plain fact, we must never believe that a miracle has been wrought since the days of the Apostles, and so says the Doctor: for he says, "even most of the miracles alleged to have been performed by Christians in the second and third centuries, want this confirmation." Here is the consciousness of a bad cause manifestly exhibited in the vagueness of the expression *most of the miracles*. Why not boldly say, *all* of them, if his position is a good one; or specify some mode by which we may be able to say definitely and decisively which of the alleged miracles we ought to examine? I assert that we ought to examine every alleged miracle, whether of the first or of the nineteenth century, and [that] we have no power to tell the Almighty that he shall not make a revelation to us at one time, as well as at another; and I assert that the proof of the truth of the miracle is to be found in its own nature, and not in the circumstance of the time at which it is wrought. There is nothing in the nature of things, or in the nature of religion to make it impossible for God to do now works similar to those done by him at any former time. The examiner has only to ascertain two points: first, whether this event occurred: secondly, whether the occurrence could have taken place without God's special intervention beyond the effects of his natural law. The first he ascertains by ordinary testimony, the second he ascertains by the common belief of competent persons as to what the law of nature cannot reach to. Paley's other distinction is arbitrary and unfounded, viz. that a miracle is unnecessary for the confirmation of truth already known; if he means that this truth is known and believed by all persons, and that there exists no danger of a loss of truth, and of a relapse into error, such a case is metaphysical: yet even in this supposition, God might, in his wisdom, think it as necessary to confirm for one generation, that truth which had been previously revealed to a former race, as to prove its original revelation to an antecedent people. Besides, there has in fact been no age in which it was not necessary to make truth manifest to infidels.

But the scriptural facts are all against the archdeacon. The Jewish people in Egypt were not an infidel race: yet we find a series of miracles wrought to confirm them in the belief of those doctrines which they had received by tradition from their fathers, as well as to prove the legation of Moses. They received no new doctrines at Sinai; they only received a religious organization, and had a ritual law imposed upon them. But suppose that the miracles wrought at Sinai were to shew them that this organization and this ritual ought to be submitted to and preserved; according to Paley, the people of Israel ought to put out of the case every alleged miracle "*in affirmance* of opinions thus already formed," and therefore all the miracles related in the books of Josue, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, the Prophets, &c., to the end of the old law, "ought to be put out of the case." Here is a pretty sweeping of some hundreds of miracles from the sacred records, or else the archdeacon's principle is as irreligious as it is unphilosocal. All those miracles were wrought *in affirmance* of doctrines, *not opinions* already believed, not *formed*. Doctor Paley ought to have known that faith does not allow the *formation of an opinion*, but requires simple acceptance and unhesitating belief of the doctrine which God reveals. What we are taught by heaven is not opinion; opinion is of our own formation. I should like to know what the Doctor would advise in case that I were one of five hundred who saw a man raised from the dead in affirmance of faith. Would he tell me that such a supposition is absurdity, because miracles are not wrought now, that his principles must be true, that there must be some error, though he could not point it out? Yet he should give up his principle or make this assertion: if he makes this assertion, how will he answer Voltaire or Hume, who tell him exactly the same regarding the miracles which he adduces to prove Christianity? Thus have good gen-

tlemen destroyed the foundations of revelation by attempting to subvert Catholicism.

But I cannot rest here. The Doctor's principle is false or the Bible is a tissue of falsehoods: and still more, Paley asserts what is not true, if he asserts that the miracles wrought in our Church in the several ages were wrought merely *in affirmance* of opinions already formed. Was this the character of the miracles of St. Francis Xavier? Were not his miracles wrought, as were those of the apostles, to effect the conversion of unbelievers? Was this the characteristic of those of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus? Were they not wrought for the conversion of the infidel people of Neocæsarea? Did they not in each case produce the same effect? Such, too, was the case in thousands of instances of the best authenticated miracles which have taken place in our Church in every age from the days of the Apostles to the present day; in accordance with the promises of the Saviour, given without any limitation of time, as may be seen in a variety of places, as [for instance] in the Gospel of St. Mark, xvi, 17-18, "*And these signs* SHALL FOLLOW *them that believe: in my name, they shall cast out devils: they shall speak with new tongues: they shall take up serpents: and if they shall drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover.*" These were miracles wrought in an infidel country; they were not in a Popish country, as the archdeacon is pleased to be rude and uncivil in his nicknames. Mr. White ought to have known that Popish miracles have been frequently wrought in the midst of Protestants, as well as of infidels, and therefore that Paley's assertion was untrue. Mr. White's American sponsors have attempted, and a most miserable and abortive attempt it was, to get rid of a fact which I believe to be palpably miraculous, though I am not authorized officially to publish it as such, which took place in their own city. I would this day, after all their leisure for examination, ask them, was Mrs. Mattingly, of the city of Washington, instantaneously healed from an incurable disorder not three years since? I assert that she was: and I call upon the Rev. gentlemen to produce, in the whole Union, any physician of a reputable character, who will, to a plain statement of the facts of her cure, affix his certificate that such a cure can be accounted for by any natural process, or could take place without being miraculous. Mr. Hawley knows also that conversions took place in consequence of this cure.

In the commencement of his first chapter, prop. ii, part 1, Paley says:

"If the reformers in the time of Wickliffe, or of Luther, or those of England, in the time of Henry the Eighth, or of Queen Mary; or the founders of our religious sects since, such as were Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Wesley in our own times; had undergone the life of toil and exertion, of danger and of sufferings, which we know that many of them did undergo *for* a miraculous story; that is to say, if they had founded their public ministry upon the allegation of miracles wrought within their own knowledge, and upon narratives which could not be resolved into delusion or mistake; and if it appeared, that their conduct really had its origin in these accounts, I should have believed them."

Now the archdeacon cannot complain of my asserting that it is as necessary in many cases to work a miracle to preserve truth formerly delivered, as to establish it originally, when I shew its necessity from the nature of the case, and the authority of scripture. I shall give but an outline and a fact. Suppose in those times to which he alludes, the whole body of the professors of Christianity had swerved from the truth, and that King Henry or Martin Luther was commissioned to bring them back to pure doctrine and virtuous conduct, would they not have as difficult a task in converting [them from] Romish idolatry as the first Apostles had in converting the former pagans? Suppose those virtuous reformers to have been wrong, but still successful in deluding many, would not the miracles be as necessary to preserve the faith of the just, and to confound the apostates, as it was in the days of Elias, when he wrought so many to confirm the faithful Jews, and to confound those who had apostatised? Why then would the archdeacon not believe a miracle wrought in support of the truth of the old religion, as he would if it could be wrought against it? He gives us his reason in a subsequent passage in the second paragraph of section vii. of the same chapter:

"Hath any founder of a new sect among Christians pretended to miraculous power, and succeeded by his pretensions?" "Were these powers claimed or exercised by the founders of the sects of the Waldenses and Albigenses? Did Wickliffe in England pretend to it? Did Huss or Jerome in Bohemia? Did Luther in Germany, Zwinglius in Switzerland, Calvin in France, or any of the Reformers, advance this plea? The French prophets, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, ventured to allege miraculous evidence, and immediately ruined their cause by their temerity."

So, then, because no miracles were wrought by the opponents of the Church, we are to say they were not wrought in the Church. When Paley, quoting from Campbell, asks, "Did Calvin advance this plea?" I answer

that he did, and made a most deplorable failure. For, in attempting to revive a sleeping tailor, he killed him. If Mr. White had been even partially instructed, he could not but see that all the attempts of Paley to overthrow the evidence in favor of Catholicism were abortive.

In the same chapter, under the head of appreciating the miracles from their own nature, the archdeacon, in section iii, ranks under the head of *doubtful* whether they were miraculous, admitting the truth of the phenomenon, "the extraordinary circumstances which obstructed the re-building of the temple at Jerusalem by Julian." Doctor Warburton, and several other eminent Protestant divines, admit fully and maintain their miraculous nature; but as the occurrence took place about the middle of the fourth century, this period is far too late for the archdeacon. He therefore contradicts, upon the subject, besides a whole host of his own divines, St. Cyril, then Bishop of Jerusalem, who was present and who foretold that the obstruction would take place, St. Gregory Nazianzen, who in the next year wrote a description of this miracle, St. John Chrysostom, who about twenty years after testified its miraculous nature, and made solemn and public appeals founded thereon, St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, a cotemporary who wrote upon the subject in the year 388, Rufinus, who lived upon the spot, Theodoret, who lived in the vicinity, together with Arians and Pagans; and any person of common observation must acknowledge, if he believes the truth of the fact, that it was necessarily miraculous.

In the same paragraph the archdeacon has, upon the authority of Justin,

"The miracles of the second and third century are, usually healing the sick, and casting out evil spirits, miracles in which there is room for some error or deception. We hear nothing of causing the blind to see, the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, the lepers to be cleansed."

The incident to the first of those propositions carries with it the refutation of the principle sought to be established. That principle is, that healing the sick or casting out evil spirits, is not a miracle, yet the incident allows that they are *miracles*, but only states that there is *room for error or deception*. But if the evidence of the fact be so strong as to leave no room for error or deception, there can be no question of the truth of the fact itself. If the fact be true, there is an admission of the truth of the miracle, thus as there is equally strong evidence to prove that those facts occurred in the second and third ages as to prove that they occurred in the first, there is equal proof of the existence of miracles in the second and third ages as in the first age. If there were not miracles in those latter ages, there is no reason for stating them to be miracles when related in the gospel. Thus will the archdeacon, by endeavoring to destroy the proofs of Catholicism, destroy the proofs of Christianity: and thus Mr. White ought to have seen that if miracles established the one, they establish the other. Hence, if the principles of Paley converted him to Christianity, they ought to have brought him back to Catholicism.

The second proposition of the extract is a manifest untruth: for the histories of the second and third ages abound in proofs of the restoration of sight, of hearing, of limbs, and even of life itself. White ought to have known this, and other great drawbacks, upon Paley's work, some of which I shall exhibit in my next.

I remain yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 30, 1826.

LETTER X.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—If Mr. White had been a well informed Roman Catholic, he would have seen, as I have shewn, that Archdeacon Paley was either very grossly deceived, or wilfully endeavored to delude his readers, in his accounts of our miraculous facts; he would have seen full evidence for a multitude of those facts in the Roman Catholic Church, in every age, from that of the Apostles to the present day. If, therefore, he believed the principle with which the archdeacon set out, viz. that miracles were proof of revelation, and revelation the evidence of God's testimony; Mr. White must have seen that God's testimony was in favor of the Roman Catholic Church; and if he followed Paley's train of argument, he must, as soon as he discovered the truth of those evident facts, have become a Roman Catholic: or if he did not, he must have rejected the principle which being connected with those facts led inevitably to this result: and thus he must have come back to what he testifies to be the undoubted principle of Catholicism, (Doblado p. 296:) "According to their undoubted principles on this matter, they must have been either Catholics or Infidels." This must be the case with every person who reasons consistently upon the principles of Paley, and who discovers the facts which we say are supported by irrefragable evidence. I need not dwell here upon the exemplification, but this conclusion will flow inevitably from a great variety of other arguments.

I come now to examine another portion of Paley's production, to shew that White had

in that work, full evidence of the insincerity or ignorance of the writer. I can scarcely assert that Paley was ignorant, yet this would be an apology which I should prefer admitting to save him from the alternative, and indeed it is the only plea which could save him. In his second chapter, supporting the second proposition of his first part, he proceeds under the pretext of refuting the objections of Infidels, really to sap the foundations of the Catholic Church, but the attempt was made in a manner equally discreditable as it is futile. He adduces three instances of alleged miracles in support of error: which Mr. Hume objects to, as being untrue in fact, and yet apparently being as well supported by evidence as any of the miracles which attest the truth of Christianity.

With the first, viz. "The cure of a blind and of a lame man at Alexandria, by the Emperor Vespasian, as related in Tacitus," we have no concern. The other two are those which having been introduced *as our best miracles* by Mr. Hume, and permitted to pass as such by Paley, call for our consideration. "The restoration of the limb of an attendant in a Spanish church, as told by Cardinal de Retz;" and "The cures said to be performed at the tomb of the Abbe Paris, in the beginning of the present (the last) century."

Respecting the first of those, Paley writes:

"The story taken from the Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, which is the second example alleged by Mr. Hume, is this: 'In the church of Saragossa in Spain, the canons showed me a man whose business it was to light the lamps; telling me, that he had been several years at the gate with one leg only. I saw him with two.'"*

"It is stated by Mr. Hume, that the Cardinal, who relates this story, did not believe it: and it no where appears, that he either examined the limb, or asked the patient, or indeed any one, a single question about the matter. An artificial leg, wrought with art, would be sufficient, in a place where no such contrivance had ever before been heard of, to give origin and currency to the report. The ecclesiastics of the place would, it is probable, favor the story, inasmuch as it advanced the honor of their image and Church. And if *they* patronised it, no other person at Saragossa, in the middle of the last century, would care to dispute it. The story likewise coincided not less with the wishes and preconceptions of the people, than with the interests of their ecclesiastical rulers: so that there was prejudice backed by authority, and both operating upon extreme ignorance, to account for the success of the imposture. If, as I have suggested, the contrivance of an artificial limb was then new, it would not occur to the Cardinal himself to suspect it; especially under the carelessness of mind with which he heard the tale, and the little inclination he felt to scrutinize or expose its fallacy."

Mr. White knew that it was not upon such evidence as this, the Church to which he had belonged rested her miracles; he knew, that here, there might or there might not, have been a miracle, according as the truth was, or was not related; but he also knew that the logic which was taught in Seville, laid down an axiom, *ab actu ad posse valet consecutio, sed non vice versa*, "you may fairly conclude that what has been done is possible: but you cannot argue that because a thing is possible it has been done." Fact must rest upon evidence of the senses for the witnesses; upon evidence of testimony, for others. In place of using this opportunity of making an uncharitable, an unfounded, and a calumnious attack upon *Romish* ecclesiastics; if Paley had been an honest man, he would have given a more direct, a more logical, and an amply sufficient answer. "We do not rest our belief of the Christian Religion upon the truth of this fact, but upon the truth of thousands of facts, of each of which we have unquestionable evidence.—Of this we have none; it might be true; but as we have no evidence of its truth, we do not adduce it." But no; this would not answer the archdeacon's purpose, for in truth, his only object and Hume's, so far as regards the two latter facts, was the same, viz. to undermine the evidence of Catholicism, by insinuating that its claim to miraculous testimony in its favor, is built upon unfounded stories.

Let any one examine the extraordinary passage of Paley for a moment, with patience. Cardinal de Retz, it is stated, did not believe the story. Yet the Cardinal was a Roman Catholic: thus the belief of the story is not essential for the truth of our religion. But the canons of the Church would naturally favor the story, though they knew it to be a lie, and if the canons favored it, no person in the city of Saragossa would care to dispute it. If, then, an entire city can, in the middle of the seventeenth century, in the centre of a civilized country in Europe, be found so bereft of all love for truth, so careless of every principle of religion, so perfectly acquiescent to a glaring falsehood, as to believe without examination, in the truth of a stupendous miracle, such as the complete restoration of a deficient limb; or if they did examine, to acquiesce in testifying a notorious falsehood: of what value is history? Of what value is human testimony? Upon what ground does Paley charge every clerical and lay inhabitant of Saragossa with such gross and glaring, foul and abominable irreligion? My friends, did you

* Liv. iv. A. D. 1654.

ever find any Roman Catholic writer so bereft of charity, so void of feeling, so base, as to make such a charge as this, gratuitously, upon the whole body of the Protestant inhabitants of any large and populous city, and then, exhibit by inference this city as a specimen of all other Protestant cities, and this fraud as a correct specimen of the Protestant religion? Yet Paley is said to be a liberal man! God forbid that all the liberality of our Protestant fellow-citizens should be confined to the measure of such liberality as this! To charge the Catholic Clergy with irreligious, with blasphemous deceit; to charge the Catholic Laity with profound ignorance; and to exhibit our religion, as a system of delusion created by the success of such vile imposture—and all gratuitously!! Yet this book of Paley's is put into the hands of the American youth in their colleges, as the book from which they are to learn the proofs of the Christian Religion. Can you now be astonished at the estimation in which we are held by that portion of our fellow-citizens who have been taught out of this book, in those colleges?

I have dwelt long enough upon this very unbecoming passage of Paley. I shall, however, take the liberty of here making a general remark, that so far as regards the special proofs of Catholicism, we may fairly assert in the words of the Saviour, "Whosoever is not with us is against us." There is no person who is not a Catholic, that will not endeavor to destroy the proofs of Catholicism; for that system, in its exclusive truth, can hold no fellowship with any error, and hence we find it attacked alike by the Deist and Atheist, by the Trinitarian and the Unitarian, by the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian, whilst in its isolated strength and grandeur, it stands erect, and uninjured amidst the assaults of all. Thus Hume and Paley could agree in their attack upon our Church, and Paley more ingenious and more powerful than Hume, could in his apparent zeal to demolish the bastions of infidelity, level his artillery at the fortress of Catholicism, and still whilst he poured out his shot, cry that he only sought to level the protection of the unbeliever, whilst his guns were in reality pointed far to its right, and destined for a different object.

As to the second of those cases, the paltry artifice which has so often been resorted to by party writers was beneath the dignity of Paley: his mind should have scorned to stoop to such trick. He knew that the Jansenists were not Catholics, and if he did not, White did. Yet in this place, he insinuates that they were members of the Catholic Church, though opposed by the Jesuits as a party. Thus he would lead his readers to believe that the alleged miracles at the tomb of the Abbe Paris were such as are relied upon by the Catholic Church: whereas the Catholic authorities disproved the allegation of the Jansenists. The Catholics denied and disproved the occurrence of any miracles at the tomb. Hence, neither the case of the man in Saragossa, nor the occurrences at the tomb of the Abbe Paris, can be alleged against us, and our answer is very short and very simple—"We do not adduce them as proofs." The archdeacon was then dishonest in his mode of stating facts, and he was guilty of bad reasoning in drawing general conclusions from particular premises. White ought to have seen both faults, and therefore, if he was converted by the book of Paley, and the evidence of miracles ought to have made him a Christian, the same evidence existed to make him a Catholic; and the attempts of Paley to destroy its force in the latter case, were wholly ineffectual. White knowing the facts which proved the last circumstance, could not by Paley's reasoning be made a Christian, without being made a Catholic. Hence we have good reason to believe, and I shall yet shew, that he never became a consistent Christian—I shall shew that he did not believe the doctrines of the Church of England.

"The miracles related to have been wrought at the tomb of the Abbe Paris, admit in general of this solution. The patients who frequented the tomb were so affected by their devotion, their expectation, the place, the solemnity, and, above all, by the sympathy of the surrounding multitude, that many of them were thrown into violent convulsions, which convulsions, in certain instances, produced a removal of disorder, depending upon obstruction. We shall, at this day, have the less difficulty in admitting the above account, because it is the very same thing as hath lately been experienced in the operations of animal magnetism: and the report of the French physicians upon that mysterious remedy is very applicable to the present condition, viz. that the pretenders to the art, by working upon the imaginations of their patients, were frequently able to produce convulsions; that convulsions so produced, are amongst the most powerful, but, at the same time, most uncertain and unmanageable applications to the human frame which can be employed.

"Circumstances which indicate this explication in the case of the Parisian miracles are the the following:

1. They were *tentative*. Out of many thousand sick, infirm, and diseased persons, who resorted to the tomb, the professed history of the miracles contains only nine cures.

2. The convulsions at the tomb are admitted.

3. The diseases were, for the most part, of that sort which depends upon inaction and

obstruction, as dropsies, palsies, and some tumors.

4. The cures were gradual; some patients attending many days, some several weeks, and some several months.

5. The cures were many of them incomplete.

6. Others were temporary.

"So that all the wonder we are called upon to account for is, that out of an almost innumerable multitude which resorted to the tomb for the cure of their complaints, and many of whom were there agitated by strong convulsions, a very small proportion experienced a benficial change in their constitution, especially in the action of the nerves and glands.

"Some of the cases alleged do not require that we should have recourse to this solution. The first case in the catalogue is scarcely disguishable from the progress of a natural recovery. It was that of a young man who labored under an inflammation of one eye, and had lost the sight of the other. The inflamed eye was relieved, but the blindness of the other remained. The inflammation had before been abated by medicine; and the young man at the time of his attendance at the tomb, was using a lotion of laudanum. And, what is still a more material part of the case, the inflammation after some interval returned. Another case was that of a young man who had lost his sight by the puncture of an awl, and the discharge of the aqueous humor through the wound. The sight, which had been gradually returning, was much improved during his visit to the tomb, that is, probably, in the same degree in which the discharged humor was replaced by fresh secretions. And it is observable, that these two are the only cases which, from their nature, should seem unlikely to be affected by convulsions."

But the most discreditable assertion of Paley's remains.

THESE, *let us remember, are the* STRONGEST EXAMPLES, *which the history of ages supplies.*

To White, this single proposition ought to have stamped Paley's book with irrevocable condemnation. So far from being the *strongest examples*, they are *no examples*. We have, and White must have known it, hundreds of splendid examples of miracles, whose truth is supported by incontestible proofs, and we reject those which Hume and Paley adduce. But a bold assertion is not always the worst ally in a bad cause.

I have done with Paley, and must resume White.

I remain, yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 6, 1826.

LETTER XI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS—A more blundering passage of obscure phraseology seldom came under my view than that in which Mr. White endeavours to show how an infidel cannot recognize the force of miraculous evidence. It is the following:

"I learnt that the author of the Natural Theology had also written a work on the Evidences of Christianity, and curiosity led me to read it. His arguments appeared to me very strong; but I found an intrinsic incredibility in the facts of revealed history, which no general evidence seemed able to remove. I was indeed laboring under what I believe to be a very common error in this matter—an error which I have not been able completely to correct, without a very long study of the subject and myself. I expected that *general* evidence would remove the natural *inverisimilitude* of miraculous events: that, being convinced by unanswerable arguments that Christ and his disciples could be neither impostors nor enthusiasts, and that the narrative of their ministry is genuine and true, the imagination would not shrink from forms of things so dissimilar to its own representations of real objects, and so conformable in appearance with the tricks of jugglers and impostors. Now the fact is, that *probable* and *likely*, though used as synonymous in common language, are perfectly distinct in philosophy. The *probable* is that for the reality of which we can allege some reason; the *likely*, that which bears in its face a semblance or analogy to what is classed in our minds under the predicament of existence.* This association is made early in life, among Christians, in favor of the miraculous events recorded in the Holy Scriptures; and, if not broken by infidelity in after life, the study of the Gospel evidence gives those events a character of reality which leaves the mind satisfied and at rest; because it finds the history of revealed religion not only *probable*, but *likely*. It is much otherwise with a man who rejects the Gospel for a considerable period, and accustoms his mind to rank the supernatural works recorded by Revelation, with falsehood and imposture. *Likelihood*, in this case, becomes the strongest ground of unbelief; and *probability*, though it may convince the understanding, has but little influence over the imagination.

"A sceptic who yields to the powerful proofs of Revelation, will, for a long time, ex-

* *Likely* is the adjective of the phrase *like the truth, simile vero.* It is strange that the English language should not possess a substantive answering to *le vraisemblable* of the French. The use of *improbable* to denote what in that language is meant by *invraisemblable*, is incorrect. When the French critics reject some indubitable historical facts from the stage, because they want *vraisemblance*, (likelihood,) they do not mean to say that they are *improbable*, or deficient in proofs of their reality; but that the imagination finds them *unlike* to what in the common opinion is held to be the usual course of events.

perience a most painful discordance between his judgment and the associations which unbelief has produced. When most earnest in the contemplation of Christian truth, when endeavoring to bring home its comforts to the heart, the imagination will suddenly revolt and cast the whole, at a sweep, among the rejected notions. This is, indeed, a natural consequence of infidelity, which mere reasoning is not able to remove."

Paley meets this difficulty in his "Preparatory Considerations;" yet I must give my opinion, that the archdeacon appears to me in this place to be somewhat perplexed, and not as fully master of his pen, as his mind and his subject would allow. I am aware of the heavy clog which impeded his progress, and which has been so great an annoyance to several other eminent Protestant writers. They saw the force of their principles, but they feared the great range of their extent, and they endeavored to confine them arbitrarily within the bounds which would suit their own convenience, and to prevent their progress to conclusions which they did not desire to admit. For instance they wished to establish Christianity by their aid, but they desired not to establish Catholicism, and if they gave the full force of the principle, it would go to the establishment of the truth of the one, as well as the other. Paley says of Hume,

"Mr. Hume states the cause of miracles to be a contest of opposite improbabilities, that is to say, a question whether it be more improbable that the miracle should be true, or the testimony false: and this I think a fair account of the controversy."

After a variety of observations the archdeacon gives the following answer:

"But the short consideration which, independently of every other, convinces me that there is no solid foundation in Mr. Hume's conclusion, is the following:—When a theorem is proposed to a mathematician, the first thing he does with it is to try it upon a simple case, and if it produce a false result, he is sure that there must be some mistake in the demonstration. Now to proceed in this way with what may be called Mr. Hume's theorem. If twelve men, whose probity and good sense I had long known, should seriously and circumstantially relate to me an account of a miracle wrought before their eyes, and in which it was impossible that they should be deceived: if the governor of the country hearing a rumor of this account, should call these men into his presence, and offer them a short proposal, either to confess the imposture, or submit to be tied up to a gibbet, if they should refuse with one voice to acknowledge that there existed any falsehood or imposture in the case; if this threat was communicated to them separately, yet with no different effect; if it was at last executed; if I myself saw them, one after another, consenting to be racked, burnt, or strangled, rather than give up the truth of their account;—still if Mr. Hume's rule be my guide, I am not to believe them. Now I undertake to say that there exists not a sceptic in the world who would not believe them, or who would defend such incredulity.

"Instances of spurious miracles supported by strong apparent testimony, undoubtedly demand examination; Mr. Hume has endeavored to fortify his argument by some examples of this kind. I hope in a proper place to show that none of them reach the strength or circumstances of the Christian evidence. In these, however, consists the weight of his objection: in the principle itself, I am persuaded that there is none."

In this case Dr. Paley requires the witness of the fact to suffer death before he will believe the truth of the fact; because the circumstance will be found in the case of the Apostles and first martyrs who testified for the miracles of the Saviour. Their submitting to death proves one of two things; either that they were firmly convinced of the truth of the fact which they testified, and were witnesses of extreme probity; or else that they were most hardened and incorrigible impostors. So that, in truth, the bare submission to death by the witnesses, is not the criterion of the correctness of their testimony. We must from other considerations be satisfied of the existence of the two essensential qualifications of evidence by testimony; first, "that the witnesses could not have been, themselves, deceived;" secondly, "that they could not deceive us; or if they made the attempt, that they would have been inevitably detected." The putting of the witnesses to death, and their courageous submission to their fate, is no guarantee to us that they had not been deceived; and although this circumstance would add much strength to existing proofs, it is not proof of truth itself. If we were to assert that evidence of facts could not be had without the death of the witness, being the seal of its sufficiency, our stock of knowledge would indeed be small. Paley had his own object in view when he thus circumscribed the limits of evidence for miraculous facts. If Mr. White ever studied his treatises *Of Ethics* and *De Religione*, in Seville, he would have seen that it was in the power of him who made the laws of nature to suspend any one of them, and that ordinary evidence would have been sufficient to prove that he had done so. Mr. White might then have spared his rigmarole of French and English criticism, and he would have known that the exertion of God's power is more than *likely*, more than

probable, for it is *evidently true*, and as capable of being proved, as any usual occurrence. For instance, that the resurrection of Lazarus can be as well, and as easily proved as the death of Julius Cæsar; that there exists as fully adequate a cause for the resuscitation, in the power of God, who is the real agent, using what instrument he may think proper, as of the death, in the law which that God established for usual and ordinary cases. Death is of frequent occurrence, resuscitation of rare occurrence, but a fact which has occurred only once is as easily proved as one which is frequently repeated, each repetition being in itself a full and perfect fact, requiring full and sufficient proof. Thus we need not frequency of occurrence, nor the death of the witnesses, to prove the truth of a fact. I shall give my statement of the case in the following extract from Bishop England's Sermon before Congress, upon the subject.*

[Let us come to view how we ascertain the fact of revelation. If there is any special work which is so peculiarly and exclusively that of an individual, as that it can be performed by no other, the fact of the existence of that work establishes the fact of his presence; and if his presence is a testimony by him of his concurrence in declarations then made, he is responsible for the truth of those declarations. We believe miracles to be works above the power of created beings, and requiring the immediate presence and agency of the Divinity, and given by him as the proof of his commission to the individuals or societies whom he makes witnesses to men of truth revealed by him. The feeling of the miracle being evidence of his presence for this purpose, is so general, and its testimony so fully given by the human race, as well by their spontaneous declaration, as by their whole course of conduct, that it would argue in our Creator himself a total disregard for man's information, if he permitted its existence during so many centuries, and with such inevitable results, unless it were a criterion of truth. The same consequences would necessarily follow from a permission, on the part of God, of a general delusion of mankind, as to the species of works that are miraculous. When the feeling generally existed, and was acted upon most extensively during a long series of ages, that works of a peculiar description were emphatically miracles, and that the performance of those miracles was an undoubted proof of God's presence to uphold the truth of declarations made in his name by the agents or the instruments used in these works: the author of our nature would be chargable with aiding in our delusion, if he did not as he could, and as his perfections would demand, interfere to correct the error.

Our next observations must regard the quantity of testimony which would be required to prove one of those miraculous facts. The assertion has sometimes been made, that more than usually would suffice for establishing an ordinary fact, would be necessary to prove the existence of a miracle. We altogether dissent from this position. The facts in the one case are precisely as obvious to examination as in the other. Strange as the assertion which I am about to make, will probably appear to many who have honored me with their attention; I plainly say, that it will be found upon reflection, that there is far less danger of deceit or mistake in the examination of a miraculous fact, than there is in one of ordinary occurrence. The reason is simple, and I believe natural and evidently sufficient. The mind is less liable to be imposed upon, when its curiosity is greatly excited, and when its jealousy and suspicion are greatly awakened, than when it is prepared to expect and to admit what it is daily, perhaps hourly in the habit of expecting and admitting. Ordinary events excite no curiosity, create no surprise, and there is no difficulty in admitting, that what has frequently occurred, occurs again. The statement of such an occurrence will easily pass. But the state of the mind is widely different, when we eagerly seek to ascertain whether what has never been witnessed by us before, has now come under our observation, or whether we have not been under some delusion; whether an attempt has not been made to deceive us. We, in such a case, become extremely jealous; we examine with more than ordinary care, and we run less risk of being deceived or mistaken.

No person doubts the power of the Creator, the supreme legislator and preserver of the universe, to suspend any law of nature in the course of its operation, or to select some individual case which he will except from the operation of that law, and during his own pleasure. The question can never be as to this power, as to the possibility of a miraculous interference; but it always must regard the fact, and that fact must be established by testimony, and without the evidence of testimony, no person who was not present can be required to believe. There does not, and cannot exist, any individual or tribunal, with power to require or command the humblest mortal to believe without evidence.

There is no place in which the rules of evidence are better understood, or more accurately observed, than in our respectable

* See Discourse, in Part IV.

courts of law. Permit me for a moment, to bring your attention to one of those cases which frequently presents itself to the view of our citizens. There stands a citizen charged with the murder of his fellow-man. Long experience, deep study, unsullied purity, calm impartiality, and patience for investigation, form the judicial character; they are found upon the bench. Steady integrity, the power of discrimination, the love of justice, a deep interest in the welfare of the community, and the sanction of a solemn pledge to heaven, are all found in the jury; the public eye is upon them, and the supreme tribunal of public opinion, after an open hearing of the case, is to pronounce upon the judges and jurors themselves. The life or death, the fame or infamy of the accused lies with them, and is in their keeping, at the peril of their feelings, their character, their conscience and their souls. The decision must be made by the evidence arising from testimony, and that the testimony of men, and those men liable to all the weakness, and all the bad passions of humanity. Yet here, in this important case, a solemn decision must be made. That jury must be satisfied, that the person now said to be dead was living, that he is now dead, that the change from life to death was produced by the act of their fellow-citizen now arraigned before them; that this act was done with sufficient deliberation to proceed from malacious intent; that for this act he had no authority; he who was deprived of life being a peaceable person under the protection of the State. In this there is frequently much perplexity, and little testimony, and that testimony frequently regarding not the substantial ingredients of the crime, but establishing facts from which those that form the ingredients are only derived by inference. Still we find convictions and executions, and the jury with the approbation of the bench, and the assent of the community, unhesitatingly put on solemn record their conviction of the truth of facts which they never saw, and of which they have only the testimony of their fellow-men; and upon this testimony society agrees that property, liberty, life and fame shall all be disposed of, with perfect assurance of truth and justice.

I will now suppose that court constituted as I have described, and for the purpose of ascertaining the fact of murder. A number of respectable witnesses depose to the fact of the person stated to have been slain, having been alive, they were in habits of intimacy with him, were his companions during years, some of them have seen his dead body, in presence of others who also testify to their having seen and examined that body, those last were present when the prisoner with perfect deliberation inflicted a wound upon the deceased. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the prisoner. A number of physicians testify their opinion as to the wound so given, and which they examined, being a sufficient cause of death. The accused produces no authority for his act; there has been no process of law against the deceased, who was a peaceable and well conducted citizen. How could that jury hesitate? They must, painful as is the task, they must consign the unfortunate culprit to the just vengeance of the law—the judge must deliver him to the executioner, and the public record of the State must exhibit his infamy. Life and character must both disappear, they are swept away by the irresistible force of evidence, founded upon human testimony. The widow must hang her head in shame; in the recess of her dwelling she must sit in lonely, disconsolate, unsupported grief; the orphans blush to bear their father's name; the brothers would forget their kindred: and perhaps even gray hairs would gladly bow still lower, and compelled by grief and years, court the concealment of the grave.

Yet, still, when fact becomes evident from the examination of testimony, we must yield our assent to that fact without regarding its consequences.

Let me continue my supposition. Before the dissolution of that court—whilst it is yet in session, that jury still occupying their seats—a rush is made into the hall—the same identical witnesses appear again; but they are accompanied by the deceased—now raised to life. They testify, that as they were departing from the court, a man, whom they produce, proclaimed that he was commissioned by the Most High to deliver his great behests to his fellow-men; and that to prove the validity of his commission, he summoned them to accompany him to the tomb of that man whose death they had so fully proved, and that by an appeal to heaven for the authenticity of his commission, that man should revive. They went—they saw the body in the grave—the claimant upon heaven called upon the eternal God to show that he had sent him to teach his fellow-men—he calls the deceased—the body rises—the dead has come to life—he accompanies them to the court—he is recognized by his acquaintances—confessed by his friends—felt by the people—he speaks, he breathes—he moves, he eats, he drinks, he lives amongst them. Can that court refuse to say that it is satisfied of the fact of the resuscitation? What would any honest man think of the members of that jury, should they swear that

this man had not been resuscitated by the interference of that individual who thus proves his commission? If that jury could, upon the testimony of those witnesses, find the first fact, why shall they not upon the same testimony find the second?

But we may be asked how we know that this man was dead? Probably it was only a mistake. He could not have been totally bereft of life. Ask the jury, who, upon the certainty of the fact of death, consigned their fellow-citizen to infamy and to the gallows. Shall we admit the certainty for the purpose of human justice, and quibble with our convictions to exclude the testimony of heaven? This, indeed, would be a miserable sophistry. Would any court upon such a plea, so unsupported, issue a respite from execution? An isolated *perhaps* with nothing to rest upon, set up against positive testimony, resting upon the uncontradicted evidence derived from the senses, from experience, and from analogy. A speculative possibility against a substantive fact, by which fact the very possibility is destroyed.

Where is the cause of doubt? Where the difference between the two cases? In both suppositions the essential facts are the same, —life, death,—identity; the difference consists in the accidental circumstance of the priority of one to the other. The one is the ordinary transition from life to death, an occurrence which is to us most mysterious and inexplicable, but with the existence of which we are long familiar; the other a transition from death to life, not more mysterious but which rarely occurs, and when it does occur, is most closely examined, viewed with jealous scrutiny, and excites deep interest; and to admit the truth of which, there is no pre-disposition in the mind. The facts are precisely the same in the case of the murder and of the miracle: the accident of the priority of each alternately to the other, constitutes the whole difference. And surely if witnesses can tell me that a man who has never died shews all the symptoms of life, the same witnesses can tell me the same fact, though that man had passed from death to life. The symptoms of life are always the same, and the testimony which will establish the fact of life at one time, by proving the existence of those symptoms, will be at any time sufficient for the same purpose. The same is to be said of the symptoms of death, and of the testimony which will establish the fact by proving their existence. It may be objected that no adequate cause is assigned for this extraordinary occurrence. The answer is two-fold. To be convinced of the truth of a fact, it is not necessary that I should know the cause of its existence, it suffices for me to know the existence of the fact itself: and its existence will not be the less certain, though I should never be able to discover the cause. How many facts do we every day witness, whose causes are still to us inaccessible and undiscovered. Next—an adequate cause is here distinctly pointed out and referred to. He who first breathed into the nostrils of man, whom he fashioned from the dust, a living soul, is now equally powerful to call back the departed spirit to its mouldering tenement of clay.]

Viewed in this way, which is the fair and proper mode of considering the subject, the whole difficulty vanishes: because it is as easy for God to produce an effect by the immediate intervention of his power, as through the mediation of the laws which he has established to regulate the ordinary course of events. The facts in the one case are as obvious, and as easily examined as in the other case: the truth of the facts being established, and their miraculous nature being evident; all the jargon which White wrote might be dispensed with, and all the quibbles of Hume are puerile. The broad evident fact stares us in the face; but there is a race of weak and superficial beings, who always seek to evade the admission of a principle or of a fact which might possibly interfere with their wishes, and those persons most unreasonably deny reason itself, when it stands in their way, and seek for any asylum in the unintelligible world of delusive sounds, such as the specimen which I have selected from White.

I remain, yours B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 13, 1826.

LETTER XII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—I now proceed to examine the assertions of Mr. White, as to his motives for becoming a Protestant of the English Church. Hitherto, I have confined myself to showing that, if he took up Paley's principle, and the facts which White must have known to be true, he must necessarily have become a Roman Catholic; and, farther, that Paley himself could not by his own principles escape the conclusion, that Catholicism is the revelation of God, except by denying what White knew to be true, and by asserting that which White must have known to be false: and, besides, that by attempting to avoid these conclusions, White and most Protestant writers become so confusedly bewildered, in treating of the doctrine of miracles, that they are scarcely intelligible upon this momentous subject. Let us now

hear Mr. White's reasons, as given before, in the passage quoted in my seventh letter.

He tells us that, after having read Paley, he prayed regularly for divine aid, because "nothing but humble prayer can indeed obtain that faith, which, when reason and judgment have lead us to supernatural truth, gives to unseen things the body and substance of reality," p. 29. It is a little extraordinary that the old objection which he mentions in "Doblado's Letters," p. 297, should not have again risen to his mind. There he judged that because one absurdity, as he called the doctrine of hell, presented itself, it would be folly to pray; and instead of praying, and reading works *in favor* of revelation, he neglected his prayers, because they were a burthen, and were unmeaning, and he read with avidity every work against revelation. Indeed, his prayer was no great task; for, instead of two hours which the Roman Catholic Church required, the Lord's prayer, which might be dispatched in two minutes, sufficed. If, then, faith could be had at so easy a rate, for so short a prayer, he must have been grossly negligent of the great duty of prayer in Spain, when he lost faith through neglect. Yet this neglect was not enjoined by his Church, so that he is to attribute the loss of belief to his disobeying the law of that *Romish* Church which enjoined the duty of prayer.

How convenient is it to take up occasionally the semblance of virtue, when it serves our purpose, and to sneer at the reality of virtue in others? This romance,—for I will now call it what I have shown it to be,—exhibits White as being unable to attain faith without prayer, even after he had been convinced by argument; that a reply might be afforded to the persons who say that they cannot be Christians, though they cannot argue against Christianity; but let a Catholic assert, that you should pray to God to aid you by giving you faith, how quickly should we be assailed with every epithet which supercilious arrogance could bestow? Ignorance, folly, priestcraft, hood-winking, stupidity, and such expressions would embroider the body of the sentences, which would be exhibited to an admiring public.

Let us remember, then, that Mr. White acknowledges faith to be a gift of God, for the obtaining of which it is necessary to pray. This will yet stand us in some stead. He continued this practice of repeating the Lord's prayer, once every morning, during three years; his persuasion, that Christianity "was not one and the same thing with the Roman Catholic religion, growing stronger all the while," p. 30. Will Mr. White expect us to believe that each succeeding prayer obtained for him new light? This new light must have exhibited truth better to his mind. If Paley's argument was good, and led to truth, White fell into error; because Paley's book, as soon as its falsehoods are struck out, fully establishes the conclusion, that Christianity and the Roman Catholic religion are one and the same thing. To what, then, are we to attribute Mr. White's assertion? My own impression is, that his statement of the fact is untrue.

This is a very strong assertion, but I shall endeavor to maintain its correctness. My opinion is, that this man did not believe in the truth of Christianity, or if he did, that he must have known the truth of the Roman Catholic Church; my opinion is, that he was not then a Christian. My first reason for this opinion is, that Mr. White is an unsafe and insufficient witness, and we have only his authority for the statement. My second reason is, that the fact is most improbable; and I cannot be asked to believe an improbability, without positive evidence sufficient to establish the fact, and here I have none. My third reason is, that I find, as I shall show hereafter, from several passages of White's production, that it is impossible he could have been what he professed to be.

He next tells us, "that his rejection of revealed religion had been the effect not of direct objection to its evidences, *but of weighing tenets* against them, which they were not intended to support," p. 30. Yet he told us in p. 21, that his doubts did not *affect any particular doctrine*, "but his first doubts attacked the very basis of Catholicism." One of those assertions must be untrue. It is not for me to decide which is the falsehood. But it is for me to say, that it is now manifest, that this witness is entitled to no credit.

He proceeds to inform us, "the balance inclined in favor of the truth of the Gospel in proportion as he struck out dogmas which he had been taught to identify with the doctrine of Christ." He does not inform us what those doctrines were; but in "Doblado's Letters," as I showed before, he stated the first which he found to be at variance with the goodness of God, and which being a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, he had been taught to identify with the doctrines of Christ, was that of the existence of hell; of course we must presume that he struck out this, as it was the *absurdity* which caused his rejection of Christianity. If, then, he struck this out, he certainly was not approximating to Christianity. Thus it is very improbable that he became a Christian

To this paragraph, he appends the following note, p. 30:

"Paley, with his usual penetration, has pointed out this most important result of the Reformation: 'When the doctrine of Transubstantiation (he says in his address to Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, prefixed to the Principles of Moral Philosophy) had taken possession of the Christian world, it was not without the industry of learned men that it came at length to be discovered, that no such doctrine was contained in the New Testament. But had those excellent persons done nothing more by their discovery than abolish an innocent superstition, or change some directions in the ceremonial of public worship, they had merited little of that veneration with which the gratitude of Protestant Churches remembers their services. What they did for mankind was this—"*They exonerated Christianity of a weight that sunk it.*'"

Respecting the note, I shall at present briefly remark, that transubstantiation was in possession of the Christian world, during all the ages which had elapsed from the establishment of Christianity to the period when this industry was so applied; and the *opinion* which was the result of the *industry*, was set up to destroy the *fact*, which was upheld by every species of testimonial *evidence*. Some persons *thought* this doctrine a load, which sunk Christianity, and caused several to reject the system, because of this tenet, which they would not believe. The Reformers, as they call themselves, took off the load. Did they thereby increase the number of the faithful? The remark is worth just as much as the similar one used by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, in a sermon preached in this city, not long since, which is substantially: "That the doctrine of the Trinity was a load which sunk Christianity; and the requisition of belief in this absurdity, which industrious scholars found not to be contained in the New Testament, prevented thousands from embracing Christianity; but the Unitarians exonerated Christianity of a weight that sunk it." Another time, and I shall take up the doctrine in another manner: at present, its value may be estimated by comparison.

A little afterwards, White says, p. 31: "The points of difference between the Church of England and Rome, though important, are comparatively few; they were besides the very points which had produced his general unbelief." Really, I was of a different opinion; for, until I have been thus instructed by the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, a Clergyman of the Church of England, I was under the full impression that the Church of England taught the existence of hell. Mr. White informs us, in "Doblado's Letters," that this doctrine was the first which produced his general unbelief. I knew that the American Protestant Episcopal Church was somewhat delicate upon this doctrine, for the clergymen were, and for aught I know still are, at liberty to put or not to put into the Apostles' Creed, the phrase "he descended into hell;" but I never suspected the Church of England upon this topic, until I read Mr. White's statement. This doctrine, Doblado says, drove him from the Catholic Church; and White tells us, p. 31, "When approaching the Church of England, both the *absence* of what drove me from Catholicism, and the existence of the other parts of the system, made me feel as if I were returning to the repaired home of my youth."

But the most extraordinary passage in the entire of Mr. White's book, is that in which he in p. 30, states, that "the day arrived, when convinced of the substantial truth of Christianity, no question remained before him but that of choosing the form under which he was to profess it." To our American friends, who have been so long in the habit of taking their peculiar view of the subject, this will appear the most natural state of mind. But in such a man as White, it is a state which does not correspond with nature. I must be a little more tedious than I would wish upon this topic.

In order to understand properly the case which we examine, we must again stop to inquire what Christianity is. It is the religion established by Christ. Religion consists in the belief of certain doctrines whose truth has been revealed by God, and in the discharge of certain duties prescribed by him; the belief is called faith; the practice of duties consists in fulfilling moral obligations, and performing ritual service, or being engaged therein. Thus the Christian religion consists in believing the doctrines taught by Christ, fulfilling the moral precepts of his law, and being properly engaged in the ritual service which he established.

A code of doctrine is some collection of known and ascertained dogmas or tenets, specially given, and which is comprised in a written or printed book, and it cannot be of any practical utility unless it is so plain as to be fully and easily intelligible, or unless some kown and authorized tribunal shall be established to give its precise meaning upon all necessary points and occasions.

It is like the statutes of a nation, which however plainly they may be written, and however perspicuously they may be constructed, and however judiciously they may be compiled, still are liable to be mistaken; and hence every nation constitutes a judicial tribunal, to give their precise meaning in all cases of doubt: so for the purpose of ascertaining the principles of morality in the Christian law, and their application to spe-

cial cases, a tribunal is as necessary as it is to ascertain the principles of law, and to apply its provisions to special cases: and rites must be ascertained and regulated in like manner. If no such tribunal existed, every man would hold his own opinion respecting doctrine, and we would behold those opinions perpetually in contradiction to each other. If Christ gave the doctrine of God, he gave a doctrine which was true, uniform, consistent with itself, and not a mass of contradictions. I cannot therefore call all those contradictions truth, because truth cannot contradict truth. Thus a man cannot say he is convinced of the truth of Christianity until he knows what Christianity is, and he cannot know what Christianity is, before he knows either what are the doctrines which Christ taught, or what is the tribunal from which he will receive them: he must also know the moral law of Christ, or the tribunal from which he can learn it, and the ritual institutions of Christ, or the tribunal from which he will learn them; or else he cannot be convinced of the substantial truth of Christianity. If Mr. White knew the tribunal, his examination as to the form under which he should profess Christianity must have been closed; because he knew the form established by that tribunal. If he knew the doctrine, and the moral and ritual discipline, his examination must also have been closed; for he knew the form when he knew those parts which composed it.

Let us however try if we can find Mr. White's meaning. Suppose he meant to say that he was convinced Christ had established a religion of truth, which all men ought to profess: that seeing so many sects contradicting each other, he knew they could not be all teaching the true doctrine of the Saviour, and he therefore was at a loss to know which he ought to embrace. If he calls this being convinced of the substantial truth of Christianity, he certainly has made an extraordinary assertion when he states: "No question remained before him but that of choosing the form under which he was to profess it. The deliberation which preceded this choice was one of no great difficulty to him." You will agree with me, unless he found some authorized tribunal to aid in fixing his knowledge of the doctrines and the institutions of the Saviour, there lay before him a task sufficient to occupy nearly his whole life; because he should leave no one of those forms or sects unexamined, lest that which he omitted might be the very one which he should choose: next he ought himself to know accurately all the doctrines and institutions of the Saviour, that he might be able to discover which sect held those doctrines, and which deviated from them. If he had this accurate knowledge, his labor indeed would have been at an end. It is plain therefore, that there are only three modes, for discovering the doctrines of Christ: first, to find some infallible witness which shall tell us with certainty which they are; this is our mode, and was rejected by [Mr. White,] who left our communion; the second is by inspiration; to this mode Mr. White lays no claim; the third is by learning the doctrines in detail from an extensive and laborious investigation. Mr. White says of the English Church and the Roman Catholic, "that the doctrines common to both Churches were found in the Scriptures, his early studies and professional knowledge left him no room to doubt." It is very strange that there is scarcely one true proposition of three in his doctrinal assertions, and still more strange, that he contradicts almost one-third of his own doctrinal statements. It is by no means true, that all the doctrines contained in the English Protestant creed are found in the Scriptures; many of those which the Church of England holds in common with us are known only from tradition; I might easily sum up several, I shall mention two or three of the first which strike me, viz. the validity of infant baptism, the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin, the validity of baptism conferred by lay-persons, or by infidels, the validity of orders conferred by heretics, and a vast number of others. Again, both Churches believe in the existence of hell or of a place of eternal punishment. Mr. White wrote Doblado's Letters after the period of his becoming a member of the Protestant Church—both Churches state that they find this doctrine in the Scriptures, and White rejects it.

"Suppose, however, the reality and magnitude of the recompense—am I not daily in danger of eternal perdition? My heart sinks within me at the view of the interminable list of offences, every one of which may finally plunge me into everlasting flames. Everlasting! and why so? Can there be revenge or cruelty in the Almighty?"

Against this he struggled, this he called ABSURDITY, and as the Catholic Church had a faith which was indivisible, whatever proved it all, proved absurdity;—therefore he left Catholic faith, because of the doctrine of hell; p. 297, Doblado's Letters. Yet he tells us, "Evidence," p. 30:

"The deliberation which preceded this choice was one of no great difficulty to me. The points of difference between the Church of England and Rome, though important, are comparatively few: they were, besides, *the very points which had produced my general unbe-*

lief. That the doctrines common to both Churches were found in the Scriptures, my early studies and professional knowledge, left me no room to doubt; and as the evidences of Revelation had brought me to acknowledge the authority of the Scriptures, I could find no objection to the resumption of tenets which had so long possessed my belief. The communion in which I was inclined to procure admission was not, indeed, that in which I was educated; but I had so long wandered away from the Roman fold, that, when approaching the Church of England, *both the absence of what had driven me from Catholicism*, and the existence of all the other parts of that system, made me feel as if I were returning to the repaired home of my youth."

My friends, why would not the variegated host of Doctors, from Bishop Kemp to the most humble of those who follow in his train, members as well of the Church which he deserted as of that into which he climbed, vouchsafe to tell us whether they believe in the existence of a place of eternal punishment? What say they to Mr. White upon this subject, or will the Doctors hold a consultation upon his contradictions? Indeed, his disease in this regard has already assumed a desperate character, and yet all the symptoms have not been developed.

What will they say to the passages in the very next page to that in which he informs us with such pathos of his return to a Church so like his own, "the repaired home of his youth." For he tells us in p. 31, that he had no "secret leaning" to the Church that he had left, "for Catholicism was blended with his bitterest recollections." This to me appears more like the thoughtless rhapsody of some fanciful laureate elated by the influence of his pipe of port, than like the sober statement of an humble convert declaring before God and man the plain facts of an interesting occurrence. Did the associated Doctors calmly read this tissue of contradiction, before they gave their names to the scrutiny of a patient, investigating and intelligent people? Did they before God in singleness of soul believe that White's book was an honest relation of truth, given by a religious man? If they did, I could not respect their powers of criticism, or their information. If they did not, what am I to say? Shall I believe that their prejudice against our religion urged them to assail us even with such a compilation. I regret their act, not for any injury to our Church, because, it has done us service; but I regret that our country affords such an exhibition. I shall continue.

I remain yours,

B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 20, 1826.

LETTER XIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—We have now brought Mr. White, through a series of improbabilities and contradictions, to be a good Protestant of the Church of England; whose doctrines he subscribed in the year 1814, having been led thereto by Paley and by prayer. He then after a period of a year and a half resumed his priestly character, which by the bye he had never thrown off, though he had frequently disgraced it. The Church of England as well as the Catholic Church teaches the inamissibility of this character, which is another doctrine not found in the New Testament, in which they agree. I shall only remark that White as a convert, was by the English law required to swear a few oaths, besides subscribing the articles, and I shall on future occasions, have to advert to this, for the purpose of shewing that his own works shew him, even at the date of last year, to hold tenets incompatible with this oath and with those articles.

He next informs us that at Oxford he spent two years as tutor to the son of a nobleman. This was after he had "returned to the repaired home of his youth," subsequently to his "deliberation, which was not one of great difficulty to him," for the purpose "of choosing the form under which he was to profess that Christianity of whose substantial truth he was convinced," after he had "no room to doubt" of the truth of the doctrines of the Church of England, the truth of which he had solemnly subscribed to and confirmed with his oath. All inquiry we must suppose was now at an end, the religion he had embraced he had no doubt was that which Christ revealed, and which was contained in the laws of the Gospel, and to observe which he made "a solemn engagement by receiving the sacrament" in that Church, [after which,] "to complete such acknowledgment he resumed his priestly character." This man has therefore now rest in his faith, he has the undoubted conviction that all that to which he has pledged his signature, his oath, the sacrament, and his priestly character, is true. Alas! my friends, we now begin to find the correct manifestation of what all this is worth! How valueless are all those pledges and professions!! Mr. White as yet has not faith! As yet he knows not what has been revealed!!! So he informs us himself in page 33 of his "Evidence."

"Neither the duties of the tutorship, nor the continual sufferings which I have endured ever since, could damp my eagerness in search of religious truth. Shall I be suspected of *cant* in

this declaration! Alas! let the confession which I am going to make, be the unquestionable, though melancholy proof of my sincerity.

"For more than three years my studies in divinity were to me a source of increasing attachment to Christian faith and practice. When I quitted my charge as tutor, I had begun a series of short lectures on religion, the first part of which I delivered to the young members of the family. Having retired to private lodgings in London, it was my intention to prosecute that work for the benefit of young persons; but there was by this time a mental phenomenon ready to appear in me, to which I cannot now look back without a strong sense of my own weakness. My vehement desire of knowledge not allowing me to neglect any opportunity of reading whatever books on divinity came to my hands, I studied the small book on the Atonement, by Taylor of Norwich. The confirmed habits of my mind were too much in accordance with every thing that promised to remove *mystery* from Christianity, and I adopted Taylor's views without in the least suspecting the consequences. It was not long, however, before I found myself beset with great doubts on the divinity of Christ. My state now became exceedingly painful; for, though greatly wanting religious comfort in the solitude of a sick room, where I was a prey to pain and extreme weakness, I perceived that religious practices had lost their power of soothing me. But no danger or suffering has, in the course of my life, deterred me from the pursuit of truth. Having now suspected that it might be found in the Unitarian system, I boldly set out upon the search; but there I did not find it. Whatever industry and attention could do, all was performed with candor and earnestness; but, in length of time, Christianity, in the light of Unitarianism, appeared to me a mighty work to little purpose; and I lost all hope of quieting my mind. With doubts unsatisfied wherever I turned, I found myself rapidly sliding into the gulf of scepticism; but it pleased God to prevent my complete relapse. I knew too well the map of infidelity to be deluded a second time by the hope of finding a resting place to the sole of my foot, throughout its wide domains; and now I took and kept a determination to give my mind some rest, from the studies, which, owing to my peculiar circumstances had evidently occasioned the moral fever under which I labored. What was the real state of my faith in this period of darkness, God alone can judge. This only can I state with confidence,—that I prayed daily for light; that I invariably considered myself bound to obey the precepts of the Gospel; and that, when harassed with fresh doubts, and tempted to turn away from Christ, I often repeated from my heart the affecting exclamation of the Apostle Peter—"to whom shall I *go?* thou hast the words of eternal life."

After reading this extract I would ask whether this good man had not as much reason for leaving the Protestant Church of England as he had for leaving the Catholic Church in Spain. And, whether, if in this state of mind he had selected profligate infidels for his companions, read the works of philosophists against revelation, indulged in gross immoral habits, in a word acted in England as he had acted in Spain, the result would not have been similar? Therefore upon his own shewing, it was not the superiority of evidence, the preponderance of argument in favor of Protestantism over Catholicism, which kept him now in the new church, nor was it that faith which is founded upon the conviction of unerring truth, when the special truth has been clearly proved; but he avoids infidelity, because he had experienced its folly, and he remains a Protestant, not upon a Protestant principle, but upon a Catholic principle; not because he discovers the special truth of the particular doctrine, but because he must adhere to the declarations of Christ: and to me it is most extraordinary how he can know what is the meaning of those declarations, unless he takes it from the authority of the Church, for he does not take it upon his own private judgment, since he informs us that he was unable to form any judgment or decision as to what Christ taught: doubt, and the moral fever, not conviction of truth, having been the result of his studies, and hence he rests from his studies without coming to any decision, and therefore if he believes, it must be upon authority, and not upon private judgment.

"For some time I thought it an act of criminal insincerity to approach, with these doubts, the sacramental table; but the consciousness that it was not in my power to alter my state of mind, and that, if death, as it appeared very probable, should overtake me as I was, I could only throw myself with all my doubts upon the mercy of my Maker; induced me to do the same in the performance of the most solemn act of religion."

This is the man who in Spain daily approached the sacramental table, not only with doubts, but with absolute infidelity, and this during his ten years of hypocrisy!—Let his own words be his own condemnation.

I shall not dwell now upon this most extraordinary but by no means uncommon assertion "that it was not in his power to alter his state of mind." Never was there a more groundless, a more dangerous, or a more irreligious proposition. But I am not now examining his doctrine, but his history. How

quickly he overcomes his scruples; and without faith he does that for which faith is required, and pledges a virtue which he does not possess. As yet then Mr. White is not a believer. But now his conversion is to be effected.

"But I had not often to undergo this awful trial. Objections which, during this struggle, had appeared to me unanswerable, began gradually to lose their weight on my mind. The Christian Evidences which, at the period of my change from infidelity, struck me as powerful *in detail*, now presenting themselves *collectively*, acquired a strength which no detached difficulties (and all the arguments of infidelity are so,) could shake. My mind, in fact, found rest in that kind of conviction which belongs peculiarly to moral subjects, and seems to depend on an intuitive perception of the truth through broken clouds of doubt, which it is not in the power of mortal man completely to dispel. Let no one suppose that I allude to either mysterious or enthusiastic feelings; I speak of conviction arising from examination. But any man, accustomed to observe the workings of the mind, will agree, that conviction, in intricate moral questions, comes finally in the shape of internal feeling—a *perception* perfectly distinct from syllogistic conviction, but which exerts the strongest power over our moral nature. Such *perception* of the truth is, indeed, the spring of our most important actions, the common bond of social life, the ground of retributive justice, the parent of all human laws. Yet, it is inseparable from more or less doubt; for *doubtless* conviction is only to be found about objects of sense, or those abstract creations of the mind, pure number and dimension, which employ the ingenuity of mathematicians. That assurance respecting things not seen, which the scriptures call *Faith*, is a *supernatural* gift, which reasoning can never produce. This difference between the conviction resulting from the examination of the Christian Evidences, and *faith*, in the scriptural sense of the word, appears to me of vital importance, and much to be attended to by such as, having renounced the Gospel, are yet disposed to give a candid hearing to its advocates. The power of the Christian Evidences, is that of leading any considerate mind, unobstructed by prejudice, to the records of revelation, and making it ready to derive instruction from that source of supernatural truth; but it is the *spirit of truth* alone that can impart the internal conviction of *faith*.

Mark then finally what he describes his faith to be, a belief of truth accompanied with clouds of doubt, which it is not in man's power to dispel; conviction of truth, perception of truth, yet not conviction, and not perception, because accompanied with more or less doubt. Assurance of truth given by God, because supernatural, and yet not as strong an assurance of truth as we have from the objects that fall under the cognizance of our senses. An internal conviction of faith, coming from the Spirit of truth, and yet inseparable from more or less doubt. My friends, is this contradictory jargon intelligible? Yet such is Mr. White's faith!! Was I wrong then when I asserted that as yet he had no faith. We call faith "a firm belief of all that God reveals." The objects of sense may and do frequently delude and deceive, but God cannot deceive. Error is frequently detected in the operations of the mind respecting pure number and dimension, mathematicians have frequently erred and misled. But who shall say that God might be deceived? Who shall say that God can deceive us when he reveals knowledge, and requires our belief? The heavens and the earth may pass away, but his word cannot fail.

Will Bishop Kemp call this blasphemy of White a description of faith? Will this pack of Doctors avow that the certainty of what the scriptures contain is more liable to doubt than is the investigation of the philosopher? I have frequently discovered that respectable gentlemen and good scholars of other Churches, with whom I conversed, had not the most remote idea of the nature of faith. But this is the first time in my life that I find a congregated assembly of Protestant assailants of Catholicism, with a convert bishop at their head, avow by implication that they are not as certain of the truth of the doctrines which they preach, which the *Spirit of truth* reveals, and imparts, and which the Bible contains, as they are of the truth of what falls under the observation of their senses. Yet these gentlemen are well paid for preaching as truth what they only perceive through broken clouds of doubt, which it is not in the power of mortal man completely to dispel! The truths of the Bible, they say are surrounded by such doubts, the Catholic says they are not; and yet these gentlemen assail the Catholic for not making the Bible the standard of his belief!!! Will Bishop Kemp adhere to White and give up the Bible: or adhere to the Bible, and confess that he did wrong in recommending this unbeliever as an orthodox son of the Protestant Church? If Bishop Kemp has not so much affection for his beloved Zion, even I shall protect her against the sceptic renegade. The Church of England teaches that the truth of the Scripture is infallibly established. White does not give the doctrine of the Church of England, though he pledged his oath to give it.

Having thus, as he states, "gone through the religious history of his mind," he adds

that under that "mental despotism which would prevent investigation by the fear of eternal ruin, or which mocks reason by granting the examination of the premises while it reserves to itself the right of drawing conclusions; he was irresistibly urged into a denial of revelation." If, as it would appear, he means this as a description of the system of our Church, his first assertion is a gross mistatement: so far from preventing, we invite investigation; we dread the careless, the heedless, the persons who only glance and rapidly hasten to undue conclusions, because they have not investigated; but we have no dread of him who calmly and closely searches with a sincere love for truth. White himself finds his first position to be untenable, and he therefore quickly abandons it, and takes up another, but one, if possible, less fitted for his purpose: he admits that we invite to a close examination of the premises, but will not allow a right of drawing conclusions except in one way. Did any logician know of opposite conclusions flowing from the same premises? Was there ever such a mockery of reason as to assert that contradictions can flow from the same source of reason? Is it because the Catholic Church applies in the important concern of religion the great principle of right reason, of good sense, and of correct logic, that she is to be accused of mocking reason? Could this sentence have been indited by a man of common information? Does Bishop Kemp approve of this? Surely the only rational mode of testing an argument of religion is by investigation of the premises: there can be no liberty, no choice as to the conclusion.

This extraordinary outrage upon logic is followed by an outrage upon truth. "But no sooner did I obtain freedom, than instead of my mind running riot in the enjoyment of the long delayed boon, it opened to conviction and acknowledged the truth of Christianity." His mind was as free in Spain as it was in England, and he tells us the consequence in Doblado's Letters.

But even after his arrival in England, four years elapse before he is, according to his own account, convinced of the substantial truth of Christianity, and five years after, that is nine years after his arrival in England, and nineteen years after emancipating his mind from the despotism of being obliged to draw correct conclusions from examined premises, he is rapidly gliding into the gulf of scepticism, from which he escapes, not by the examination of either premises or conclusions; but by throwing himself, with all his doubts, "upon the mercy of his maker," and by having "a *perception* perfectly distinct from syllogistic conviction," "an intuitive perception of truth through broken clouds of doubt, which it is not in the power of mortal man to dispel."

Here I close my examination of the character of Mr. White. From his own words, he is the illiberal descendant of a persecuted, Irish Catholic family, who, having deserted his religion and his country, calls upon the oppressive government of Great Britain to continue the affliction of the land of his ancestors, since its inhabitants will not, like him, desert the religion of his fathers, and of their choice. He is a man whose youth was spent in crime, whose manhood was a tissue of hypocrisy, infidelity, injustice and profligacy, who asserts gross falsehoods, and piles up innumerable contradictions, upon the most solemn subject; a man who is totally bereft of family affection, having exhibited the weakness of his parents, and betrayed the solemnly confided secrets of his sisters, if his relation be true; a man upon whose word you can place no reliance, upon whose reasoning you can set no value, and upon whose conscience you can fix no bond; for he has deliberately made, and as deliberately broken, his solemn vows, he has sworn and forsworn; and he has solemnly called God to witness what was legally and morally impossible: such is his account of himself, and if sacrilege can add another tinge to the colors which he has laid on; he committed sacrilege in the profanation of the holy Eucharist daily during ten years in Spain, and went to the sacramental table in the Church of England whilst harassed with doubts, at a "time he thought it an act of criminal insincerity to approach with these doubts to the sacramental table," merely because "he was conscious that it was not in his power to alter the state of his mind."

This is the witness of extraordinary qualifications, whom the Right Rev. Father in God, James Kemp, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland, and the Rev. William Hawley, the Rev. Doctors Wilmer, Tyng, and Co. bring forward to convict nearly two hundred millions of the human family, for so great is the number in our communion, and all their predecessors since the days of the Apostles, amongst whom were and are some of the brightest ornaments and best benefactors of the human race.

I probably have been thought tedious, and may have been looked upon as having strayed from the true question, which was the value of the "Evidence." But its value must necessarily depend in a great measure upon the character of the witness, and as he was trumpeted forth as above all suspicion, and possessing peculiar facilities and un-

common qualifications, I felt myself called upon to exhibit him such as he really is, from his own words. I have other information, which I have abstained from using, as though I knew the correctness of the facts, I could not adduce the authority. I shall now, in every case where we have only Mr. White's assertion for the truth of the fact, consider it as not worth examination, until some one of his compurgators shall prove him worthy of credit—and my future letters shall contain an examination of his "Evidence."

Yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 27, 1826.

LETTER XIV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—Having disposed of the author, we now come to his work. The "Evidence" of Mr. White consists of three portions, viz. his assertions, the value of which is nothing; his reasoning, which is worth what may be found to be the result of its examination; and the statements and reasonings of others; the value of which is to be determined also upon their examination. His work is divided into chapters, each of which contains his evidence upon one or more of the doctrines or practices of our Church. His second chapter is the one which I now come to examine. This regards the *real and practical extent of the authority of the Pope, according to the Roman Catholic faith.* Next, *Intolerance, its natural consequences.* I now proceed to examine his statements respecting the first portion of this matter.

He first states that, in Catholic countries, the distinction between doctrines of faith which are immutable, and opinions upon which disputes and differences are tolerated is clearly understood; but such a distinction is not understood in England. If he means to insinuate, that the Roman Catholics of the British islands are not as well informed respecting this distinction as are any other portion of their fellow-members in the Church, he has written what is not true. If he means only to state, that Protestants do not generally understand the distinction, I agree with him, and will go farther and assert, that in this country I have scarcely met with a Protestant who had the most remote notion of the distinction. As, perhaps, some such persons may read this letter, I shall exhibit its nature, because it is important. By the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, no person is bound to believe any thing as an article of faith, save what God has revealed. If God has revealed its truth, that truth is immutable; no discovery in science, no progress of knowledge, no improvement in society, can make that which God has revealed cease to be the truth of God; it must continue to be the doctrine of faith; immutable, irreformable, to the end of the world, in every nation of the world. The denial of such truth constitutes the loss of faith, and a separation from the Church. There are several topics in some measure connected with religion, upon which we have no revelation of God, or if he made a revelation, we have no evidence thereof; those topics are frequently discussed; Roman Catholics believe that no power was left to the Church to compel us to adopt any particular opinion upon those topics, if God made no revelation, because no power but that of God himself can command the submission of the human mind; and if it should so happen, that a doubt existed, as to whether any revelation was made upon such topics, during the inquiry, and until the discovery of the evidence, the Church has no power to command our adoption of one opinion, or our rejection thereof. She is said then to tolerate any such opinion; because, if she does not see that God has revealed what is incompatible with its truth, she cannot prevent its being held, nor cut off from her communion those persons who may, upon such topic, hold even contradictory opinions. Thus she cannot tolerate an error in faith; but she does and must tolerate difference of opinion where faith is not concerned.

When, therefore, I state that for Catholic faith an agreement with the Church in all her doctrines is required, I do not mean opinions by doctrines, for doctrine is what God has revealed; opinion is but the conjecture of man; doctrine emanates from the Almighty, and is testified by the tribunal of the Church; opinion flows from human reasoning, and can be testified by no tribunal: each individual forms his own, and changes it when and to what extent he pleases. The Church is answerable for all the results of her doctrine, but is not chargeable with either the opinions or the results of the opinions of her members, however elevated or depressed may be their station. The doctrine is known from the testimony of the public tribunal; the opinion is found in the disquisitions of individuals or parties. In our courts of law, the decision of the bench is of value, and is authority; but the private opinion of one of the judges, or the argument of one of the lawyers, or of any number of the members of the bar, is not the decision of the court. By keeping this distinction which White recognizes, with which every Catholic is conversant, but with which few Protestants are acquainted, fully in view,

almost all White's argument will be found worse than valueless.

As I am in some measure obliged to follow the order of the work, I am here compelled to make a digression to another topic. White next distinguishes amongst the English Catholics two kinds of writers; one who write for the Protestant public, and for Catholics who cannot digest the real system of the Roman head: "the other who write for the mass of the British and Irish Church, who still adhere to the Roman Catholic system, such as it is professed in countries where all other religions are condemned by law." "In our devotional books, he recognizes every feature of the religion in which he was educated." In those intended for the public at large, he finds only a flattering portrait, almost ideal and disguised to prevent disgust.

Upon this passage I shall not have to dwell for any length of time. I shall merely remark: first, that as regarded what he calls "Catholics who cannot digest the real system," it would be the most drivelling folly to write for them books of one kind with a digestible doctrine, different from that which was indigestible, and which they could purchase in any shop, or take up in any church, or find in any family; which they had in their hands in childhood, were examined upon in their youth, and heard preached from every pulpit during their lives—such an attempt at imposture would defeat itself. What can be thought of the moral feeling, or of the understanding of him who could make such a statement? If White knew the facts he must have seen the books, why does he not give the dissonant passages? Our books of devotion are held on sale by booksellers of every religious denomination: many of the best editions have been given by Protestants. To what straits then must that man be driven who would make such an assertion as the above? In any ordinary case, this flagrant falsehood would speak enough for the condemnation of him who made it. But we have here a most important concession, or rather recognition of a plain fact, viz. "*That the religious system of the mass of the British and Irish Catholic Church is such as it is in those countries, where all other religions are condemned by law.* Consequently, *the same as it is in Spain:* for White *recognizes every feature of the religion in which he was educated,*" p. 42.

He then introduces Mr. Charles Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church as a most artful picture of the disguising kind, but without making the comparison which would have sustained his assertion if true. I regret much never having had an opportunity of seeing this work, and the more so, as on the present occasion it causes me to write under considerable disadvantage. He charges Mr. Butler with having made a mistake in translating a Latin passage—but which mistake has no concern that I can see with any doctrine—and therefore I shall grant the victor the full benefit of his plume.* At all events it would tend to show that ignorant as were the monks at Seville, they knew how to teach Latin, and that all their pains were not lost upon their precocious pupil. Having now triumphantly fixed this feather in his cap, he comes flushed with conquest to inform the British Catholics that Mr. Butler has given an incorrect view of their most essential duties as Catholics. We must recollect that this is the same Mr. White who paid no attention to the *dull lectures of divinity* at Seville, and who took out his degree at *Osuna*, for which no examination or interval was required. This same gentleman now bloated into knowledge, and swelled to as great a size as Dr. Kemp could desire, pays "attention to some remarks on that part of Butler's book which treats of the authority of the Pope."—Of course in cannot be expected that I should be able to shew how his remarks have or have not any bearing upon a book which I have not seen: but I shall take up the remarks upon their own merits. Let us now examine them.

"The Book of the *Roman Catholic Church* labors to persuade the world that the authority of the Pope over the Catholics is of so spiritual a nature, as, if strictly reduced to what the creed of that Church requires, can never interfere with the civil duties of those who own that authority. That the supreme head of the Catholics has for a long series of centuries, actually claimed a paramount obedience, and thus actually interfered with the civil allegiance of his spiritual subjects; is as notorious as the existence of the Roman See. The question then, is, whether this was a mere abuse, the effect of human passions encouraged by the ignorance of those ages, or a fair consequence of doctrines held by the Roman Church as of divine origin, and consequently immutable. I will proceed in this inquiry upon Mr. Butler's own statement of Roman Catholic articles of faith, which is found p. 118 of the first edition of his work."

Not so fast however, for I must exhibit White's own faults as I proceed. In this extract we have at least two. Every Roman Catholic in America will join Mr. Butler in declaring that the Pope's authority is merely of a spiritual nature and can never interfere with the temporal authority of our government. White asserts that during centuries the Pope has claimed a paramount obedience and thus interfered with the civil allegiance

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* See Appendix—Note C.

of his spiritual subjects. The fallacy of every dishonest writer is founded upon vagueness. Here are two vague expressions, "a long series of centuries" and "his spiritual subjects." We saw before that the Catholic faith is always the same, and is the same for all persons. To be the foundation of a good argument those two vague expressions should as logicians would say, be taken universally, that is to embrace every age and every spiritual subject of the Pope. But in fact the first "long series of centuries" embraces only a period of special regulation which commenced very many centuries after the establishment of the Church, and of the Popedom, and continues to subsist; hence it is at best what logicians would call a particular proposition, and Mr. White, against every rule of reason, would make it the foundation of an universal conclusion; which is just as good reasoning as it would be to say that every priest was an infidel because Mr. White and a few of his profligate companions lost their faith. Again, though the Pope did upon special grounds interfere with the civil allegiance of some of his spiritual subjects, it is equally notorious that where those circumstances did not exist, he did not attempt to interfere with others. Many Catholic kings aided by their Catholic subjects, took the field against his allies, and did not thereby lose their faith or forfeit their character of his spiritual subjects even whilst they were his temporal opponents.

The gentleman next gives us this disjunctive proposition: "Either the Pope was then an usurper, or he held his power by divine and immutable authority." Miserable sophist! —a very tyro would have told you that your disjunction admitted a mean, and that mean the fact. "It was not an usurpation, nor was it held by divine right, but by the concession and the institution of the princes and the people of Christendom." Suppose Bishop Kemp seated in the Presidential chair in place of Mr. Adams, by the fair and constitutional act of the American people; what would be thought of the intellect of him who would vauntingly proclaim, that [either] he was an usurper, or he held the Presidency by virtue of his being a Protestant Bishop. Yet the argument which would support this disjunctive would be just as good as that which for our sins, we are forced to bear with from men who are thought to have information. It is the sophism which argues that coincidence is the exhibition of cause and effect, just as good as the reasoning of a man who would say, that no one but a priest could discover and form our system of Astronomy, because it happened that Copernicus was a priest. Will our American doctors support the correctness of Mr. White's disjunction? Yet I am informed that some of them teach logic, and others are or have been professors of Theology!!!—I should not be astonished if Parson Hawley asserted that it was an article of Catholic faith that our Saviour taught St. Peter how many soldiers would be necessary to defend the Papal territory, because Pepin and Charlemagne had about seven or eight centuries after his death given the territory to one of his successors!—It would be just as rational as the assertion which I have been examining.

The author of the "Evidence" then quotes the following passage from Mr. Butler, and begins his comment as will be found below.

"A chain of Roman Catholic writers on papal power might be supposed: on the first link we might place the Roman Catholic writers who have immoderately exalted the prerogative of the Pope; on the last we might place the Roman Catholic writers who have unduly depressed it; and the centre link might be considered to represent the canon of the 10th session of the Council of Florence, which defined that 'full power was delegated to the bishop of Rome in the person of St. Peter, to feed, regulate and govern the universal Church, as expressed in the general councils and holy canons.'* This (adds the author, in capitals) is the doctrine OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE POPE, and beyond it no Roman Catholic is required to believe."

"When I examine the vague comprehensiveness of this decree, I can hardly conceive what else the Roman Catholics could be required to believe. *Full power to feed, regulate and govern the universal church*, can convey to the mind of the sincere Catholic no idea of limitation."

In this too there is a want of honesty or want of intellect: I presume it is the first, because the commentator asserts, that there is *no limitation*: whereas a distinct limitation is expressed in the very passage as quoted by himself. That limitation is the expression of the councils and canons, "as expressed in the general councils and holy canons." Now those general councils and canons have never extended the power of the Pope to temporals, but have always restrained it to spirituals,

[* Item, diffinimus sanctam apostolicam sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum pontificem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri principis apostolorum, et verum Christi vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem ecclesiam a domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodem etiam in gestis œcumenicorum conciliorum, et in sacris canonibus continetur. *Conc Flor. Labbe, Tom.* xiii, *Col.* 516.]

except when they recognized in special cases the grant of authority made by princes or people for their own benefit to the Pope. But those councils or canons never stated that he had any such power by *divine right and immutably* recognized as of *faith*. Another restriction is in the word *Church* itself, for the *Church* which is the congregation of the faithful, is a body established for spiritual objects, as a kingdom, an empire, a republic are bodies for political objects; as well might it be said that Congress can regulate our *religious* concerns, because it has full power to govern and regulate our *confederation*, as that the Pope and council have power to regulate our *civil concerns*, because they have full power to govern and regulate the *Church*. There is then a double limitation; the first is the very expression *Church;* the second in the restraining clause *as expressed in the general councils and holy canons*. It is therefore incorrect to assert that there is no limitation.

The remaining farrago of his paragraph of remarks is then answered upon the principle of the first distinction which he recognizes himself. We are bound by faith to believe that God gave to Peter and his successors, the full power of feeding with doctrine and sacraments, and regulating and governing by ecclesiastical discipline the universal Church; that the decisions of general councils and the canons of the Church exhibit the extent of his power is a fact, and that the power does not extend beyond what they exhibit, is clearly declared. It is clear that they who attribute to the Pope more power, do not deny that he has the quantity which the canons and councils define. But it is manifest that others are bound to answer for their private opinion in support of this more extensive power, because this charge is against what we have found to be correct, even by White's admission. Suppose what we all will easily understand, that the power of the President to make appointments to vacant offices of embassy, is fully acknowledged by all persons as our constitutional doctrine; some persons will also be found to assert that not only has the President that power, but much more, and of a different description. Several persons deny for instance that he has the power of appointing inspectors of national roads, others assert that he has such power. All agree that he has full power to govern the Union, *as expressed in the constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress*. What would be thought of the man who should assert that the phrase *full power* destroyed the limitation of *the constitution and the law?* Yet such is the construction which Mr. White would give, and by this construction, ridiculously affirm that his power is not full unless it extends to every thing!!—This is the sort of mockery of reasoning which our assailants are in the habit of using. Would any man having a conscientious feeling of Religion thus quibble with the institutions of Heaven?

The succeeding passage of the "Evidence" betrays the sophistry.

"Whatever be the extent of the chain imagined by our author, the decree appears to have been framed wide enough not to exclude the *link* containing the writers who have most exalted the papal power. The task of those on the other extremity of the chain, is certainly more difficult; for it cannot be well conceived why mere human rights should be allowed to limit a *full* power to govern the minds of men, derived from a direct injunction of Christ."

The sophistry is now manifest; it is what logicians call arguing *a dicto secundum quid, ad dictum simpliciter*, that is, arguing from particular premises to universal conclusions in effect, as thus, "the Pope has power to govern you in every thing specified by the councils and canons, therefore he has such power in every case whether so specified or not." It is changing the middle term of a syllogism, as thus, "Catholics recognize in the Pope the full power which the canons and councils declare to be attached to his office. But full power to govern men's minds necessarily destroys human rights. Therefore Catholics recognize in the Pope power to destroy human rights." Such is the miserable disingenuity, which begs the very question in debate, by assuming that the canons and councils declare that the Pope has unlimited power to govern men's minds: and this assumption is made against the fact; for in truth we do not admit any such power to exist except in God himself. We look upon those who assert that we admit the existence of the Papal power to such an extent, to be very wretchedly informed of our tenets, if they believe the truth of their assertion; and if they do not believe its truth, we must feel humbled, disgusted, and mortified, at the exhibition of our depraved and corrupted nature.

The author of the "Evidence" continues to state, [that] there is nothing in the Catholic decisions to exclude the Pope from having temporal power. We may verily answer, that neither is there any thing to assert that he has such power. Shall it be therefore concluded, that the canons recognize its existence? As well might it be argued, from the silence of our constitution and statutes, that Mr. President Adams has power to order one of our commodores to sail upon a voyage of discovery to the interior of the globe, be-

cause there is nothing in the constitution or laws of Congress to prevent him, and he has full power to order them to go where he may deem it necessary. It may be answered, that this was never contemplated in the power which the people and the States gave to the President. Neither was the exercise of temporal power included in the commission given to Peter, by Him who said that his kingdom was not of this world, and who sent the brother who disputed about property to the tribunal of the civil governor; and if *Cisalpine* writers will endeavor to draw the canon of Florence to mean that the Pope has temporal power by divine right, I will stop their progress until they produce to me the decision of a General Council or a holy canon, to establish the fact of this meaning having been ever admitted; and for this they will have to wait as long as the commodore would the return of Captain Symmes from his polar expedition to discover the ingress through which he would pilot the squadron to their novel destination.

In his page 47, the author asks whether the Pope did not issue a sentence of deposition against Elizabeth? I answer, yes, and in the face of Christendom. "Had not a similar practice prevailed," he asks, "for many centuries before?" To this I answer, that I do not know of a single parallel case to that of Elizabeth. There were several cases upon several grounds: but not one that I ever read of upon the same ground as this. "Was not this done by virtue of what the Popes conceived to be their divine prerogative declared in the Council of Florence?"

My answer is, no. Each case is to stand upon its own merits; and they do not all, nor perhaps do any two of the few which occurred, rest upon the same grounds of jurisdiction in the Pope who either deposed, or who attested the deposition.

I shall now make a case in which, by the law of England, the Pope would have had not only full power, but would be obliged to issue a sentence of deposition against Elizabeth.

Had the English people, as they might, declared that the wretched parliament which permitted Henry VIII to settle the succession of the crown by his will, had exceeded its powers, and that the British crown could descend only to the legitimate heir; upon the question, whether Elizabeth was such legitimate heir, and thus capable of inheriting the crown; according to the ancient Christian law of all Europe, the decision must depend upon the validity of Catherine's marriage with Henry, and in an ultimate appeal upon this question by that law. The decision must have been given by the Pope, as the supreme judge in the Catholic Church of the validity of the marriage; which place he holds by divine right. In this, which however is not the exact state of the case, the Pope would, by divine right, have laid the foundation for her deposition, by proclaiming her mother's concubinage. But a question would still be reserved for the English nation, in the decision of which the Pope would have no divine right to interfere, viz. whether they would submit to her dominion, and make legal now what was originally an usurpation. The English people could, if they chose, do so, unless they were bound by some contract with another part not to use that right, or unless they had by some contract deprived themselves of that right, which they originally had. Before their religious defection, the nation formed a portion of a great confederacy of Europe, one of whose articles of agreement was that, in certain cases, of which this defection was one, the Pope upon the evidence of the fact should depose the delinquent ruler, and absolve the subjects from their fealty to the recreant. This confederation has long ceased to exist. But the jurists of the ages, when it did exist, argued for the validity of the power, upon the very same principles which keeps us now an united confederation, instead of being dissociated and weak republics. Besides being by divine appointment, the spiritual head of the Church, the Bishop of Rome was by the act and assent of the princes and States of Christendom, the President of the temporal confederation of those powers; and by their consent and act, he was frequently not only authorized but required to enforce by spiritual power the moral obligation of observing their compact, upon those who appeared to be disorderly, and to punish by spiritual censures, in the first instance, the contumacious; and these means being ineffectual, he then was directed to give sentence of deposition, which the other members of the union were to carry into execution; and his own subjects were released from their fealty to the delinquent, not by the power which Christ gave to Peter, though it was by that power the spiritual censures were issued, but by the power derived from the law of the Congress of those States; such as that law of the potentates of Europe, at the time of the Council of Lateran, in 1215, specially made for such a case. The Pope acted in virtue of this, and laws like this, and not by virtue of the canon of Florence, which had no relation to the case in any way whatever.*

[* This point is more fully discussed elsewhere, as can be seen by referring to the Indices.]

I know that some writers never possessed heads, or had information sufficient to see the real state of the case; others who saw it clearly, thought fit intentionally and dishonestly to affect ignorance, and wrote as if there was no distinction. Mr. White may class himself under whichever head he pleases; but to one or the other he belongs. I have already extended this letter beyond my limits, and must break off here.

Yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Dec. 4, 1826.

LETTER XV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—We have seen how unfounded is the charge made by White upon our Church, of teaching in the council of Florence, that the Pope has temporal authority by divine right. We have seen that the principle upon which the power of deposing monarchs was established, was temporal enactment. This alone would have been sufficient answer to those charges so often made and so often refuted, yet still brought forward. But on each occasion there is generally some variation in the mode of making the charges, and therefore there must be some also in the answer. On pp. 47 and 48, White uses very ingenious sophistry to endeavor in some way or other to establish the fact, that the deposing doctrine is an article of Catholic faith.

Feeling convinced that the council of Florence will not serve his purpose, without abandoning whatever semblance of aid it may give him, he takes other ground.

It is a principle of our Church, that the Pope "may *promulgate* DEFINITIONS AND FORMULARIES OF FAITH, *to the universal church*, and when the general body, or a great majority of her prelates have assented to them, either by formal consent, or by *tacit consent*, all are bound to acquiesce in them." This quotation he makes from Mr. Butler's book, and the principle is sound and correct. What are the requisites to command our acquiescence?

1. That what is promulgated must be either a *definition of faith*, or a *formulary of faith*. This is done in one of two ways, either by publishing that a certain doctrine therein stated has been revealed by God, and preserved and taught in the Church, and is to be believed as an *article of faith*; or by condemning the doctrine as contradicting what God has revealed, and the Church has taught, and forbidding under censures any person to hold such heretical opinion, or to teach or favor the same.

In this case it is clear that a condemned doctrine *is not tolerated*; also that the defined doctrine is *not tolerated*, but is taught. This distinction between a *tolerated opinion*, and a doctrine of faith we have seen in my last letter, and it is recognized by White in the first paragraph of his letter ii, p. 41.

2. The promulgation must be made to the universal Church, not merely to a portion thereof, and the matter must concern the whole Church, and not merely a portion thereof.

In this place we find that a document directed to a particular nation on its own special concerns does not, and never has been considered to come under this principle.

Mr. White, in p. 47, asks respecting the deposition of Elizabeth, &c. "Did not the *greatest part* of the Catholic Bishops allow by their tacit or express consent, that the head of their Church was acting in conformity with the *inspired* definition of his power?" Miserable subterfuge!—Every student of theology could tell you that an act of the Pope is not a definition of an article of faith—that his reasoning to justify his acts whether good or bad is not a definition of an article of faith. I will suppose a stronger case than any act of deposition. Some few Popes have been notoriously bad men: suppose some one of those men, published to the Catholic world a declaration that he believed his criminal act was perfectly justifiable and was not a crime, surely it never could enter into any person's head that this palliation or attempted justification of his conduct to the world, was the definition of an article of faith. The acts of the Popes were not definitions; they had none of the conditions required in the first head, nor were they directed as required in the second to all the Bishops of the world. The Bishops of the country which was in question were the only prelates concerned. What concern, for instance of the Bishop of this Diocess, is it, if His Holiness should choose to inform the Bishops and people of Spain that he considers Ferdinand unfit to reign, and that in the name of God, he absolves them from all allegiance to him? But the case will be widely different, if His Holiness should absolve the good Catholics of South Carolina from their allegiance to their State or their contract with the Union, and place them under the persecution of the British penal laws, or under the tender mercies of his Spanish majesty. Though the Bishop of Charleston would protest against this act, and declare to his flock that it was of no authority, neither the British or Spanish Bishops would be expected to take the same trouble.

White himself, in p. 47, feels this ground

to be untenable, and quickly leaves it: declaring in p. 48, his Papal bulls are not definitions or formularies, and therefore will not serve his purpose. Why then introduce them? To excite the fears of the timid, the doubts of the simple, the opposition of the prejudiced; and uniting those together to get a cry of no Popery for John Bull. But what has Bishop Kemp to do with this? Is he so ignorant as to be misled by this sophistry? I do not know. The good prelate may, for any thing that I know, be as learned as either Duns Scotus or St. Thomas of Aquin: but if he is learned, how has he given his approbation to this book: and what was his object in exciting unfounded fears of Papal influence in America?

The writer of the "Evidence" continues through the next two or three pages to excite the same alarms, by his guessing at what might be the reason for not defining that the Pope had no power over temporal concerns. The reason is plain. No decision is made in the Church except for the purpose of preserving safe the deposit of faith, that deposit is never in danger save by the denial of some revealed truth. They who assert that it is their opinion, that God gave temporal power to the Pope, teach what, though not a part of Catholic doctrine, yet does not contradict that doctrine, and therefore the Church has no authority to condemn or to censure them, any more than she has authority to condemn or to censure those who say they are mistaken. Suppose two mathematicians differ. One of them states that lines which bear a certain ratio to a radius will form the sides of a square which shall be equal to the circle; the other says that he mistakes. It would be as ridiculous for the Church to give a decision between them, as it would be for a court of equity or a court of law to make a rule, or an order upon the subject. The council of Florence decided that the Pope has power to a certain extent to govern the Church. In America, we know very well that the Church does not mean the State, and we want no Pope or council to decide for us, what we know too well to ask a decision, that he has no power to govern our State. We will not quarrel with those who say that he has, but, if ever he should attempt to reduce their opinion to practice in our case, we and our Protestant fellow-citizens will join to show our belief, as the English Catholics did in the time of Elizabeth; and a very sufficient proof that it was no violation of their doctrine is, that neither Pope or council ever attempted to accuse them of having acted irreligiously. I commend them for their noble opposition to foreign force, and for their alacrity to maintain British independence. But what says Bishop Kemp to their Protestant persecutors, who robbed and hanged and beheaded them as traitors after the common enemy was destroyed? This single fact is better than any other answer to the labored sophistry of the unprincipled writer of the "Evidence."

In p. 52, he makes a side blow at the *infallible* council for the vagueness of its canon. The canon is not vague. It defines all that was necessary. The question was between the Greeks and the Latins, whether the Pope was the spiritual governor of all the Church, or only of the Western portion thereof, and the canon defined that he was member of the entire: the question was also whether this was by divine appointment, and it was decided in the affirmative. No question was raised upon the temporal power, and of course there was no vagueness in its omission. Some persons may if they choose, hold opinions of their own upon subjects which do not interfere with the doctrines of the Church, but the Church is not accountable for those opinions nor is she called upon to decide upon their truth or falsehood, nor would it be correct to allow the tribunal of the Church to make such decisions; as well might she be required to decide, whether Guthrum a British king made a present of Ireland to the Milesians about fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, as is asserted in an act of one of Queen Elizabeth's parliaments.

The writer of the "Evidence" next quarrels with the statesmen who guided the British council for the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as not knowing what was the true source of danger from papists, and not framing their questions to the Catholic Universities in a proper way: and he kindly tells the British and Irish Catholics, that "the trial, to which as British subjects they are exposed, is PERFECTLY UNCONNECTED with the *temporal* claims of their ecclesiastical head: it flows directly from the *spiritual*." Do, my friends, then tell our Protestant fellow citizens, that it is avowed by the advocates of British Protestant persecution, that it is because of their belief in the *spiritual supremacy* of the Pope, the Catholics are persecuted. Tell our fellow citizens, that they have been misled by the Protestant writers who assured them that the British government cared nothing for the Pope's spiritual claims, they only resisted his temporal claims, and only punished those who would set him up as the monarch of their monarch! See too how White, or Southey, or whoever this writer is, now undoes all that he had through six pages urged against Mr. Butler, for having written that Catholics believed only that

they were subject to the Pope's spiritual power. Yet now he says in p. 52, that "he does not conceive the Pope's supremacy to have any practical effect in Great Britain." Why then are the Catholics persecuted? Why does the bench of bishops, with two splendid exceptions, regularly make the continuance of this persecution?

We now come to the question which this second wise man of Gotham would substitute for the three which by Mr. Pitt's desire were proposed to the Universities.

Can the Pope, in virtue of what Roman Catholics believe his divine authority, command the assistance of the faithful, in checking the progress of heresy, by any means not likely to produce danger to the Roman Catholic Church; and can that Church acknowledge the validity of any engagement to disobey the Pope in such cases?

Before answering this question, though I am not an University, I shall exhibit another which is put, and the answer which is given thereto in the Church of which Mr. White says he is a member. The question is put by the Archbishop to a person to be consecrated Bishop.

Q. *Are you ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine, contrary to God's word; and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same?* A. *I am ready, the Lord being my helper.*

The question by the Bishop to the person to be ordained priest.

Q. *Will you be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word, &c.?* A. *I will, the Lord being my helper.*

Q. *Will you reverently obey your Ordinary, and other chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over you, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting yourself to their godly judgments?* A. *I will do so, the Lord being my helper.*

The person to be ordained deacon is asked the same question, and gives the same answer. Connected with those questions and answers, are the unquestionable facts that the English Protestant Church has never yet been one moment in existence without being uniformly a persecuting body. And that, amongst those who prominently, steadily, uniformly, and almost without exception maintained, justified, and instigated that persecution, were the archbishops and bishops of that Church. Would it then be an extraordinary assumption for me to say, that the clergy of that Church profess, that by the divine law they are bound to check the progress of the Roman Catholic religion, by any means not likely to produce danger to the English Protestant Church; and that the inferior clergy believe that by divine authority the Bishops ought to command their assistance for that purpose, and that they acknowledge the validity of their engagement to obey the Bishops in such cases, and that persecution of Catholics is therefore their conscientious duty, and that they therefore are bound to persecute Catholics, and that they would not in conscience "regard with apathy efforts" to put an end to this persecution.

Every good member of the Church of England will cry out against these last consequences, which I have drawn; and will, in this reclamation, be joined by many sensible and just men of all persuasions, who will say that those consequences are not contained in the premises; that the clergy of the Church of England are of opinion that Catholicism is an evil, which they ought to oppose, but that although unfortunately that Church has always been united with the State in persecution sometimes severe and sometimes mitigated, still the true meaning of the answers above recited, is not to use unlawful means, or indecent or outrageous means, but such as become men in their place, *viz.* argument, instruction, prayer and watchfulness. I agree with them in this explanation; and I say that notwithstanding the unfortunate and unseemly fact of the English Protestant Church having always been maintained by persecution of others, especially of our Church; still the meaning of the passages above quoted does not lead to the necessity of persecution. I need scarcely adduce a fact, which we all observe every day to prove that they do not, *viz.* all the bishops and clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States have made similar declarations, and still only one bishop and a few priests have waged this war upon us.

But I demand in fair justice the benefit of the same principle which I concede; and I now answer the question which is put. 1. *The Pope can command the assistance of the faithful by divine right, to check the progress of heresy,* BY ALL LAWFUL MEANS. 2. *The Church does acknowledge the validity of any lawful engagement to disobey the Pope.* And White has taken great pains to no purpose, because his question was contained in those put to the Universities, as may be seen by a reference to them. It would be unlawful and improper for a Catholic, as well as ridiculous to engage maintaining and abetting what he considered to be error, and no man of principle, whatever his religion may be, could enter into such an engagement as to do any positive act for promoting what he

believed to be a delusion. But a person might engage, not to interfere for its destruction on a variety of occasions, or he might pledge himself to abstain from using certain means, which he might lawfully use had he not given such pledges, but which would become unlawful upon his making the engagement. Thus suppose I am prevented the use of a certain passage to my dwelling, lest I should remove some monument which was offensive to me, were I allowed to come within reach of it. Though I had the full right and obligation to destroy it, if I could freely reach it, I might when I found the avenue so guarded as to make it hopeless for me to effect its destruction, and greatly inconvenient to me to lose the right of passage, make an engagement not to injure the monument during the concession of the right of passage. I am not prevented from making an engagement for sufficient cause, to refrain from doing an act which I would do if I were free. But to obtain that right I never could pledge myself to do what was in my estimation positively bad. Thus the British Catholics have uniformly refused to abjure their own religion to obtain their civil rights; but with the full consent and approbation of the see of Rome, they have sworn, not to use the power which has been conceded to them, for the purpose of destroying the Protestant Church established, in order to substitute a Catholic establishment in its stead. Thus during nearly half a century the very question which White would put as a substitute, has been practically answered by the oaths and acts of millions of Catholics, with the full approbation of the see of Rome: and upon this principle of morality, "You can never pledge yourself to do evil, but you may sometimes bargain to forego a lesser duty, that you may thereby attain a greater good."

Bishop Kemp and his associates are American citizens, I now put to them this difficulty of their *protege* White, and ask them before the American public, how they could as citizens of our confederated republics, support such doctrine as this book advances. White's address to the British Catholics is substantially this:

"You believe our Church to be erroneous, but we are established by law; if you are admitted to the Legislature, you will endeavour to destroy our establishment, such is your duty as good Catholics; you cannot act otherwise; we cannot depend upon any engagement into which you may enter, not to take away the property from us, to give it to your own Clergy; we therefore tell you, that if you are good Catholics, you ought not to go into a place, where you would have the power to destroy us, if you have not the disposition to do so."

If the Catholics were even disposed to act thus, though they have sworn not to act so, I ask the American clergy, could the measure be carried by the votes of the Catholic members, if the majority of the house and nation were not Catholics? And if the majority of the nation, as in Ireland, was Catholic, would the American Protestant clergy say that such a majority should lose their civil rights, their political rights, and be oppressed to keep up a dominant and domineering Church for the minority of the nation? Is this the doctrine we are to have imported into our republics? What would Bishop Kemp say of disqualifying all the Protestants of Maryland in order that a Catholic establishment should tax and live upon the public of every denomination? Did he ever read or hear of a Catholic minority taxing and living upon a majority of persons of other religions and telling them, we shall keep you out of our councils, lest we might be forced to give up what we have acquired and preserved by force and persecution?—Does France keep Protestants from voting upon the question of the taxes, and the appropriation to support the Catholic establishment, though that establishment has neither tythes, nor glebes, nor bishops' lands, nor the plunder of monasteries, nor the spoils of Protestant establishments? France is a bigoted Popish country, because she treats Protestants with justice, and England is a liberal country, because she plunders and oppresses Papists, and Bishop Kemp and his associates are liberal, because they praise this British persecution. Yours, &c. B. C.

Charleston, Dec. 14, 1826.

LETTER XVI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—White's object, in introducing the case of James II, King of England, is to endeavor, as far as possible, to persuade Protestants that no Roman Catholic can conscientiously abstain from persecuting a member of any other Church. To effect this, he not only misstates the facts in the case of James, but he grossly and fallaciously mistranslates the answer of Bossuet: of which I shall give a correct version to accompany this, so that my readers may be able fully to estimate the credit which White deserves.

I shall give what he intended to be his argument. "A Roman Catholic can lawfully do nothing to favor heresy. But if he be a British legislator, he must concur in voting the sums necessary for supporting the

Protestant Church, which he calls heretical. Therefore it will be unlawful for him to do his duty as a legislator: Hence he ought not to seek for emancipation."

Such is the substance of the reasoning in p. 53, &c. I shall examine its principle. That principle is equally Protestant as it is Catholic, viz. "It is unlawful to aid in the promotion of error." And hence I have known hundreds of good members of the English and other Protestant Churches refuse to give any aid to Popery. I have known several very religious members of different Churches in South Carolina upon this principle, not only refuse to contribute to build a Catholic Church, but to send their children to a Catholic teacher, or ever to vote for any member of the Catholic Church for any office; *because it would encourage Popish error*, which is worse than heresy, it being *Idolatry*. I have known Catholics who have in the same manner reduced the principle to like practice. The principle is abstractedly quite correct, but bigots misapply it; and if White were not a bigot of very sour feelings, he never would have deemed it possible to frame such an argument upon such a foundation.

I repeat it; the principle is correct. "You cannot lawfully encourage error." But you must do your duty, and the discharge of that duty is not the crime of giving unlawful encouragement to error. If you owe your neighbor one hundred dollars, which you know, he will, upon receiving, apply to the most corrupting purposes, you are not accountable for his misconduct; nor for its consequences; nor are you authorized to act dishonestly towards him, and over prudently in your own favor, by keeping in your purse what you so sanctimoniously tremble at paying. In a word, your fulfilment of your duty, is matter of strict obligation; his abuse of his means is matter of criminality in him, not of criminality in you. There was, however, a class of saints, and for aught that I know, there still is, which would, for the love of God, keep the money, and answer the application for payment with a homily upon the influence of the Gospel. But there, men were not Roman Catholics! as in this case, he who paid his debt committed no crime: so in the other, he who merely discharged his duty, gave no encouragement to error. The British constitution is said to be Protestant, that is, in other words, there is an established Church, which the constitution says must be supported.

The continuing to support an establishment which has been created by the government, and continued during several years, as a matter of course, is not forming a new aid for error. Nor is it the criminal bestowing of support: because it is not given to encourage error, but by virtue of a contract which has been long since made. Suppose a man leaves a piece of land to aid a society which teaches error: and I hire the land. When I pay my rent, I give my money to fulfil my contract: not to propagate error. The criminal was he who originally devoted the income to further the delusion: not he who pays what he bargained to give for the use of the property.

The Catholic legislator would be bound to maintain this constitution, and therefore to provide the means for supporting bishops and sextons, as well as judges and beadles. But, I may be asked, "when the Catholics would form a majority of the Lords and Commons, would they not discontinue the vote?" I answer, "that their vote is not necessary, for the property is vested in the Church, and not granted by Parliament," so that, the fear raised by White as to the safety of the Catholic's conscience in this case, is only a delusive affectation. "But would not Catholics vote to take away the property from the Protestant establishment in order to give it to a Catholic establishment?" I answer that although the Catholics are not legislators, and therefore not the majority of those houses in which they are not allowed to sit: yet this possibility is guarded against, for they have sworn, and continue to swear, that they will not use any privilege which they have obtained or may become entitled to, in order to subvert or destroy the Protestant Church establishment in order to substitute a Catholic establishment in its stead. Besides, there is another security. The King must be a Protestant; and he should give his consent, and the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury is his first privy counsellor. "But, the two houses might take away the property, and thus destroy the Protestant establishment, without substituting any other therefor." I acknowledge this is lawful and possible, provided the King consented, but not otherwise. And should the majority of the houses be Catholic, the majority of the nation must be so. When that comes to be the case, the nation is fully entitled to say whether it will give to the clergy of a minority an income too great to support a Church establishment ten times too large for the whole people. But it is folly to write upon those chimeras as upon facts. Allow me, by a single instance, to show the valuelessness of Mr. White's bigotry. France has a legislature almost wholly Catholic, the King is a Catholic, the Church establishment is Catholic, several of the archbishops and bishops are Peers. Sup-

pose Catholic emancipation fully conceded, and every place which a Catholic could fill, occupied by members of our Church: would the state of the British government be like what we find in France as to the occupancy of places by Catholics? Yet this Catholic King, those Catholic prelates, peers and people, levy taxes upon the French Catholics and Protestants, to support several kinds of Protestant clergy and Churches. And still, they hold the principle "that they ought not to encourage error." Neither do they encourage it. The persons who hold erroneous doctrines, are unfortunately under delusions which force cannot remove, and for the removal of which it is not lawful to resort to force. But as members of civil society, they claim only common rights, in return for common exertions; those rights cannot be justly withheld, and the granting of them is not made in favor of error, but of right. Suppose by virtue of a contract the erroneous party received more than its proportion, still this extra favor is now due by virtue of the contract, and can be no longer viewed as the grant of encouragement, because it has become the result of stipulation in a bargain, and the terms of the contract must be observed.

But let us see what White says upon the subject of King James:

"At the time when I am writing this, one branch of the Legislature has declared itself favorable to what is called Catholic emancipation: and, for any thing I can conjecture, Roman Catholics may be allowed to sit in Parliament before these letters appear in public. A *Roman Catholic* legislator of *Protestant* England, would, indeed, feel the weight of the difficulty to which my suggested question alludes, provided his attachment to the Roman Catholic faith were sincere. A *real* Roman Catholic once filled the throne of these realms, under similar circumstances; and neither the strong bias which a crown at stake must have given to his mind, nor all the ingenious evasions proposed to him by the ablest divine of the court of Louis XIV could remove or disguise the obstacles which his *faith* opposed to his political duties. The source of the religious scruples which deprived James II of his regal dignity, is expressed in one of the questions which he proposed to several divines of his persuasion. It comprises, in a few words, what every candid mind must perceive to be the *true and only* difficulty in the admission of Roman Catholics to the Parliament of these kingdoms. What James doubted respecting the *regal sanction*, a member of either house may apply to the more limited influence of his vote. He asked 'Whether the king could promise to give his assent to all the laws which might be proposed for the greater security of the Church of England?' Four English divines, who attended James in his exile, answered without hesitation in the negative. The casuistry of the French court was certainly less abrupt. Louis XIV observed to James, that '*as the exercise of the Catholic religion could not be re-established in England, save by removing from the people the impression that the King was resolved to make it triumph, he must dissuade him from saying or doing any thing which might authorize or augment this fear.*' The powerful talents of Bossuet were engaged to support the political views of the French monarch. His answer is a striking specimen of casuistic subtlety. He begins by establishing a distinction between adhering to the erroneous principles professed by a Church, and the protection given to it *ostensibly, to preserve public tranquillity.*" He calls the Edict of Nantes, by which the Huguenots were, for a time, tolerated, '*a kind of protection to the reformed, shielding them from the insults of those who would trouble them in the exercise of their religion.* It never was thought, (adds Bossuet) that the conscience of the monarch was interested in these concessions, *except so far as they were judged necessary for public tranquillity. The same may be said of the King of England; and if he grant greater advantages to his Protestant subjects, it is because the state in which they are in his kingdoms, and the object of public repose, require it.*' Speaking of the Articles, of the Liturgy, and the Homilies, 'it is not asked (he says) that the king should become the promoter of these three things, *but only that he shall* OSTENSIBLY *leave them a free course, for the peace of his subjects.*' 'The Catholics (he concludes) ought to consider the state in which they are, and the small portion they form of the population of England, which obliges them not to ask what is impossible of their king, but on the contrary, to sacrifice all the advantages with which they might vainly flatter themselves, to the real and solid good of having a king of their religion, and securing his family on the throne, though Catholic; *which may lead them naturally to expect, in time, the entire establishment of their Church and faith.*'*

"Such is the utmost stretch which can be given to the Roman Catholic principles in the toleration of a Church which dissents from the Roman faith. A conscientious Roman Catholic may, for the sake of public peace, and in the hope of finally serving the cause of his Church, *ostensibly give a free course* to heresy. But, if it may be done without such dangers, it is his unquestionable duty to undermine a system of which the direct tendency is, in his opinion, the *spiritual and final* ruin of men. Is there a Catholic divine who can dispute this doctrine? Is there a learned and conscientious priest among you, who would give absolution to such a person as, having it in his power so to direct his votes and conduct in Parliament

* See Appendix No. 1.

as to direct the influence of Protestant principles, without disturbing or alarming the country, would still heartily and steadfastly join in promoting the interest of the English Church? Let the question be proposed to any Catholic university; and, though I am fully aware of the inexhaustible resources of casuistry, I should not fear to stake the force of my argument upon its honest and conscientious answer."

I shall not make any further comment upon this gross misrepresentation until after I shall have given the translation of the opinion furnished by Bossuet. Meantime, I request of you to peruse the original.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, Dec. 18, 1826.

LETTER XVII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—Mr. White's object in the 53d and subsequent pages of his "Evidence," was to shew that Catholics must, according to their principles, if vested with temporal power, in any country in which Protestants had Churches, or establishments, use that power to deprive them of those Churches and establishments, in order to stop the progress of error, and that it would be unlawful for them upon their principles to refuse obedience to the Pope, should he command them by such means to stop such progress. I before reminded you of an obvious distinction between lawful and proper means, and unlawful and improper means. I shewed that the Protestant as well as the Catholic, that every honest man is bound to use the former, and that no Pope or council can command the latter, and notwithstanding White's real or affected ignorance upon the subject, all the British Catholics have sworn and continue to swear, all the Catholic schools of Theology have taught, and continue to teach, that it would be sinful in a Catholic to do an unlawful or immoral act in obedience to the Pope or council, or upon the ground or under the pretext that it was done for the good of Religion, or the benefit of the Church. It is a principle as eternal and as immutable as God himself, *that no moral evil, however venial, may lawfully be done, to procure any benefit however great.*

No order of a Pope or council could justify a Catholic legislator in doing an act of political injustice to a Protestant, to stop the progress of his error. Upon this principle, as I before showed, the French government which is Catholic, gives Churches, and ministerial salaries and establishments for theological lectures and maintenance of scholars to Calvinists, and to Lutherans, and to persons who belong to the English Protestant Church. During several years, the Elector of Saxony was a Catholic, and faithfully executed the constitutional provisions in favor of Protestants and afflictive to Catholics. Several other instances might, if necessary, be adduced, but those two will suffice. It then is clear from principle, and from example, that White was either grossly ignorant or affected fear which he did not feel.

But my charge upon him is more serious. It is that of falsification, or what I can scarcely admit, total incompetence for his task. He adduces the example of James II, of England, who lost a throne because he could not betray his conscience. What an eulogy does he pass upon this unfortunate and abused monarch!—What must be the purity of conscience produced by a religion which demands such sacrifices?—Does it not appear to be that which animated the first martyrs? Does it not exhibit in practice the principle of that injunction of the Saviour, so often and so emphatically repeated; that we should love his truth and his doctrine better than any thing which the world could bestow, better than life itself? A principle which does not palliate ten years of hypocrisy, of profligacy and of sacrilege, such as were spent by the champion of the British Protestant Religion, behind whose protection Bishop Kemp and his associates would place the Protestant Religion of America!—I shall take another opportunity of endeavoring to do justice to this mistaken though upright and *liberal* and *tolerant* and conscientious exile from a throne. The eulogy of White though not intended as a testimony in the favor of James, will content me for the present. That eulogy is given in my last letter.

I have charged upon Mr. White either falsification, or incompetency. The falsification is in the translation of Bossuet's answer in the case of James. I have had the original French inserted in the Miscellany, I now give what I conceive to be an exact translation. Of all men who ever wrote, White should be the last to expose himself to a charge of false translation: and when he is competent to teach Mr. Charles Butler how to translate Latin into *English*, he can by no means plead a special exemption upon the ground of his being a foreigner, whose native tongue is not *English*. He tells us, p. 25, at the time of his arrival in England, "I had learned English in *my childhood*, and could understand it at this time, without difficulty." P. 15, he shews us that his father must have spoken the language. In 1817, he published at Oxford a series of lectures in English, p. 34. He is also the author of

Doblado's Letters, which are written in a style that would not disgrace the pen of the poet Laureat of England. To assert then that Mr. White could not translate into English with perfect accuracy, any work from a language which he understood equally well, would be absurd. Mr. White knew French, because he informs us that the reading of a considerable portion of his life was in the standard works of that languge. Yet he has falsified Bossuet's meaning in the extracts which he translated, and his attention was chiefly fixed upon the portion which he falsified, and he founded his argument upon the falsification. Where the Bishop of Meaux writes that the King of England is only bound to protect the *external* form and administration of the Protestant Church, as distinguished from aiding its progress in the *minds* and over the *consciences* of his subjects, or giving to it the protection of his own *conscientious assent*, White makes him write that the King "is OSTENSIBLY to leave that religion a free course," and marks the word OSTENSIBLY, so as to fix upon it the attention of his readers, and thus impress them with the idea which is usually, I may say uniformly attached to that word in the English language, that the King was hypocritically to appear to do what he really did not; whereas the Bishop having drawn the distinction which is given above, between protecting its external form and administration on the one hand, and adhering to its errors, or aiding their extension in the minds of the people on the other, he says that the King only promises the first, and not the second protection, and asserts that he is really bound to perform what he promises: if this was not the case, where would be the necessity of inquiring what might be lawfully promised and performed?—When White himself was a hypocrite, he promised and professed every thing; so does every insincere and unprincipled person. But men who have regard for their promises and oaths, and mean to perform what they promise and swear, will be cautious to ascertain the meaning of the oath or of the declaration. Such was the case here; it was not *an ostensible* but *a real* protection which was required, such was also to be promised, and such might also be conscientiously given by preserving the form and establishment, and by keeping the Protestants *really* and not *ostensibly* in possession of tythes, Church-lands, glebes, offerings, fees, schools, colleges, universities and offices. How in the name of ingenuity itself could this be OSTENSIBLE only? Though it was EXTERNAL, it was *real* and not OSTENSIBLE. It is a most shameful perversion: it is not surpassed by that other false translation of a passage of Bossuet by an English Protestant writer, and which Doctor Milner exposed. In that case Bossuet writing of those persons who said that they were of the true Church of Christ, because they were persecuted, used the expression that *toleration* "suffering persecution," was not a distinctive mark of the Church of Christ, and the translator kindly gave it as a proof of the persecuting spirit of the Bishop of Meaux, and of the Catholic Church, "toleration (that is absence of a persecuting spirit) could not be a characteristic of the true Church." Yet these are the writers who arrogate to themselves superior talents, superior information, superior candor, superior liberality, more gentlemanly demeanor, than the Romish ecclesiastics! I call upon Bishop Kemp and his liberal associates to exhibit if they can, any one of those vilified ecclesiastics who has been guilty of such unbecoming mistranslation, in defence of his Church? Have the American Catholic clergy, or any portion of them, so far forgotten their own dignity as to import such productions as this from Europe, to fling with their recommendation into the faces of fellow-citizens of other communions?

After this falsification, and after garbling the document in the text, though by some fatality for himself, he placed the copy in his appendix, he in his remaining paragraph upon the subject, again confounds what had been previously distinguished, as he could not in any other way arrive at the semblance of the conclusion which he desired to draw, viz. that a Catholic ought not to seek admission into the British parliament, and that the Protestant ought not to admit him. Here he assumes what has been so often disproved, viz. that a Catholic is bound by his religion to violate his promise and do an act of political injustice for the benefit of his Church, and that to correct the error of the Protestant he is bound to become a criminal. As to the duty of a member of the British parliament, I shall leave those whom it concerns to regulate [it]. I have but one object in view, which is to shew that the charge of political dishonesty for the benefit of Religion, and the charges of political subserviency to the Pope, for the benefit of the Church, or the diminution of heresy, which White made upon the Roman Catholics of the whole world, were both unfounded and unjust. That object I believe I have attained. I leave to others to say whether a member of any government is authorized by political justice to give to an hierarchy with which one third of the nation is not in communion a revenue drawn from the whole people, and ten times too great for the spiritual necessities of the

United Kingdom at large. I leave also to my fellow-citizens to say whether the Catholics of the United States deserved to have these charges made upon them. Was it generous? Was it just?

In p. 58, White complains that the Church had not made decisions enough for him to quarrel with, that she leaves to her children too much freedom of opinion upon questions of morality. Really this deserves a remark for its very novelty. So the Catholic Church is a tyrannical establishment which leaves her children too great liberty! It was but in the foregoing page he made a Priest deny absolution to an imaginary being, a Catholic member of the British parliament, for merely exercising his own judgment upon his own vote. His casuistry in the first place, is as defective as is his statement in the second. In his succeeding two pages he grossly misrepresents the doctrine of the Church, arguing from the exception made in the usual grant of the Bull of Crusade, that heresy is worse than deliberate murder, because the Priest receives power to absolve the penitent murderer, and does not receive power to absolve the penitent heretic. As well might he conclude, that a city which required that one slightly infected with the small pox should be kept in seclusion, whilst it permitted his friends to visit a man dying of a mortal wound, looked upon the former to be in a more desperate state than the latter. Every one will see that in the first place the seclusion is not founded upon the desperateness of the case but upon the danger of the infection. So in morality, there are some crimes which, though atrocious, will not be the occasions of seduction, whilst others of a far less grade of immorality are more pernicious in their general and unchecked results. The object of the Church in excepting the case of heresy, in those countries which are altogether or almost Catholic, in the grant of jurisdiction, is not the punishment of the penitent, but the discovery by the proper authority of the sources of error that they may be removed, and the ascertaining that the unfortunate victim of delusion has been thoroughly convinced of his error, and is fully instructed in the grounds of the true doctrine. Mr. White, if he knew any thing of theology, must have been aware of this, and therefore was guilty of deliberate misrepresentation; if he was not aware of it, Bishop Kemp and his associates ought not to have told the public of his competency for his task.

As I know nothing of "the old man of the mountain, or of the Prince of the Assassins,"* I can form no opinion upon the subject. But I shall conclude this letter with stating upon Catholic principles what would be the duty of a Catholic legislator in a land inhabited by a people whose religions differ as much as do the hundred religions of the people of England.

I shall first state what constitutes the crime of heresy. It is a wilful and obstinate denial of a truth revealed by God. Faith is the belief of such truth founded upon the divine testimony: Infidelity is the disbelief of that testimony, or the refusal to submit thereto: Heresy, a word derived from the verb αἱρεω "to choose" or "to select" is the admission of the principle that God has made a revelation, but a proud and arrogant choice or selection of some of the revealed tenets, and a wilful and obstinate rejection of the rest. Mr. White and his admirers may, for aught that I know, look upon heresy to be humility, they may consider it to be harmless and inoffensive to God: but I must avow, that I look upon it to be highly criminal and greatly destructive both of truth and of morality; and any person who knows that he thus chooses some of the doctrines, and rejects others revealed by God, is in my estimation a deliberate religious criminal whilst he so continues: but should he even only suspect himself to be in this state, I consider it to be his duty sedulously to inquire and to use all means within his power to discover his true situation, because when God vouchsafes to teach man, it is the solemn duty of man to use every effort to know what he has taught. If a person having laid aside his prejudices, having earnestly besought God by prayer to enlighten and to guide him to the discovery of truth, and then honestly and diligently using the means which are within his reach, shall follow the sincerity of his conviction, though such a person might err in mistaking falsehood for truth, such error is invincible ignorance. White himself would not assert that prejudice ought to form a ground of excuse; he would not assert that sloth or indifference are good grounds of excuse, he would not assert that the person who omitted using any opportunity or mode within his power for the discovery of that truth to which God commanded him to adhere, was innocent. Nothing then but *invincible ignorance* can be a ground of excuse for heresy. If by "unconquerable conviction"

[* Prince of the Assassins. The head of a tribe of religious fanatics inhabiting the hilly country of Persia, South of the Caspian Sea, who had also a Lieutenant in Mount Libanus, and who was exterminated by Holagon Khan, A. D. 1258.—Vid. *Milman's Gibbon*, Vol. iv, p. 253, Harper's Edit.]

White means invincible ignorance, I will freely accord to him that this will be a sufficient excuse. In answer to his last query, "If *sincere conviction* is a valid plea with the Roman Catholic Church, why has she scattered to the wind the ashes of those who allowed that conviction to be tried in her inquisitorial fires?" I beg to observe, that the structure of his question implies a falsehood, *viz.* that the *Roman Catholic Church* has scattered the ashes and lighted the fires. A proper opportunity will occur hereafter for proving the truth of my assertion. I will add that from personal experience, I have known several who under the influence of far less pride than would be requisite in this case, have died making deliberate declarations at perfect variance with their sincere conviction. Mr. White and his associates must excuse me for my avowal of an opinion in which I may be erroneous, that neither Melancthon, Calvin, Grotius or Usher, had a "learned conviction," or any other conviction, of the Roman Catholic religion being what they represented it to be. God, who is the great judge of conscience and who alone can read the heart of man is able to determine the question. I pass no judgment upon them: but if I were to judge from what I have seen, my testimony would be unfavorable to their "learned conviction."

Having thus given as distinctly as I could my remarks upon the nature of heresy, and the contents of Mr. White's pages, 61 and 62, I shall merely add that in a mixed state of society, the duty of a Roman Catholic legislator is to be regulated by the power which is conferred upon him. His duty is to legislate only for the temporal welfare of the State, not upon the religious concerns of the people. In such a government as ours, which happily does not interfere with the religion of the people, and where the people from whom the legislator receives his power, forbid him to legislate upon religious concerns, it would on his part be an usurpation, which would be criminal, to use his power openly or covertly for the checking of heresy, or the elevation of his own Church. The act would be dishonest. In America there cannot arise any question upon this subject, although White's book to the uninformed is calculated to create distrust in Catholic candidates for our legislatures. It is not for me to determine how far Bishop Kemp and his associates intended this effect, neither is it for me to contrast the principle here laid down with the practice of others. In England, the case is different: there the constitution establishes one denomination, and the legislator accepting his place, binds himself to support the constitution, and of course to maintain this establishment. His duty is to observe his contract, and to support the establishment. The Catholic King and Government of France, upon this principle, maintain by the grants of the public money the Protestant and the Jewish establishments of Catholic France. The morality of the Catholic Church will bear the closest investigation. Strict justice, the full observance of contracts, and their most extensive construction in favor of the party upon which the benefit is to be conferred, form the basis of her moral code of intercourse with persons of all religions. She looks upon heresy to be a great crime in those who are its original creators and propagators, she looks upon it to be a great misfortune in those who are its innocent victims. But neither their crime or their mistake is a ground for making them the victims of injustice. Her children never legislated themselves into the property of an older religion, and then mocked, insulted and persecuted and calumniated those whom they plundered.

When Bishop Kemp, or Blanco White shall have proved this crime against Catholic legislators, so far from holding them up as the champions of liberty and the models of religious perfection, I shall blush for my Church until she shall have cast them out from her communion; and should any portion of the plunder be found in my hands, my conscience will have no peace until I shall have made restitution; because I do not hold it to be more lawful for me to rob my neighbor for his Protestantism, than it would be for him to fleece me, because of my Catholicism. Yours, &c. B. C.

Charleston, Jan. 1, 1827.

LETTER XVIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—In his sixty-second and subsequent pages of what he calls his "Evidence," White has the following passage:

"I rejoice to find the dogma of intolerance branded in the *Book of the Roman Catholic Church* with the epithet of DETESTABLE,* but cannot help wondering that a man who thus openly expresses his detestation of that doctrine should still profess obedience to a See, under whose authority the inquisition of Spain was re-established in 1814. If Catholics are so far improved under the Protestant government of England as to be able to *detest* persecution, by what intelligible distinction do they still find it consistent to cling to the source of the intolerance which has inundated Europe with blood, and still shows its old disposition

* Page 303, 1st ed. Page 254, Am. ed.

unchanged, wherever it preserves an exclusive influence? In what church did Spain learn the necessity of forbidding her subjects, *forever*, the right of choosing their religious tenets, and that at the very moment when she was proclaiming a *free* constitution? Who has induced the republican governments of Spanish America to copy the same odious law in their new codes?—That Church no doubt, who looks complacently on such acts and declarations, in countries where even her silence stamps public doctrines with the character of truth. Yes; the '*detestable dogma of religious intolerance*' is publicly and solemnly proclaimed in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church, without a single observation against it from the Pope or Bishops of that Church; nay, the legislators themselves are forced to proclaim and sanction it against their own conviction, because the mass of the people are allowed by the Church to understand that such are their duty and her belief.

"If the Roman Catholic Church can thus allow *detestable dogmas* to act in full force within the inmost recesses of her bosom, those Catholics who differ from her notions, so far as her apologist, Mr. Butler, might guide themselves in religious matters without the assistance of her infallibility. That able writer allows himself to be blinded by the spirit of party, when he labors to prove that intolerance does not belong exclusively to his Church; and charges Protestants with persecution. That Protestants did not at once perceive the full extent of the fundamental principle of the reformation—the inherent right of every man to judge for himself on matters of faith—can neither invalidate the truth of that luminous principle, nor bind subsequent Protestants to limit its application. It is a melancholy truth, that Protestants did persecute at one time; but it is a truth which rivets the accusation of inherent and essential intolerance upon that Church, whose erroneous doctrines the patriarchs of the reformation could not cast off at once. Thanks be to the protecting care of that Providence, which, through them, prepared the complete emancipation from religious tyranny which Protestants enjoy at this moment; the *infallibility* of their churches made no part of the common belief on which they agreed from the beginning, or the spirit of intolerance would only have changed its name among us. The dogma of an infallible judge of religious subjects is the true source of bigotry; and whoever believes it in his heart, is necessarily and conscientiously a persecutor. A *fallible* Church can use no compulsion. If she claim 'authority' on matters of faith, it is to declare her own creed to those who are *willing* to be her members. The *infallible judge*, on the contrary, looks on his pretended gift as a miraculous, divine commission, to stop the progress of what he condemns as an error. He persecutes and punishes dissenters, not because they cannot be convinced by his reasons, but for obstinate resistance to his supernatural authority. Rome never doomed her opponents to the flames for their errors, but for their *contumacy*. It is by this means that she has been able so often to extinguish sympathy in the breasts of her followers; for error excites compassion, while rebellion never fails to kindle indignation."

In this extract we find the following assertions or propositions to be contained, or palpably insinuated, viz:

1. That the detestation of intolerance cannot exist in that Church, under whose authority, the inquisition of Spain was established in 1814.

2. That if the Catholics of England and Ireland detest intolerance, they ought not to cling to the See of Rome, which is the source of intolerance.

3. That if the British and Irish Catholics detest intolerance, they are improved by having been under their Protestant government.

4. That the Roman Catholic Church shows its old disposition of persecution unchanged, wheresoever it has exclusive influence.

5. That the Roman Catholic Church induced Spain and the South American governments, to forbid their subjects and citizens for ever to choose their religious tenets, at the very moment that they proclaimed free constitutions, and that this was an odious act.

6. That she did all this mischief by her silence; neither Pope nor Bishop lifting his voice against the detestable act.

7. That the legislators were obliged to make those laws against their own conviction, because the Church left the people under an impression that such was their duty.

8. That they who assert that intolerance does not belong exclusively to the Catholic Church are blinded by party spirit.

9. That the Catholic Church is answerable for the persecution of her own children by Protestants, when at *one time* the Protestants did persecute.

10. That Protestants do not believe their Church is infallible, and therefore can use no compulsion.

11. That an an infallible judge of doctrine considers himself divinely commissioned to stop the progress of error.

12. That Rome never doomed her opponents to the flames for their errors, but for their contumacy.

Believe me, my friends, when in the sincerity of my soul I assure you, that I never approached any subject with awe and disgust, equal to what I now feel at the necessity of examining and exhibiting the result of the examination of those propositions. Would to God, I could do so without the

harrowing of soul which is produced by heartless men who force us to recollect what we would strive to forget!! I believe that several of my Protestant fellow-citizens read these letters. Let me assure them in all the sincerity of soul, that I do not attribute to them as a body, nor to their Churches, at present, the horrid sentiments which if I were disposed to act like Blanco White, and Bishop Kemp, and Dr. Wilmer and their associates, I could with strict logical justice charge upon almost every Protestant Church in the United States; whilst I shall also show that by no principle of logic, by no rule of right reason, could the Catholic Church be charged with what those assailants have thought proper to impute to her.

I would once for all address my Protestant fellow-citizens to the following effect:

"FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—Your fathers have been led to separate themselves from our fathers, and to charge upon them several religious errors. Your fathers were invited to cast off the superstitions and the impostures which they were told our fathers and they had been slaves to. They were invited to search the Scriptures, that in them they might find the knowledge of truth. They took up the sacred volume, and in their search for truth, which is one and indivisible, they have been separated into hundreds of sects, all contradicting each other. Centuries have elapsed, and the progress of years only multiplies your divisions; even you, yourselves have so far lost all hope of discovering in those sacred books an uniform and a consistent declaration of truth, that in your despair of effecting it, you have adopted the extraordinary conclusion that, although you could not remain in our communion, because we held erroneous doctrine, still you may agree to contradict each other in harmony and affection. This evil is not of your own creation. But whilst you thus despair of union, and are multiplying your divisions and your contradictions, we, by following up the same principle which kept your progenitors and ours during centuries in a happy union of belief and affection, are still an united body, though spread through every nation of the universe; and we still hold as the standard of our faith, not only the sacred volume of the inspired writings, but every decision which our predecessors, during eighteen centuries, have given for its explanation.

"We do not think that we ought to abandon this host of evidence; and should we leave it, we know not whither to have recourse for any testimony of nearly equal value.

"But it is not the chief ground of my appeal and remonstrance, that we are told that it is erroneous, on our part, to hold fast to this principle; no, I complain that we are grossly misrepresented to you. Your fathers and ours have unfortunately not kept within the bounds of moderation, or of decorum, or of justice, or charity. They have persecuted each other. Do not imagine that I intend to wound your feelings, when I assert that I could easily prove that in the mutual persecutions which occurred, and still are occurring, our fathers have suffered, and our brethren are suffering ten-fold more than they inflicted. My first cause of complaint then is, that the Roman Catholics are said to be the sole, if not the principal, aggressors. My next complaint is, that from inferences sought to be drawn from our tenets and our acts, it is attempted to be proved that we must in principle be persecutors. Far be it from me to charge you with being persecutors upon principle. On the contrary, I give this public testimony to your general feelings of liberality, and to your many acts of kindness to Roman Catholics in many parts of this Union, although it has happened, as it must happen in all large bodies, that there are amongst you men, whose virulent spirit would lead them to be persecutors, if they had the power. However, as those arguments which they use can, I think, be best met by turning their principle against themselves; allow me to exhibit how easily upon that principle it can be shown that Protestants are bound by their religious tenets to persecute Catholics. If, then, we find that, although such a conclusion flows from your books, and the acts of your fathers; still it is neither your practice as a body, nor your disposition as individuals; we might obtain from you in return a like acknowledgment in our regard, and thus the rhapsody of those mischievous men who seek to excite you against us, may cease to produce any effect, save that of placing themselves in that point of view which is their proper station.

"In my deductions, then, although I shall prove that your books and the acts of members of the Protestant communions, would exhibit the most marked spirit of intolerance, my object is peace and harmony, not irritation and reproach, and I altogether disclaim any intention of charging intolerance upon either any one Church, or the aggregate of the Protestant Churches of the United States. But I desire to create harmony, if I can, by my putting to silence, if possible, those who charge the Catholics with intolerance and persecution."

Having given this prefatory explanation to my Protestant fellow-citizens, I proceed to examine the assertion of Mr. White's paragraph.

His first proposition is founded upon a falsehood. It was not under the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, but under the authority of King Ferdinand VII, of Spain, that the inquisition was established in 1814. But this re-established tribunal has not burned, or hanged, or beheaded any Protestant as far as I could learn. Again, when that tribunal was abolished by the Cortes, and Ferdinand or some of his courtiers desired its re-establishment about two years since, the Pope used all his influence in favor of its suppression, and it has not been re-established. This was so notorious a fact, that it could not have escaped White's knowledge, and therefore his first proposition contains an injurious suppression of truth, and a bold suggestion of falsehood.

Respecting his second proposition, in so far as it assumes that Rome is more intolerant than Canterbury, I shall in the sequel prove it to be a most unfounded charge. At present, all the Protestant Archbishops in the world vote regularly to keep in force a code of persecution against the British and Irish Catholics. The See of Rome persecutes no one on account of religion. I call upon Bishop Kemp and his associates to name the people, or the individual now persecuted for conscience' sake by the See of Rome.

The third assertion is the most unfortunate which could have been made, because that government which has now during nearly three centuries been the most unrelenting and sanguinary in its inflictions upon the score of religion is not the best calculated to teach toleration. However, there is one meaning which the isolated proposition might have, whose truth I willingly admit, but that is not the meaning which it bears in White's context, viz. that the intolerance of the Protestant Government of Great Britain and Ireland has created in the British and Irish Catholics an extraordinary detestation of the principle of intolerance; as no person will more strongly detest injustice than he who being naturally just has also been grievously afflicted by the injustice of others. In this way, indeed, perhaps there has been strength added to the natural detestation of intolerance, which has always characterized the Irish nation, and which is common to British and Irish Catholics.

Respecting the fourth assertion, I beg leave to assure the Prelate and his associates, that the Roman Catholic Church has no disposition to persecute, that it had not at any time such a disposition, and that it does not show it in any one place, and consequently not in those places where it has exclusive influence. Let us go to Rome, and ask, are the Protestants in that city persecuted? Through all Italy, in Austria, in France, that Church has exclusive influence, and I defy the Prelate and his party to adduce a single case of such manifestation as they charge. I say the same of Bavaria; I say the same of Portugal. I ask how many have suffered persecution for their religion from the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico? in Colombia? in Brazil? or on the whole continent of South America? Let them name the Protestants who have suffered, and I pledge myself to name a plundered and persecuted Catholic in Maryland, and a Catholic priest put to death for his religion under Elizabeth, for every such name they may adduce. The American people are not to be treated like infants. They are not to be terrified with stories of a raw-head and bloody bones. They have sound sense, keen discrimination, calm and reflecting understanding; they are accustomed to the examination of evidence; and the vague and general and sweeping assertions, which would satisfy the mind of honest John Bull, will not pass current with Jonathan. I cannot call upon Mr. White, who is not here, to give facts; but I call upon those who have linked their character to his assertions to do so.

It will be observed, that I have omitted Spain in the above enumeration. I will now adduce Spain herself. Not many months ago, the papers contained an account of a Spanish *Auto da fe*, and told us, for the discredit of the nineteenth century, that a Jew had been burned for his religion in Spain, in the year 1826. I now, upon the authority of the European journals, pronounce this to be a vile fabrication of the remnant of French Infidels, who, not content with having made their own fine country the prey of wild anarchy, because of their hatred to religion, now endeavor to assail the Church in Spain, under the pretext of reforming the government. I ask, then, what Protestant has suffered persecution in Spain? I shall give you names upon names from England, from Ireland, from Switzerland, and from other places. I call upon those good men to show me in this last quarter of a century any case of Catholic persecution of Protestants, in any part of the world, to equal the single case of Mr. Haller, in Switzerland.*

The fourth assertion is a vague, unsupported charge, which I am prepared to rebut, when an attempt shall be made to support it by proof.

The fifth assertion has more semblance of truth than has any of the others. It is true that the Roman Catholic Church teaches, that whilst man is free to adopt any civil

* See Appendix. No. 2.

constitution which may be most useful to the general body, she declares that it now is, and ever will be unlawful for any man, or set of men to choose which of the revealed tenets he will preserve, and which he will reject. It is a principle of natural reason that man has no right to reject truth and to choose error, because adherence to truth is one of his fundamental and original obligations. It is also a principle of Christianity that every tenet given by Christ is true. It necessarily follows that although man may be at liberty to choose his form of civil government, he has no right of choice and never can have such right respecting the tenets of religion which God has revealed. Although therefore I do not admit the fact that the Roman Catholic Church induced Spain and South America to forbid this choice, I am satisfied to assume all the consequences of admitting that they were so induced. I would advise the persons who adopt Blanco White's assertions to make the same charge upon N. Carolina and New Jersey, which allow no choice of Catholicism without disqualification.

It is a very extraordinary mode of persecution to be silent, yet this is the extent of the sixth assertion. Great Britain exhibits it in another mode, and when I come to contrast Protestant persecution with Catholic, we shall find that the Protestant Churches knew how to speak. If the Church should speak against persecution, it would be then perhaps charged, if her advice was followed, that the people were priest-ridden. I once knew a parish priest in Ireland, who was in danger of being hanged because he interfered successfully with some Catholic insurgents and saved the life of a Protestant opponent, upon whom they were about to execute very summary justice or injustice. It was said, that other Protestant and Catholic loyalists had been put to death, and it was evident that this priest, as he saved one man whom he saw, could, if he would, have saved those whom he did not see; as he did not, he was guilty of their blood, and ought to be hanged. Upon the next application of Catholics for emancipation, it was argued in Parliament from a few facts of this description, that the Catholics ought not to be emancipated, because they were so far slaves to their priests that they were unfit for freedom. A Protestant friend to emancipation, observed in jest to one of his acquaintance, that he would advise the priests to inform their flocks that there was no chance of their obtaining justice until they violated every law of the decalogue, and every ordinance of the Church, to show their fitness for freedom. This is a miserable subterfuge; we shall pass to the next.

In sober sadness, I would ask, can those men who join White in complaining that a legislator has conformed to the will of his constituents, be American citizens? Thus, what is the jet of this proof of persecution? The people tell their legislators, that they want no choice of religious tenets; the legislators adopt the language of the people in their enactment. Who has been persecuted? Is it the people who call for the article? Is it the legislature that enacted it? Upon what evidence is it stated that this was done against the conviction of those who did it? There is no proof of the truth of the assertion, but there is *prima facie* evidence of its falsehood: and the principle of the complaint [contained in it] is a direct attack upon the rights of the people.

I have already made this letter so long that I do not wish to enter upon any examination of the remaining assertions until my next. Yours, &c. B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 8, 1827.

LETTER XIX.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I shall dwell very slightly at present upon the eighth assertion in the passage which I last quoted from White's work, viz. "That they who assert that intolerance does not belong exclusively to our Church are blinded by party spirit." The proposition is divisible into these parts. 1, The Roman Catholic Church is intolerant. If the meaning of this is, that she cannot tolerate that error should be taught as truth, I am very free to admit its correctness, and that of the other parts, because indeed, she, and she only, makes it a condition for her communion that you shall receive all truth and reject all error: whilst almost every other Church, with truth and error before you, allows you to select pretty freely. In general there are some tenets which each peculiar division insists upon, and some others which it requires you to reject; but as respects the great bulk of doctrine you may please yourself. Thus the Episcopalian Protestant requires that the order and character and government of Bishops be recognized, but as regards the doctrine of the Eucharist, each person is left free to choose any one of the variety of methods which have been devised to explain the words, "This is my body." Neither is it necessary to conform to any particular standard as to a variety of other doctrines concerning which it is acknowledged specific tenets were taught by the Saviour. But this is not what is meant by the intolerance which White and his abettors charge upon the Catholics exclusively:

the word in his context means *persecution*, or the infliction of temporal pains or penalties. I then deny that the Roman Catholic Church does inflict persecution for errors in faith, although Roman Catholic temporal governors and legislators did at times inflict them, not generally for the error, but for its consequences to civil society. White himself says that Rome never doomed her victims to the flames for their errors.

The 2nd part of the assertion is that our Church only was thus intolerant. I have denied that the Church persecuted; it is not my business to prove the negative, it is their business to prove the truth of their assertion; when they attempt it, I shall meet them, if God spares my life. Now I assert that Protestant governments were and are intolerant.

I shall not adduce the examples of ages long gone. I shall not leave Bishop Kemp much trouble. I say the Protestant government of Maryland was intolerant. I say, the Protestant colonial governments of New England and Virginia, and of the Carolinas, of Georgia, and of New York, were intolerant. At this day the Protestant governments of North Carolina and of New Jersey are intolerant. In Europe the Catholic government of France is tolerant, the Protestant government of England is persecuting. I will not go farther at present, though I could add to the catalogue at each side. With those facts before their eyes, how could those pastors of Churches, make to the American people, through Blanco White, that third part of their assertion, that the declaration of those facts could be made only by persons *blinded by party spirit?* I apprehend my readers will think the party spirit might be found on the other side.

The ninth assertion is indeed the most extraordinary that ever issued from the pen of any writer. When it became too evident for the most hardy to deny, that Protestant reformers and governments did persecute Catholics and each other, the miserable subterfuge was taken of asserting that this was done only by the patriarchs of the reformation, who had not sufficiently laid aside the bad principles of Popery, and thus Popery, and not Protestantism, was justly chargeable with the atrocity. Maclaine, in a note which he appends to his translation of Mosheim, gives it as the excuse for Calvin's procuring the burning of Servetus.* The assertion is one of those whose very boldness almost astounds so as to unfit the mind for examining its foundation: however it is one whose very absurdity is so apparent, that we need only contemplate, we need not reason for its refutation. In whom is the spirit of Protestantism to be found, if not in Luther, in Calvin, in Cranmer, in Beza, in Knox? Will Bishop Kemp and his associates blush for the conduct of their leaders? Surely those great lights of religion are not to be called Roman Catholics, whilst they endeavor to demolish the Roman Catholic Church? [In this case,] they would now be rejected by both Catholics and Protestants. Suppose in addition to all the crimes imputed to us, or if they will, committed by us or our forefathers, we take the crimes of their patriarchs upon our shoulders; still an enormous load remains to be disposed of. Did the persons who persecuted the English Puritans, bring their principles from our Church? Did the Puritans who persecuted the Episcopalians, bring their principles from our Church? Was it from our Church they to whom the Maryland Catholics gave a place of refuge from their mutual destroyers, and elevated to an equality with themselves, learned to unite against their generous hosts, and repay their affection by a plundering persecution? Was it our Church taught the English nonconformists to persecute the Bishops, and those Bishops and their adherents to persecute the non-conformists? Was it our Church taught them both to unite in devising against herself the most atrocious code of systematic persecution that any legislator [has ever] enacted, or any savage executed? Is it the Catholic Church which teaches the British house of Lords to continue to persecute her own children? Let those questions be answered before the assertion be again made without a blush. But there is a disingenuousness in the admission of the writer, which is more discreditable than even if he had been silent. "When at *one time* the Protestants did persecute." Let him name a day from the origin of the secession from our Church, and their obtaining the aid of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and other princes, to the present day, on which they did not persecute more or less extensively. Thus the *one time*, began three centuries ago, and God only can say when it will terminate.

The tenth is but the assertion of a principle, as flowing from an acknowledged fact; the truth of which is freely admitted, viz. "Protestants do not believe their Church infallible, and therefore can use no compulsion." I would only suggest the correct conclusion, "and therefore ought not to use compulsion." In the name of all that is extraordinary, how can a Protestant charge a Catholic with error, if neither that Protestant, nor his Church, is infallibly certain of what is truth? How can one Protestant say that another errs or mistakes, when he has no certainty that he

* See Appendix. No. 3.

is himself right? Upon what principle do the Constitutions of North Carolina and New Jersey exclude Catholics from offices? Yet we have before us abundant evidence of three centuries of persecution inflicted by Protestants upon Papists for their errors!!! We shall see, at another time, the pretty names which we are called in confessions of faith and books of homilies, and catechisms printed and published in the United States, by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of several Protestant denominations, within the few years of the present century.

But this assertion is made by the very man who tells the parliament of England, that the Duke of Norfolk ought not to be admitted to his seat amongst the peers of England, because he is a *Roman Catholic.* Shall I be answered that I am *blinded by party spirit* if I say this is *intolerance and inconsistency?* This is the man who stated the necessity of a political incarceration for the fellow-countrymen and fellow-religionists of his ancestors, *because they would not apostatize from the Roman Catholic religion.* Shall I be told that I am *blinded by party spirit*, if when I see a Protestant government, and a Protestant hierarchy reduce the principle to practice, I say, that intolerance does not belong exclusively to the Roman Catholic Church? What a multiplicity of contradictions is he involved in, who undertakes to defend a bad cause? Did the Right Rev. and Rev. approbators give their attention to this passage? Will they undertake to reconcile contradictions?

The eleventh assertion is, "that an infallible judge of doctrine considers himself divinely commissioned to stop the progress of error." I shall upon this, remark that the judicial and the executive powers are not always united; hence it does not follow that because the Church has received a divine commission to decide with infallible certainty as to what doctrine God has revealed, she has also a divine commission to execute the process for checking the error in any other way than by her judicial decision. But though White's logic is bad, yet in truth the Church does hold a divine commission to execute the sentence of the judicial tribunal. But another very obvious question remains, *viz.* To what can that sentence extend? I assert that it cannot extend to life, or to limb, or to any compulsory, corporeal infliction, or to any civil pains or disfranchisements, or to any pecuniary mulct. The authority which the Church has and claims is purely spiritual, and these are inflictions by virtue of temporal power, which the Church does not possess or claim, except by compact or concession.

The infallible judge of doctrine is then divinely commissioned to stop the progress of error, by spiritual power, and not by any persecution or temporal or civil punishment. If the good gentleman will produce to me any canon of the Church which decides that it is our doctrine that the Church or council has the power of inflicting penalties of such a nature, let them be produced; until they are so produced, let the charge be considered not proved, denied, unfounded.

Here, though I would by no means be thought to justify or to palliate the acts of a persecutor because he was a Catholic, I may very clearly point out an enormous aggravation which necessarily, from the very nature of the case, and by White's avowal, marks the crime of the Protestant persecutor. The Catholic having the testimony of truth from what he believes to be an infallible tribunal, has no doubt of the correctness of his own doctrine and is certain that his opponent is in error. When he persecutes this opponent, he is convinced that if even by this mode he can procure his change of belief he will do the sufferer a spiritual good: and he feels that he is only endeavoring to eradicate error, and to establish truth. The Protestant persecutor, on the other hand, having no infallible guide, is liable to err: he cannot be certain that he holds the true doctrine, it is possible the truth may be on the side of the sufferer. Thus he is exposed to the hazard of wresting the truth of God, and banishing his doctrine from the earth as far as in him lies. I would call each persecutor a criminal, but White himself must acknowledge that the Protestant is far more criminal, not because of the greater liberality of his Church, which we shall find not to be the case; but because he acts, not from a plain certainty that his is the cause of truth and of God, because for that, he must claim to be infallible; but from his attachment to perhaps an erroneous opinion.

In the case of Great Britain the crime of the Protestant is still farther aggravated. The Catholic doctrine was universally prevalent, it was handed down from generation to generation as what Christ had taught, it was conformable to what the great bulk of Christendom had received from preceding generations, and all testified to have been the system established by the Redeemer: the Protestants introduced what was then a novelty, asserting that it was what had originally been given, but subsequently lost; and to support their assertion they gave *their opinion* that such was the meaning of the scriptures, avowing that *in this opinion they might be under a delusion*, because they

were not infallible. The Catholics told them that in fact they were mistaken in the interpretations which they gave the text; and that they not only had the testimony of their progenitors, and the bulk of Christendom to support this assertion, but that they had the judicial decision of the tribunal which from the earliest ages had been considered the infallible witness of the proper meaning of the Scriptures, in their own favor. But, aided by the civil power, those very Protestants who admit the possibility of their error, persecute the Catholics who say they cannot be wrong, because they will not abandon this host of evidence to embrace opinions which they look upon as erroneous, and whose very originators and abettors avow [that they] might possibly be wrong. Yet White vindicates this process, and still declaims against persecution; and I blush to add; his book is published with official approbation in the United States, by men who would be considered liberal and charitable!!!

White's twelfth assertion was, "that Rome never doomed her opponents to the flames for their errors, but for their contumacy." So, then, White contradicts all those who assert that Rome burns people for their erroneous doctrines! Really this from him is a very precious admission. Why I have read productions which are as firmly believed as is the Gospel by millions of our fellow-citizens, relating the horrid sufferings of persons burned *for their imputed errors*, by Rome; and I have no doubt but honest John Bull, who really has a soft heart, has shed as many tears as would extinguish all the fires of all the *auto da fes* of Spain and Italy over the detail of those sufferings. How many a thunderer from stump or pulpit, at our own side of the Atlantic has horrified his auditory by the appalling recital? How general is the impression at this very moment through these States, that Rome would if she could burn every one who holds what she calls error? But now White tells us that she never doomed them to flames for their error!!! But she did it for their contumacy. Here then I close with the abettors and applauders of White, and I ask Bishop Kemp to furnish the public with the name of any one person of the religion professed by him or by any one of his associates, whom Rome ever doomed to the flames. I wish to meet the opponents of my Church openly and plainly upon fair ground, before the American public. Before that tribunal I love to plead: for although the current of public opinion, and of public feeling is strongly running against my side of the question, I know, that if I can once get the mind of America to examine the case fully and fairly, I shall have ample justice. Here then is a bold statement that Rome has doomed her opponents to the flames. The assertion has been made so frequently and in so many ways, as to create upon the public mind the impression that this is, or at least was an usual occurrence, that it was systematic and flowing from principle. If true, it is susceptible of proof: that proof is easy: it consists merely in enumerating names, and relating the circumstances. I now call publicly for the proof. What are the names of those Protestants or other religious opponents whom Rome condemned to the flames? What contumacy arising from error did they exhibit? What was the alleged error of the sufferer? Under what Pope, and in what year was he doomed to the flames? Was he burned? In what credible history is the statement to be read? I call upon Bishop Kemp and his associates, and to them I say, "produce your proof, or be silent, and convicted of having made a horrible charge which you cannot substantiate, a charge which is untrue. I charge you with having calumniated the Roman government, and the Roman Catholic Church. The Editors of the Miscellany have promised to insert your specifications in answer to my questions, if you furnish them: thus you can have no excuse for your neglect, neither is it a trivial and an unimportant concern, that you have wantonly assailed by the republication and adoption of White's calumnies, more than two hundred thousand of your fellow-citizens. Give then the names and the particulars, and save your names from the result of your charge and your neglect; neither can it be an excuse for you, that I do not affix my name to this demand; that name, humble as it is, shall never be withheld when circumstances may require its manifestation; for the present it is enough that you have assailed a body of which I am one, and you are answerable to every or any one of us, until you shall have proved that we are guilty, and that you are innocent. You have not only aspersed our moral character, and flung contumely upon our understandings; but you have endeavored to exhibit us as monsters, unfit for the participation of those rights and liberties which we hold in common with yourselves. You have done this to a body of which I am an individual member, and I call upon you for the proof of one of the most trivial of your assertions. Your respect for own character demands from you the proof, if you possess it. You have but to write and transmit it, and it shall be published."

I have thus disposed for the present of the passage so far as regards your own Church.

It is time before I enter upon other topics to try the Churches of some of the Protestant champions, by the same principle which they have used for our annoyance. This I shall do in my next letter, promising that I shall lean very lightly upon them, unless I should see good cause for being more severe.

Yours, &c. B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 15, 1827.

LETTER XX.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—In this letter, I shall lay before you a very few facts, and refer to a few documents, for the purpose of showing how easily, if we were so disposed, we might treat the Churches of our opponents as they are in the habit of treating ours; and perhaps, unpleasant as the experiment is, we may find that carrying the war into their own dominions, would more speedily insure for us an honorable peace, and reduce to silence those who have no charitable disposition towards us. I shall begin with the religion of the file-leader of our opponents. Bishop Kemp states, that in spiritual concerns his religion is the same as that of the Church of England. Suppose I were to assert that the detestation of intolerance cannot exist in that Church under whose authority the Catholics were persecuted in the year 1826, and then produce the penal laws of the British government against Catholics, which laws the commons of Great Britain desired to have repealed, and the clergy petitioned to have continued, and which the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England exerted themselves successfully to keep in force. I would add to this, the fact, that Bishop Kemp and several other clergymen of this Church recommended to the American public a book published in England in the previous year, the object of which was to call upon the legislature of England to continue the persecution, and to justify its intolerance. Can the leader of our opponents make out against the Catholics a case like this? Did the French Catholic clergy petition their legislatures to withhold any of their rights from the French Protestants? Did the Archbishops and Bishops of France who are Catholics, vote against granting equal rights to their Protestant fellow subjects? Did they not vote in favor of such grants, and did they not give their consent to the paying of the Protestant clergy, and to granting in several instances to the Protestants Churches, which had been built with the money of Catholics for Catholic worship: whilst in Ireland the Catholics are by force deprived of the Churches which their ancestors built, and which are capable of containing the thousands of Catholics, who are, for want of better accommodation, obliged to kneel in the fields, and in the streets outside their own buildings, which are far too small and too few for their numbers; whilst in the edifices from which they have been driven, sometimes a dozen, sometimes, perhaps, one hundred persons are seen scattered over an area in which they appear to be lost. In the Cathedrals of Dublin, which are the best attended, only that part which the Catholics used as the choir and sanctuary, are occupied by the Protestants, who have the present possession, and very frequently that portion is not half filled with the occupants of pews, and the vast aisles and transepts which were destined to accommodate the laity, are a gloomy desert, separated from this diminished place of worship, whilst large buildings erected by the Catholics have a succession of masses from day-break till the afternoon, in order to afford the opportunity of successive attendance to seven or eight congregations, who are crowded together upon the floors, in the galleries, and the streets in the vicinity. Is it a spirit of toleration which deprives the Catholics of their Churches, the possession of which is a standing reproach to the unjust retainers?

Suppose I desired to be as unjust towards members of the associate Church and the reformed, as some of their ministers who sent forth Blanco White's book, were to us. I need only take their "Confession of Faith," published in 1813, by Woodward, in Philadelphia, and copy therefrom "the solemn league and covenant" which is found in p. 411—a very few extracts from which I shall give here.

They swear, "II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavor the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, deans, deacons, and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers, depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of Godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms," (viz. England, Scotland and Ireland.)

In p. 393, is found the national covenant (of Scotland) or the confession of faith, subscribed by the king in 1580, and by persons of all ranks in 1581, and again in 1590, and by barons, noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers and commoners in 1638,

approved by the general assembly (*general council*) in 1639, and in that year signed again by persons of all ranks and qualities, and ratified by an act of parliament upon the supplication of the general assembly in the year 1640, and to which King Charles II was obliged to affix his signature at Scone, in 1650.

By this, all persons are required to profess and affirm, "before God and the whole world, that this ONLY is the true Christian faith and religion, pleasing to God, and bringing salvation to man." It is also called "God's eternal truth, and only ground of our salvation."

From this document we may judge of the intolerance of those who penned and subscribed the confession of faith: take an extract.

"And therefore we abhor and detest all contrary religion and doctrine; but chiefly all kind of Papistry in general and particular heads, even as they are now damned and confuted by the word of God and kirk of Scotland. But, in special, we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the scriptures of God, upon the kirk, the civil magistrates, and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty; his erroneous doctrine against the sufficiency of the written word, the perfection of the law, the office of Christ, and his blessed evangel; his corrupted doctrine concerning original sin, our natural inability and rebellion to God's law, our justification by faith only, our imperfect santification and obedience to the law; the nature, number, and use of the holy sacraments; his five bastard sacraments, with all his rites, ceremonies, and false doctrine, added to the ministration of the true sacraments without the word of God; his cruel judgment against infants departing without the sacrament; his absolute necessity of baptism; his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation, or real presence of Christ's body in the elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men; his dispensation with solemn oaths, perjuries, and degrees of marriage forbidden in the word; his cruelty against the innocent divorced; his devillish mass; his blasphemous priesthood; his profane sacrifice for sins of the dead and the quick; his canonization of men; calling upon angels or saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics, and crosses; dedicating of kirks, altars, days; vows to creatures; his purgatory, prayers for the dead; praying or speaking in a strange language, with his processions and blasphemous litany, and multitude of advocates or mediators; his manifold orders; auricular confession; his desperate and uncertain repentance; his general and doubtsome faith; his satisfactions of men for their sins; his justification by works, *opus operatum*, works of supererogation, merits, pardons, peregrinations, and stations; his holy water, baptising of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, sayning, anointing, conjuring, hallowing of God's good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joined therewith; his worldly monarchy, and wicked hierarchy; his three solemn vows, with all his shavellings of sundry sorts, his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers or approvers of that cruel and bloody band, conjured against the kirk of God. And finally, we detest all his vain allegories, rites, signs, and traditions brought in the kirk, without or against the word of God, and doctrine of this true reformed kirk; to the which we join ourselves willingly, in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as lively members of the same in Christ our head: promising and swearing by the great name of the LORD our GOD, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our own vocation and power, all the days of our lives; under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment.

"And seeing that many are stirred up by Satan, and that Roman Antichrist, to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy sacraments in the kirk deceitfully, against their own conscience; minding hereby, first, under the external cloak of religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion within the kirk: and afterward, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Pope's dispensation, devised against the word of God, to his greater confusion, and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus: we therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his kirk, protest, and call the Searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath, and subscription: so that we are not moved with any worldly respect, but are persuaded only in our conscience, through the knowledge and love of God's true religion imprinted in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed."

This extract not only contains such intolerance as I defy the associated assailants of our Church to produce a worse from any quarter; but it does more, for it makes false and calumnious charges upon the Roman Catholic Church. For instance, I would ask what were the *bloody decrees* made at Trent? And upon what do they ground the atrocious charge of hypocritical deceit in using the sacraments of the kirk against Catholics? And upon what do they found the charge of the Papal dispensations for hypocrisy, and deceit, and sacrilege?

The following extract will exhibit not only the spirit of the ecclesiastical body that drew

up the Confession of Faith, but also the spirit of the legislature which enacted the laws therein recited; it is taken from the same Confession of Faith.

"Like as many acts of Parliament, not only in general do abrogate, annul, and rescind all laws, statutes, acts, constitutions, canons, civil or municipal, with all other ordinances, and practique penalties whatsoever, made in prejudice of the true religion, and professors thereof; or of the true kirk, discipline, jurisdiction, and freedom thereof; or in favor of idolatry and superstition, or of the Papistical kirk: As Act 3, 31. Parl. 1. Act 23. Parl. 11. Act 114. Parl. 11, of King James VI. That papistry and superstition may be utterly suppressed, according to the intention of the Acts of Parliament, repeated in the 5th Act, Parl. 20, King James VI. And to that end they ordain all Papists and Priests to be punished with manifold civil and ecclesiastical pains, as adversaries to God's true religion, preached, and by law established, within this realm, act 24, Parl. 11, King James VI; as common enemies to all Christian government, act 18. Parl. 16. King James VI; as rebellers and gainstanders of our sovereign Lord's authority, act 47. Parl. 3. King James VI; and as idolaters, act 104. Parl. 7. King James VI. But also, in particular, by and attour the Confession of Faith, do abolish and condemn the Pope's authority and jurisdiction out of this land, and ordains the maintainers thereof to be punished, act 2. Parl. 1. act 51. Parl. 3. act 106. Parl. 7. act 114. Parl. 12. King James VI, do condemn the Pope's erroneous doctrine, or any other erroneous doctrine repugnant to any of the articles of the true and Christian religion, publicly preached, and by law established in this realm; and ordains the spreaders and makers of books or libels, or letters or writs of that nature, to be punished, act 46. Parl. 3. act 106. Parl. 7. act 24. Parl. 11. King James VI, do condemn all baptism conform to the Pope's kirk, and the idolatry of the mass; and ordains all sayers, wilful hearers, and concealers of the mass, the maintainers and resetters of the priests, Jesuits, trafficking Papists, to be punished without any exception or restriction, acts 5. Parl. 1. act 120. Parl. 12. act 164. Parl. 13. act 193. Parl. 14. act. 1. Parl. 19. act 5. Parl. 20. King James VI, do condemn all erroneous books and writs containing erroneous doctrine against the religion presently professed, or containing superstitious rites and ceremonies, Papistical, whereby the people are greatly abused, and ordains the home-bringers of them to be punished, act 25, Parl. 11. King James VI, do condemn the monuments and dregs of bygone idolatry, as going to crosses, observing the festival days of saints, and such other superstitions and Papistical rites, to the dishonor of God, contempt of true religion, and fostering of great error among the people; and ordains the users of them to be punished for the second fault, as idolaters, act 104. Parl. 7. King James VI."

The Presbyterian Church of the United States published their "Confession of Faith" in the year 1821. It was published in Philadelphia by Anthony Finley. In p. 125, under the head *Of the Church*, the 2d article, is the following:

"II. The visible Church, which is also Catholic or universal under the gospel, (not confined to one nation as before, under the law) consists of all those throughout the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of their Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, *out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.*"

Art. V. p. 127. "The purest Churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error: and some have so degenerated, as to become no Churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan."

Art. VI. "There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of *Rome* in any sense be head thereof; but is that Anti-Christ, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church, against Christ, and all that is called God."

But this is still farther exhibited in chap. xxiv, p. 121, *Of marriage and divorce.* Sect. II: "It is lawful for all sorts of people to marry who are able with judgment to give their consent, yet it is the duty of Christians to marry only in the Lord. And therefore such as profess the true reformed religion, should not marry with INFIDELS, PAPISTS, OR OTHER IDOLATERS: neither should such as are godly, be unequally yoked, by marrying with such as are notoriously wicked in their life, or maintain damnable heresies."

I shall follow up this no longer. For the present, I shall only add, that before these good gentlemen charged us with intolerance, they ought to have looked at home, to see how their own standard works spoke.

Yours, &c., R. C.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 22, 1827.

LETTER XXI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends—I have given in my last letter a very short and imperfect exhibition of the grounds upon which I might retort the charge of "Intolerance," with a direful effect upon the principal assailants of our Church, in their recommendation of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, A. M., &c. &c. &c.

The writer, in the passage which I have reviewed, incidentally treats of "Infallibility;" but, as a more appropriate occasion will offer hereafter for the examination of

this topic, I shall now dismiss with two observations the whole of what is raised as an implied dilemma. It is found in p. 64 of the "Evidence:"

"If the Roman Catholic Church can thus allow *detestable dogmas* to act in full force within the inmost recesses of her bosom, those Catholics who differ from her notions, so far as her apologist, Mr. Butler, might guide themselves in religious matters, without the assistance of her infallibility."

This means that "religious intolerance" by which is meant *an injunction to persecute because of religious error*, is a *dogma* of the Roman Catholic Church, and consequently taught to Roman Catholics, as a portion of their doctrine, by her *infallible tribunal*. The supposition is a glaring assumption of what is untrue. The infallible tribunal of the Roman Catholic Church teaches no such dogma. It has indeed, been laid down by her opponents as the principle by which they themselves were guided. It is to be found expressly embodied in *their confessions of faith;* but I defy them to show it taught by our Church, as a dogma. Even the miserable man White himself dare not assert that it is a dogma of our Church; for his expression is sufficiently guarded to avoid the direct charge, and sufficiently framed to imply it, and thus to make a false impression upon the general reader. He only charges that she *allows* detestable dogmas *to act* with full force, &c.,—he does not charge that she *teaches*,—and nothing is a doctrine of her's which she does not teach.

Thus, he had also but *one dogma* under consideration; and with the same species of dishonesty, and equal want of candor, of logic, and of truth, he shifts to the plural, *detestable dogmas*. A writer of this description in religious inquiry ought to be avoided as you would a detected swindler in your pecuniary transactions. Do you, or can you, imagine a more dangerous being, than one who knowingly and dishonestly quibbles with you, deceives you, and misleads you in your anxious inquiry for the salvation of your soul? The miserable man who, urged by want, dishonestly tricks you into the loss of a few dollars, is dragged before the public tribunal of the country, is exposed to official and general reproach, and bears about him through the world the indelible mark of deserved infamy; but what ought to be the fate of him who, by juggling falsehood, endeavors to decoy his fellow-beings from the service of their Creator?

Not only, then, is the Roman Catholic not taught by his Church, as a doctrine, or as a principle, that he ought to persecute his neighbor for his religious errors, but he is taught to love his neighbor as himself, for the love of God; he is taught that they who differ from him in religion are his neighbors; and we saw that even White acknowledged, p. 65, that Rome did not persecute for error. Then the Roman Catholic Church does not persecute for error, does not teach persecution; consequently, the *detestable dogma of religious intolerance* is not taught by her *infallible* tribunal; consequently the rejection of this dogma was not in opposition to that tribunal, nor incompatible with its decisions. What then is the value of White's dilemmas? Perhaps Bishop Kemp can inform you, for I cannot.

I now proceed to another extract, which is the passage succeeding the one last examined:

"The Roman Catholics have been accused of holding a doctrine which justifies them in not keeping faith with heretics. This charge is false as it stands; but it has a foundation in truth, which I will lay before you, as an important consequence of the claims of your Church to infallibility. The constant intercourse with those whom you call heretics has blunted the feeling of horror, which the Roman Church has assiduously fomented against Christians who dissent from her. It is, indeed, a happy result of the Reformation, that some of the strongest prejudices of the Roman Catholics have been softened, wherever the Protestant religion has obtained a footing. Where this mixture has never taken place, true Roman Catholics remain nearly what they were in the time when Christendom rejoiced at the breach of faith which committed Huss to the flames, by the sentence of a general council. In England, however, far from pretending to such advantages, the Roman Catholics resented the suspicion that their oaths, not to interfere with the Protestant establishment, may be annulled by the Pope. The settled and sincere determination to keep such oaths, in those who appeared ready to take them, I will not question for a moment; but I cannot conceal my persuasion, that it is the duty of every Roman Catholic pastor to dissuade the members of his flock from taking oaths which, if not allowed in a spirit of the most treacherous policy, would imply a separation from the communion of the Church of Rome. Let me lay down the doctrine of that Church on this important point."

It certainly is a very novel mode of proving a charge, by commencing with a declaration that *it is false*, and then proceeding to prove that *it has a foundation in truth;* yet such is Mr. White's exhibition of himself! Did his American sponsors undertake to carry him through this difficulty? Do they charge upon their fellow-citizens the horrid crime here imputed to the great bulk of Christendom, of which the Roman Ca-

tholics of this Union form a portion? Is it possible that they impute to the venerable survivor of that patriot band, which gave liberty and power to our glorious republic, that there is a true foundation for the charge, that he would not keep faith with heretics? Was there a foundation of truth for the charge, that Lafayette, Rochambeau, Pulaski, De Grasse, and so many other Roman Catholics did not keep faith with heretics? Was Arnold a Roman Catholic? Did the Pennsylvania line, which was eminently Catholic, keep faith with heretics? Did Louis XVI keep faith with heretics? My friends, there is a point at which the mind almost loses its power of argument, and indignation becomes a virtue. Who would stoop to argument with a seducer? Who would dispute upon the impropriety of defamation? Who would endeavor to convince a calumniator? There was a time when the gross multitude of ignorant Englishmen was duped by the knavery of an unprincipled court, which deluded one portion of its subjects, that it might be enabled to grind down other nations, and thus play the tyrant over a divided and debased population; but when that court made its essay at this side of the Atlantic, young America rose in the vigor of her intellect, the power of her strength, and the pride of her independence; and, with the aid of a Catholic nation, broke a tyrant's sceptre, and placed her foot upon his crown; whilst the delighted eagle of her Apalachian hills played around her head, leaving in his track the halo of her glory and of his joy; and shall the American mind at this day be enthralled by the calumnious influence of the British court? Shall our country, whilst she ranks high amidst the nations of the earth, still be debased by her children, in being made the receptacle of the vilest libels of the most persecuting court in Christendom? Is this the liberality of our clergy? Is this the learning of our ministers of religion? Is this the independence of our spirit? Is this the affection of our fellow-citizens? Is this the honor of America, that, when even Hodge declares that the Pope of Rome has neither tail nor horns; when, from John O'Groat's house to the cliffs of Dover, it is avowed that he is not a scarlet lady; when a starving population proclaims that it has been deceived by a bloated clergy, and robbed and degraded by an oppressive government? Is this the honor of America, that at such a time as this, when a Catholic people is told by a profligate prince, who has been publicly convicted before the parliament of his country, of making the highest offices of the nation the price of his paramours' crimes, that as God shall help him they shall be kept in bondage, the clergy of the Protestant Churches of America should combine to fling upon their Catholic fellow-citizens the dregs of the calumnies which have emanated from such a source, and give to the American people the offal, which the very rabble of Great Britain has rejected? For shame! That our country should have so low a place, as that Bishop Kemp and his associates have no other mode of assailing us, save the fragments of those poisonous arrows, which they collect from the fields in which their discomfited brethren have fallen in Europe! And must I, need I, exhibit the absurd and contradictory statement thus taken up. *The charge is false, as it stands, but it has a foundation in truth!!!*

If it be true that Catholic prejudice has been softened, by an intercourse with Protestants, I lament much that the prelate and his associates have not hearts equally susceptible; for, indeed, it is out of my power to return Blanco White's compliment in their favor.

The same bad spirit, which pervades the entire publication, is apparent in this passage; the same spirit of falsehood prevails. (1). It is not true that Christendom rejoiced at the breach of faith which committed Huss to the flames. (2). It is not true that Huss was committed to the flames by the sentence of a general council. (3). It is not true that any breach of faith was committed by any person in the case of the burning of the unfortunate man, who fell the victim of his own delusion.

As the refutation of every distinct falsehood contained in the production of our opponents, would lead to almost the labor of a life, and as those have been often before refuted, and as often repeated without proof, I shall content myself with placing my denial upon record, and declaring that when either of our assailants shall think proper to attempt the proof of either of the propositions which I have denied, I shall meet him with its refutation.*

The conclusion of this passage of White's contains the most atrocious charge upon us: let us therefore see the reasoning:

"I will assume the most liberal opinion of the Catholic divines, and grant that the Pope cannot annul an oath in virtue of his dispensing power.† But this can only be said of a *lawful* oath; a quality which no human law can con-

* See Letters to Mr. Fuller, No. 15. in Part II.

† "Thomas Aquinas, whose authority is most highly reverenced in these matters, maintains, however, that there exists a power in the Church to dispense both with a vow, which, according to him, is the most sacred of all en-

fer upon an engagement to perform a sinful act. A promise under oath, to execute an immoral deed, is in itself a monstrous offence against the divine law; and the performance of such a promise would only aggravate the crime of having made it. There are, however, cases where the lawfulness of the engagement is doubtful, and the obligation burthensome, or, by a change of circumstances, inexpedient and preposterous. The interference of the Pope, in such cases, is, according to the liberal opinion I am stating, improperly called *dispensation*. The Pope only declares that the original oath or vow was null and void, either from the nature of the thing promised, or from some circumstances in the manner and form of the promise; when, by virtue of his authority, the head of the Church removes all spiritual responsibility from the person who submits himself to his decision. I do not consider myself bound to confirm the accuracy of this statement, by written authorities, as I do not conceive the possibility of any Roman Catholic divine bringing it into question."

It is very extraordinary that this man should impute to us a doctrine which we do not hold, and then state that it is impossible for us to deny that the doctrine is ours, and therefore he need not prove that we hold it. I have now extended this letter too far to allow me to disprove this charge, but I deny that he has correctly stated our tenet, and must reserve my further remarks for my next.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 29, 1827.

LETTER XXII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I proceed to examine the grounds upon which White rests his monstrous charge that there is no dependence to be placed upon the oaths of Roman Catholics to a Protestant government: the passage which contains his argument upon this head, has been laid before you in my last letter. Let us however, see the true state of the question, by considering the special case which gave rise to White's remarks.

Roman Catholics believe that their Protestant brethren have departed from the true doctrines of our Saviour: in Great Britain, King Henry VIII, the guardians of Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth, made the Parliaments deprive the Roman Catholics of that property and of those establishments which had been given to their Church by their predecessors of the same faith: a considerable portion of this property was given by the crown, in bribes to those who were principally influential in sanctioning the plunder; and the remainder was given to form an establishment for a new church modeled upon the form which pleased the plunderers. It is time for us, my friends, to call these people by their true names; no person could attempt to do so, whilst our republics were colonies of Britain; custom perpetuated the appellation which power originally insisted upon: America still was the suckling of England in literature; but she has been weaned; and her mental independence makes rapid progress: her children will upon examination acknowledge that I have given to the courtiers of Henry, of Edward, and of Elizabeth, their appropriate appellation.

The British State thus linked to a Church of its own creation, commenced a most atrocious persecution against the adherents of the old religion; the annals of the world exhibit no parallel to the frightful code and its protracted execution. By the most unnatural and ruinous system of taxation, the British empire achieved the most prominent situation in the world: and her pride and her cruelty equalled her prosperity. She met her first reverse when she unconstitutionally attempted to make her American colonies share in the payment of her wanton expenses: wounded by the talons of our young eagle, she sought to conciliate the wretched Catholics whom she had so severely smitten; but when the conscious criminal found herself under the necessity of mitigating her tortures, she felt how unseemly her conduct must appear unless there was some pretext for the relaxation. She had previously, to attempt a justification of her misconduct, charged upon her victims crimes of which she had herself created the semblance, that she might impute to them the reality; she now required of them to disavow tenets which they never held, that upon the ground of the disavowal she might rest at once her present concession and the palliation of her former injustice. Thus the misfortune of the British nation was the cause of the first mitigation of her barbarous code in 1778, as the dangerous state of Scotland and of England in 1745, was the cause of the first relaxation of the Irish government in its execution of statutes which depopulated one half the kingdom and barbarized the other half; because in a state of active persecution the torturer and the tortured are equally made ferocious. When in 1793, the convulsions of France, shook Europe to its centre, Ireland trembled and Britain felt

gagements, and consequently, with an oath. *Sicut in voto aliqua necessitatis seu honestatis causa potest fieri dispensatio, ita et in Juramento.* Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. lxxxix, art. ix. The Popes, in fact, have frequently exercised this dispensing power with the tacit consent of the Church."

the vibration; more concession was found to be absolutely necessary. The Catholic Universities had been seriously asked the most insulting questions, and upon their declarations that the religion of Christendom was not a tissue of blasphemy and execrable crime, and also upon requiring the Catholics to swear that they would not take away the plunder from the Church of the State to give it to their own Church, and that they would not seek for a restitution of the lands of which their families had been robbed because they would not join the Church of the State, they received farther concessions.

Since that period, thirty-four years had elapsed; an entire generation had passed away: and no semblance of a charge could be made against that generation for having deviated from the spirit or the letter of that oath. An immense portion of this persecuting code still afflicts the present generation: though they have by the British House of Commons been repeatedly declared worthy of the full restitution of their rights: the present King, Lords and Commons have solemnly declared by more than one act of the legislature, that the crimes imputed to their fathers, and upon the supposed existence of which, several of those persecuting laws were enacted, were base fabrications supported only by the flagrant perjury, in several instances, of a clergyman of the established Church, and of his equally criminal associates. The present generation complains that notwithstanding their blood and treasure having been profusely lavished in the cause of their persecuting government, and their willingness to abide by their oaths as their fathers have done, still they are degraded and afflicted: the House of Commons votes their relief, and a large portion of the Peers are known to be favorable to the great principle of civil and religious liberty; the great dignitaries of the established Church whisper to their friends and dependents, that if the Catholics are restored to their rights, they will be stripped of those possessions which were originally taken from the Catholics, and therefore, they must oppose the concession of their rights to a persecuted people. Call you this the spirit of the Gospel? Is this the characteristic of apostles? Are these the followers of him who sent without scrip or purse those men to whom they claim succession? But mark the means which are used in addition. White, an apostate Spanish priest, a man whom I shall yet prove from his own book not to be in the doctrinal communion of that English Church, is employed to publish a gross libel to defame the Catholics, and to assert amongst other falsehoods, that this oath which they tendered, taken and observed, is no security: that according to the most liberal opinion of Catholic divines, the promissory oath of a Roman Catholic is no guarantee for his performance. The Irish Catholics have given such an answer to this charge when it was made by men more worthy of notice than White, as ought to have caused their calumniators to be forever silent. "Produce to us," say they, "a single instance in which we violated our oaths or our engagements to you. We charge you with having violated the law of nations in our regard, we charge you with having induced the British King William III, to forfeit the sacred faith of plighted majesty; we charge you with having induced the privy council to violate their oaths of office; we charge you with the most disgraceful and flagrant violation of a solemn treaty made at the walls of Limerick. Upon your pledged faith we laid down our arms, and you enslaved us; we confided in your honor, and you betrayed us; we knelt before our altars to adore our God, and you who swore to permit us to do so without molestation, dragged us from the holy place in chains; seized upon our buildings, confiscated our inheritance, thrust us into your dungeons, murdered thousands, and made millions hewers of wood and drawers of water: you have taunted us in our afflicting degradation; you have violated your own oaths! and misrepresented us to the world; you sent us to every foreign shore with contumely, and you charge us with not being worthy of credit on our oaths! How well it becomes you to make the charge! Do you judge of us by yourselves? We spurn the comparison. Though you may bend our bodies, you cannot debase our souls; our honor is untarnished, our faith is preserved, our promises are fulfilled, our oaths are unviolated: wipe from yourselves the disgrace of your ancestors: talk not of oaths, until you do us justice." Such is the answer of the Irish Catholic to the British Churchman.

But the most extraordinary part of the whole case remains. A number of American Protestant Clergymen of contradictory denominations unite under the leadership of a Bishop of a Church which sprung from that created in England, to reprint in America White's calumny against the British Catholics! What can be their object? That of the people in England was palpable. Was the object of the American Clergy the same? To prevent Catholic emancipation; to try whether they could by telling their flocks that British Catholics were not credible on their oaths, cool down that generous ardor which led the American Protestant and Catho-

lic to associate in the cause of suffering Ireland and in the cause of suffering Greece? Could it be possible that this was the object of Bishop Kemp and his associates? I hope not. I should be sorry to think that so many men, holding such stations in our republics, should have formed a holy alliance against the great principle of civil and religious liberty. But what is the alternative? If the object was not to charge the criminal principle solely upon the British Catholics, for the nefarious purpose of continuing their debasement, it must be, as they say themselves, to exhibit the true principles of the Catholic religion; thus they make the charge upon every American Catholic, and upon every Catholic in the world; that is, upon nearly two hundred millions of the most civilized portion of the human race!!! And for this purpose they adopt the atrocious and miserable sophistry and falsehood of White. Let us examine its value.

He sets out with a statement that it is the most liberal opinion of Catholic divines that the Pope cannot annul an oath in virtue of his dispensing power. As most of this man's deceit consists in the ambiguity of his phrases, I must be rather tedious in their examination. In this place it is right to have an accurate notion of what is the meaning of the Pope's *dispensing power*. I have known persons to assert that it was a doctrine of our Church that the Pope could dispense with the observance of the law of God.

A dispensing power pre-supposes an obligatory power, because a power of dispensing means power to release from an obligation. We must then know what is the power which binds, before we can know properly what is the power which can release. Man is a creature dependent upon God who is his supreme ruler and legislator; this legislator has bound man to the observance of certain great principles, which are discoverable by the natural exercise of his reason, and the collection of those principles, is called the natural law: the same legislator has also by means of revelation, given certain precepts for man's conduct, the collection of those precepts is called the divine law. The natural law and the divine law emanating from the God of truth and immutability, must be consistent and unchangeable. A universally acknowledged maxim of law is, that no power inferior to that which made a law can repeal it, or dispense with its observance; but the power which enacted may repeal its own act, or may restrict its force by exemp'ing certain individuals or communities from its operation. It is also acknowledged that the legislator who makes a general law, can depute to an individual, or to a community, a power in certain cases, of dispensing with its observance; and the dispensation will in this case be equally valid as was the original enactment: in such a case, it is not required that the power of the deputy should be equal to the power of the legislator, because in fact his delegated power is not his own, but that of his principal, who is the legislator. Thus the governors of several of our States, who certainly have not the power of legislation, dispense, in several instances, by the authority of the State or its legislature, with the execution of several criminal laws of the State. If the people had power to dispense with observance of the natural law, or of the divine law, it must be in virtue of a special delegation for that purpose given by God: which delegation should be fully proved.

Besides the natural and divine law, man is bound by the laws of society, that is, by the law of nations, or that collection of general principles which all civilized societies have agreed upon as the basis for their intercourse, and by the laws of that particular nation in which the individual resides. The delegation of the nations which form society is necessary to be exhibited as the ground for a valid dispensation from the law of nations, and the delegation of the particular nation must also precede the power to dispense in any one of its enactments: the same principle is of equal force through all lawful associations down to the humblest club of mutual aid.

The Church is a society established by God himself for spiritual purposes. Roman Catholics believe that the great Creator of this body did not form or sanction the formation of conflicting ecclesiastical bodies, but made his Church one in her government and doctrines. They believe, that this single society has received from God for its constitution, first, the natural law, secondly, the divine negative law; that is, a collection of ordinances by God, in which he forbids at all times and under all circumstances the doing of certain acts: they believe that he did not leave to the Church the power of repealing or dispensing in any portion of either of those sections of its constitution. They further believe that, thirdly, he gave certain positive ordinances, or laws [commanding] to do certain acts, which were never to be omitted altogether, but that he left to the Church the power of enacting, according to circumstances of time and place, when and how those duties were to be performed. Such was that of observing the Sabbath as a holy day, which obligation the Church has subsequently transferred to the Lord's day—such also was the precept of fasting, but the designation of the special time and manner he left to the Church: fourthly, that he gave

to this Church a form of government, which it had no authority to change, and that this government received from him legislative, judicial and executive powers; [also that] as the Church was one body, he constituted a president who was to be the principal judge, and the supreme administrator of this society, who was to have certain inalienable rights and powers. This supreme head is the Pope, and his power of dispensation, upon legal principles, cannot reach to the constitution of the Church; thus he cannot dispense in any obligation of the natural law, nor in any obligation of the divine negative law; for instance, he cannot make it lawful for a child to injure a parent, or for a parent to abandon his child; nor can he make murder innocent, or a lie guiltless; neither can he dispense with the divine positive law, so as to exempt a person continually from its operation, though he has power to dispense for sufficient cause, with the positive enactment of the Church, regulating the time and manner; for instance of that public worship which God has commanded, or of that fasting or mortification which he generally established; nor can he dispense with or change that form of Church government which is of divine institution; hence, properly speaking, the Pope has power only, upon sufficient grounds to grant a dispensation from the observance of the general ecclesiastical laws; but not from the observance of the natural law, or of the divine law.

Having thus ascertained the nature of the Pope's dispensing power, we proceed to ascertain by what law is an oath binding. A promissory oath is a promise made with a solemn adjuration of God to do some act, or to avoid some act. The divine negative law decrees:—"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."—Hence the divine negative law binds to the performance, and the power of dispensing therein resides in God alone, unless he has granted a delegated power to another; and of that delegation, there must be sufficient evidence. But as White now says St. Thomas asserts that there exists in the Church a power of dispensing with vows, which are solemn promises made to God, and with oaths which are the next in solemnity, as being adjurations of God; it becomes necessary to examine farther.

God left in his Church judicial power, that is, a power of deciding as well what were general principles of the law which he gave, as also what were the particular cases to which they were applicable. In the tribunal the general decision is made, that a promissory oath binds under pain of damnation to the performance of the promise. I shall now adduce a special case. A person has vowed or sworn to pay yearly during his life a certain sum of money towards the propagation of the Christian Religion in a heathen country: the oath was the sanction of a *lawful* promise to do a *meritorious* act; he is evidently *bound* to its performance. Years elapse, his means are diminished, his friends are impoverished, and his parents are cast upon his bounty for their subsistence; yet he has the means of supplying his own wants and of observing his oath; but by so doing he must neglect his parents; and if he gives the usual contribution for the propagation of the Gospel, his wretched family will perish through want: he applies to the tribunal to know whether he is still bound to fulfil his vow or to observe his oath, that vow and oath which were originally lawful, and meritorious, and binding. I do not treat of an unlawful oath, or of a sinful oath which never could create any bond or obligation. The tribunal of the Church will tell him to observe the natural law, and the law of charity, which bind him to support his parents, and by the power which God left of binding and loosing, will now loose him from the oath or vow, and dispense with an observance which though originally meritorious, would now be a violation of the supreme law of nature, of the best law of charity.

The oath or vow here was originally *good* and *binding*, yet White asserts in p. 68, that in such a case "The Pope only declares the *original oath or vow was null and void.*" And this is the Theologian whom Bishop Kemp and his associates hold forward as eminently qualified to tell the Protestants of America, what are the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church!!! Do those good men themselves know our doctrines? If they do, why misrepresent them? If they do not, why presume to testify upon a subject concerning which they are ignorant? White concludes his assertion of this false imputation, in the manner which is usually characteristic of that arrogance which undertakes to make tenets for our Church without studying our authors. "I do not consider myself bound to confirm *the accuracy of this statement* by written authorities, as I do not conceive the POSSIBILITY of any Roman Catholic divine *bringing it into question.*"

So it is; the mere assertion of the most puny and unprincipled libeller of our Church is to pass current as proof; and he need never produce evidence of the correctness of his statements; all our declarations, documents and writers, are of no avail against the simple calumny of our accuser. Whether America will in this respect follow the ex-

ample of Europe, remains yet to be seen. White continues,

"The Roman Catholic doctrine on the obligation of oaths being clearly understood, *sincere* members of that Church can find no difficulty in applying it to any existing test, or to any oath which may be tendered, in future, with a view to define the limits of their opposition to doctrines and practices condemned by Rome. In the first place, they cannot but see that an oath binding them to lend a direct support to any Protestant establishment, or to omit such measures as may, without finally injuring the cause of catholicism, check and disturb the spread and ascendancy of error; is in itself sinful and cannot, therefore, be obligatory. In the second place it must be evident that if, for the advantage of the Catholic religion suffering under an heterodox ascendancy, some oaths of this kind may be tolerated by Catholic divines, the head of that Church will find it his duty, to declare their nullity upon any change of circumstances. The persevering silence of the papal see in regard to this point, notwithstanding the advantages which an authorized declaration would give to the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, is an indubitable proof that the Pope cannot give his sanction to engagements made in favor of a Protestant establishment. Of this, Bossuet himself was aware, when to his guarded opinion upon the scruples of James II against the coronation oath, he subjoined the salvo:—"I nevertheless submit with all my heart to the supreme decision of his Holiness." If that decision, however, was then, and is now, withheld, notwithstanding the disadvantages to which the silence of Rome subjects the Roman Catholics, it cannot be supposed that it would at all tend to remove them To such as are intimately acquainted with the Catholic doctrines, which I have just laid before you, the conduct of the Roman see is in no way mysterious."

Of course my friends you perceive that this whole sentence is built upon a false supposition, *namely*, that he did clearly lay down our doctrine on the obligation of oaths. In the next place he states a distinct falsehood, viz. that the oath which Roman Catholics in Great Britain take, not to use their political power to disturb the Protestant establishment for the purpose of substituting a Roman Catholic establishment in its stead, is an oath binding them to lend *direct support* to the Protestant establishment. It is no such oath; it is only a covenant made as a condition upon which they seek to be admitted to their rights, that they will not reclaim for their own Church the plunder which the Protestant holds; in other words, it is a relinquishment of any claim to restitution, it is compounding for a part of their rights. Such a composition is not sinful; it is not more criminal than it was for a friend of mine in Ireland to compound for a portion of his property when the whole was in danger. Bishop Kemp might love to learn the facts. Two first cousins well known in one of the southern counties were Roman Catholics in the year 1790, and had good estates; one of them squandered and the other improved; the spendthrift, finding his property vanished, went to the Protestant Church and abjured the errors of Popery, and was thenceforth known by the appellation of "Protestant Tom." The industrious cousin, "Catholic Tom," received notice that a bill was filed against him, IN EQUITY, by his good cousin discovering against him, for that he being a Papist held a landed estate, value three thousand pounds sterling yearly, which estate was claimed by "Protestant Tom" as having duly conformed to the Church by law established, and being therefore legally entitled to the same. It is by means of such bills of discovery, the Irish Catholics have been impoverished and sent as conscientious and impoverished exiles into every region of the earth. "Catholic Tom" had no valid plea, in bar of his cousin's claim, because he really was a Catholic and had the land: he however called upon his goodly cousin, and compounded with him by selling him half his estate *for sixpence*, and thus procuring the bill of discovery to be taken off the file of the *equitable Chancellor of Ireland*. I have seen and known both; "Protestant Tom" I knew to be a most loyal subject, a most zealous member of the Bible distribution, [who] had his sons duly educated in the principles of the Church by law established, and provided with commissions in his majesty's army and navy, whilst his cousin sometimes fills the chair at the aggregate meeting of his county, and sees his sons toiling through the labors of a profession, or cultivating the remnant of his patrimony. Was it a sinful act in him to make this composition? As little sin is there in the Catholic body swearing that they will relinquish to the Protestant Church, that establishment which it already possesses. It is lawful to relinquish one part of your rights to secure the remainder: when you by an oath engage yourself to the performance of a lawful act, your oath is binding and valid; though no previous claim bound, the oath now binds him who takes it, though it can make no good title for him who exacts it, and no tribunal, Papal or other, can declare that what is originally valid, was originally invalid. It is also untrue to assert, as White here does, that Rome has been silent on this topic: for the oath in which this clause is contained, has been repeatedly examined, and approved of at Rome. I shall add but one

more remark. This oath is a bond or pledge to a solemn contract made by the authority of the State, in which the dominion of property exists; such a contract involves the rights of both parties, the release of one would be an injustice to the other, without the free consent of this other party, or that of the State was given: this is a principle of natural law, in which the Pope has no dispensing power: hence, where a lawful contract is made, and confirmed by an oath, no tribunal has the power of dispensing with that oath, for this dispensation would involve the violation of the contract.

How many falsehoods, and how much gross ignorance of theological principles are contained in this passage, which asserts that no reliance is to be placed upon the oaths of Catholics? Does not Bishop Kemp know, and do not his associates know, that the insulted Irish and British Catholics need only commit one perjury, and get absolution from Rome, and they would be upon an equal footing with their Protestant fellow-citizens? But because they value their oaths, and Rome has no such absolutions or dispensations to give; they still are under the thraldom of Protestant persecution, in violation of a solemn treaty ratified by Protestant oaths on earth, and by the adjuration of Heaven above, by the Protestant monarch, who pledged himself to observe this violated contract.

Good God! what will Europe say of our liberality, when she shall hear that a congregation of Protestant Clergymen, with a Bishop at their head, charged the Roman Catholics of the United States with holding the most detestable doctrine, and with being unworthy of credit on their solemn oaths? When she shall find them advocating the violation of the treaty of Limerick, and calumniating the persecuted British and Irish Catholics?

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 5, 1827.

LETTER XXIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—Having shown that we have been grossly misrepresented by White in his charge of our disregard of oaths: having also shown how flagrantly the solemn oaths of stipulations and contracts with the Irish Catholics were violated by the British Protestants; I shall add only one fact, to which I challenge Bishop Kemp and his associates to find me a parallel. Doctor Dopping, the Protestant Bishop of Meath, in Ireland, preached publicly from the pulpit of a Protestant Church in Dublin, that no treaty of Protestants favorable to Catholics was binding or ought to be observed. It is true that some of his brethren dissented from this doctrine, but it is equally true that the King of England, the head of his Church, followed the Bishop of Meath's principle in practice: it is equally true that the Irish parliament has done likewise; not only has this sermon been practically observed by William and Mary, the supreme head in earth of the English Protestant Church, but also of their successors in the same headship, viz. Anne, George I, George II, George III, and his present sacred majesty George IV, supreme head on earth of the Churches of England and Ireland. Also by their several privy councils, also by the British parliament, since the union; which councils and parliaments were all Protestant, and were and are, in fact, the supreme governing power of the English Protestant Church.

I shall conclude this topic with inserting the following documents:

Extract from the declaration of the Catholic Bishops in Great Britain, in the year 1826.

SECTION VII.

On the Obligation of an Oath.

"Catholics are charged with holding that *they are not bound by an oath, and that the Pope can dispense them from all the oaths they may have taken.*

"We cannot sufficiently express our astonishment at such a charge. We hold that the obligation of an oath is most sacred: for by an oath man calls the Almighty searcher of hearts to witness the sincerity of his conviction of the truth of what he asserts; and his fidelity in performing the engagement he makes. Hence, whoever swears falsely, or violates the lawful engagement he has confirmed by an oath, not only offends against truth, or justice, but against religion. He is guilty of the enormous crime of perjury.

"No power in any Pope, or council, or in any individual or body of men, invested with authority in the Catholic Church, can make it lawful for a Catholic to confirm any falsehood by an oath; or dispense with any oath by which a Catholic has confirmed his duty of allegiance to his sovereign, or any obligation of duty or justice to a third person. He who takes an oath is bound to observe it, in the obvious meaning of the words, or in the known meaning of the person to whom it is sworn."

Extract from the "True Principles of Catholics," *published in* 1826, *by the Liverpool Catholic Defence Society*, being the repetition of what has been frequently established by the British Catholics.

6thly. "Catholics believe that in order to

enter into eternal life, we must keep the commandments of God, and that, with his grace, they can be kept: 'And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.' (St. Luke, i, 6.) And that whosoever dies under the guilt of a wilful breach of any one of these divine precepts, will be eternally lost. That no power on earth can grant any man leave to break the least commandment of God, or commit a sin of what kind soever, or to do evil with an intent that good may proceed from it. That neither the Pope, nor any man living, can dispense with the laws of God, or make it lawful for any one to *lie*, to *forswear* himself, or do any thing whatsoever that is forbidden by the divine law."

Extract from a series of curses to which every Catholic is prepared to answer AMEN; repeatedly published by the English Catholic divines in answer to their Protestant calumniators.

"Cursed is he who believes that the Pope can give to any, upon any occasion whatsoever, dispensations to lie or swear falsely; or that it is lawful for any, at the last hour, to protest himself innocent in case he be guilty. *Catholic, Amen.*"

"Cursed is he who teaches that it is lawful to do a wicked thing, though it be for the interest and good of the Mother-Church; or that any evil action may be done, that good may ensue from it. *Catholic, Amen.*"

"Cursed be all Catholics who teach or believe that infamous doctrine called Popery, as Protestants understand it; and cursed may we be, if we do not detest all those hellish practices and doctrines which they force on us. *Catholic, Amen.*"

"Cursed be all Catholics who will not obey the lawful commands of all Protestant authorities,* or who will not fulfil their duty, in every respect, to their lawful Protestant king and country. *Catholic, Amen.*"

"Cursed be all Catholics, if in answering or saying Amen to any of these curses, they use any equivocations or mental reservations, or do not assent to them in the common and obvious sense of the words. *Catholic, Amen, Amen.*"

To these is appended the following note in the publication of the above named society:

These principles have been a thousand times attacked, and a thousand times proved to be our true principles, to the full satisfaction of thousands of well disposed Protestants, many of whom, in their last moments, were reconciled to the Catholic Church; and in our days, nothing is more common, than such like reconciliations, particularly in London, Manchester, and Liverpool. Now, we defy our adversaries to prove one solitary instance of a Roman Catholic, who, in his last moments, called for a clergyman of any other persuasion than that of his own. Bishop Porteus failed in the attempt, when challenged to do so, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner, a Roman Catholic Bishop.

A warning to Protestants: "*Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy* (Catholic) *neighbor.*" Eighth Commandment.

An extract from an exhortation of the Roman Catholic clergy of Dublin, read from their altars on the 3d of October, 1757.

(From the Dublin Journal of Oct. 4th, 1757.)

"We are no less zealous than ever in exhorting you to abstain from cursing, swearing and blaspheming: detestable vices, to which the poorer sort of our people are most unhappily addicted, and which must at one time or other bring down the vengeance of heaven upon you in some visible punishment, unless you absolutely refrain from them.

"It is probable, that, from hence, some people have taken occasion to brand us with this infamous calumny, that we need not fear to take false oaths, and consequently to perjure ourselves; as if we believed that any power upon earth could authorize such damnable practices, or grant dispensations for this purpose. How unjust and cruel this charge is, you know by our instructions to you both in public and private, in which we have ever condemned such doctrines as false and impious. Others, likewise, may easily know it from the constant behaviour of numbers of Roman Catholics, who have given the strongest proofs of their abhorrence of those tenets, by refusing to take oaths, which, however conducive to their temporal interest, appeared to them entirely repugnant to the principles of their religion.

"To conclude, be just in your dealings, sober in your conduct, religious in your practice, avoid riots, quarrels, and tumults; and thus you will approve yourselves good citizens, peaceable subjects, and pious Christians."

The Catholic's Test of Allegiance prescribed by the 13th and 14th, Geo. III, c. xxxv.

I, *A B*, do take Almighty God and his only Son Jesus Christ my Redeemer, to witness, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign lord, King George the Third, and him defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, that shall be made against his person, crown and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavor to disclose and make known to his majesty, and his heirs, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support

* Spiritual matters excepted.

and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown in his majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever, hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales, in the lifetime of his father, and who, since his death, is said to have assumed the style and title of King of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name of Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms; and I do swear, that I do reject and detest as unchristian and impious to believe, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; and I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet, any such opinion, or any other opinion, contrary to what is expressed in this declaration; and I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and his only Son, Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope or authority of the See of Rome, or any other person whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. *So help me God.*"

QUERIES TO FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES, WITH THEIR ANSWERS.

"When the committee of the English Catholics (for they had a committee with whom the English ministers of the crown did not disdain to communicate) waited on Mr. Pitt, he *requested* to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the Catholic clergy, and the Catholic universities abroad, "with respect to the existence and extent of the Pope's dispensing power." Three questions were accordingly framed and sent to the universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcala, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions.

The queries and answers are as follows:

THE QUERIES.

1. Has the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

2. Can the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individuals of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects, from their oath of allegiance upon any pretext whatsoever?

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?

Abstract from the answer of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris to the above Queries.

After an introduction, according to the usual forms of the university, they answer the first query by declaring:

Neither the Pope, nor the Cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other person of the Church of Rome, hath any civil authority, civil power, civil jurisdiction, or civil pre-eminence whatsoever, in *any* kingdom; and, consequently, none in the kingdom of England, by reason or virtue of any authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence, by divine institution inherent in, or granted, or by any other means belonging to the Pope, or the Church of Rome. This doctrine the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occasion maintained, and upon every occasion has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrines from her schools.

Answer to the second query. Neither the Pope, nor the Cardinals, nor any body of them, nor any person of the Church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys, absolve, or release the subjects of the King of England from their oath of allegiance.

This and the first query are so intimately connected, that the answer of the first immediately and naturally applies to the second, &c.

Answer to the third query. There is no tenet in the Catholic Church, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic faith

against Protestants, have complained more heavily, than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them, &c. &c. &c.

Given at Paris in the General Assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday, the 11th day before the Kalends of March, 1789.

Signed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF DOUAY.

January 5, 1689.

At a Meeting of the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Douay, &c. &c.

To the first and second queries the Sacred Faculty answers—That no power whatsover, in civil or temporal concerns, was given by the Almighty, either to the Pope, the Cardinals, or the Church herself, and, consequently, that kings and sovereigns are not in temporal concerns, subject by the ordination of God, to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; neither can their subjects, by any authority granted to the Pope or Church, from above, be freed from their obedience, or absolved from their oath of allegiance.

This is the doctrine which the doctors and professors of divinity hold and teach in our schools, and this all the candidates for degrees in divinity maintain in their public theses, &c. &c. &c.

To the third question the Sacred Faculty answers—That there is no principle of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, who differ from them in religious opinion. On the contrary, it is *the unanimous doctrine* of Catholics, that the respect due to the name of God, so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whomsoever it is pledged, whether Catholic, Heretic, or Infidel, &c. &c. &c.

Signed and sealed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

The Faculty of Divinity at Louvain, having been requested to give her opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness—but struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives. The Faculty being assembled for the above purpose, it is agreed with the unanimous assent of all voices to answer the first and second queries absolutely in the negative.

The Faculty does not think it incumbent upon her in this place to enter upon the proofs of her opinion, or to show how it is supported by passages in the Holy Scriptures, or the writing of antiquity.—That has already been done by Bossuet, De Marca, the two Barclays, Goldastus, the Pithæuses, Argentre Widrington, and his Majesty King James the First, in his dissertation against Bellarmine and Du Perron, and by many others, &c. &c. &c.

The Faculty then proceeds to declare that the sovereign power of the State is in no wise (not even indirectly as it is termed) subject to, or dependent upon any other power, though it be a spiritual power, or even though it be instituted for eternal salvation, &c. &c.

That no man or any assembly of men, however eminent in dignity and power, not even the whole body of the Catholic Church, though assembled in general council, can upon any ground or pretence whatsoever, weaken the bond of union between the sovereign and people; still less can they absolve and free the subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Proceeding to the third question, the said Faculty of Divinity (in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed to her) most positively and unequivocally answers—That there is not, and there never has been among the Catholics, or in the doctrines of the Church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with heretics, or others of a different persuasion from themselves in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns.

The Faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises, is the same; and is neither shaken nor diminished, if those with whom the engagement is made, hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion, &c. &c.

Signed in due form 18th of Nov., 1788.*

UNIVERSITY OF ALCALA.

To the first question it is answered—That none of the persons mentioned in the proposed question, either individually, or collectively in council assembled, have any right in civil matters; but that all civil power, jurisdiction and pre-eminence are derived from inheritance, election, the consent of the people, and other such titles of that nature.

To the second it is answered, in like manner—That none of the persons above mentioned have a power to absolve the subjects of his Britannic Majesty from their oaths of allegiance.

To the third question it is answered—That the doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with heretics, or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.

Signed in usual form, March 17th, 1789.

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* See Appendix, Note D.

UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA.

To the first question it is answered—That neither Pope nor Cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the Catholic Church, have as such, any civil authority power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence in the kingdom of England.

To the second it is answered—That neither Pope nor Cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the Catholic Church, can, as such, absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation.

To the third it is answered—That it is no article of Catholic faith, that Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or with persons, of any other description, who dissent from them in matters of religion.

Signed in the usual form, March 7th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF VALLADOLID.

To the first question is answered—That neither Pope nor Cardinals, or even a general council, have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in the kingdom of Great Britain; or over any other kingdom or province in which they possess no temporal dominion.

To the second it is answered—That neither Pope nor Cardinals, nor even a general council, can absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation.

To the third it is answered—That the obligation of keeping is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally, without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics, it is still more cogent as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.

Signed in the usual form, Feb. 17th, 1789.

With these documents before us, we must necessarily say that if Catholics are regardless of the obligation of an oath, the British Catholics and the Irish Catholics give us the most extraordinary exhibition which the world ever saw; men suffering persecution during ages, from which persecution they might be relieved merely by taking an oath, and, yet refusing to take an oath, and thus remaining under affliction, in preference to swearing against their conviction, though we are told, they believe that they may be dispensed with from the observance of the oath, by the head of their Church. Is it possible that Bishop Kemp and his associates could believe this to be the fact? If they do, what must we think of their intellect?

Two years have not yet elapsed since the practical illustration of this libel upon Catholics was made in this State of South Carolina, in presence of the honorable Judge Gaillard, whilst he presided in the court at York district.* I have the fact from himself, with his leave to use it as I may think proper. A criminal whose guilt was proved, was about to be left to the jury for their verdict, when his lawyer seriously offered to prove that the principal witness was suspected of being a Catholic, and therefore incredible upon oath, and consequently that his testimony should go for nothing! Judge Gaillard, though a member of the same Church as Bishop Kemp, has liberality and good sense, and knows more of the doctrine of our Church than, I believe, does the Bishop, disposed of the objection as he ought. But what shall we think of a body of the clergy of those States who publish this libel in White's book?

I now copy the extract from White upon which I shall next proceed to comment.

"It would be much more difficult to explain upon what creditable principle of their Church the Catholic divines of these kingdoms can give their approbation to oaths tendered for the security of the Protestant establishment. The clergy of the Church of England have been involved in a general and indiscriminate charge of hypocrisy and simulation, upon religious matters. It would ill become one in my peculiar circumstances to take up the defence of that venerable body; yet I cannot dismiss this subject without solemnly attesting, that the strongest impressions which enliven and support my Christian faith, are derived from my friendly intercourse with members of that insulted clergy; while, on the contrary, I knew but very few Spanish priests whose talents or acquirements were above contempt, who had not secretly renounced their religion. Whether something similar to the state of the Spanish clergy may not explain the support which the Catholic priesthood of these kingdoms seem to give to oaths so abhorrent from the belief of their Church, as those which must precede the admission of members of that Church into parliament; I will not undertake to say. If there be conscientious believers among them, which I will not doubt for a moment, and they are not forced into silence, as I suspect it is done in similar cases, I feel assured that they will earnestly deprecate and condemn all engagements on the part of the Roman Catholics, to support and defend the Church of England. Such an engagement implies either a renunciation of the tenet excluding Protestants from the benefits of the Gospel promises, or a shocking indifference to the eternal welfare of men.

"If your leaders, whom it would be uncharitable to suspect of the latter feeling, have so far receded from the Roman creed as to allow us the common privileges of Christianity, and conscientiously swear to protect and encourage

* See two pieces on this subject, in Part III.

the interests of the Church of England, let them, in the name of truth, speak openly before the world, and be the first to remove that obstacle to mutual benevolence, and perfect community of political privileges—the doctrine of exclusive salvation in your Church. Cancel but that one article from your creed, and all liberal men in Europe will offer you the right hand of fellowship. Your other doctrines concern but yourselves; this endangers the peace and freedom of every man living, and that in proportion to your goodness; it makes your very benevolence a curse. Believe a man who has spent the best years of his life where Catholicism is professed without the check of dissenting opinions; where it luxuriates on the soil, which fire and sword have cleared of whatever might stunt its natural and genuine growth; a growth incessantly watched over by the head of your Church, and his authorized representatives, the Inquisitors. Alas! '*I have a mother!*' outweighed all other reasons for a change, in a man of genius,* who yet cared not to show his indifference to the religious system under which he was born. I, too, 'had a mother,' and such a mother as, did I possess the talents of your great poet, tenfold, they would have been honored in doing homage to the powers of her mind and the goodness of her heart. No woman could love her children more ardently, and none of those children was more vehemently loved than myself. But the Roman Catholic creed had poisoned in her the purest source of affection. I saw her, during a long period, unable to restrain her tears in my presence. I perceived that she shunned my conversation, especially when my university friends drew me into topics above those of domestic talk. I loved her; and this behaviour cut me to the heart. In my distress I applied to a friend to whom she used to communicate all her sorrows; and, to my utter horror, I learnt that, suspecting me of Anti-Catholic principles, my mother was distracted by the fear that she might be obliged to accuse me to the Inquisition, if I incautiously uttered some condemned proposition in her presence. To avoid the barbarous necessity of being the instrument of my ruin, she could find no other means but that of shunning my presence. Did this unfortunate mother overrate or mistake the nature of her Roman Catholic duties? By no means. The inquisition was established by the supreme authority of her Church; and, under that authority, she was enjoined to accuse any person whatever, whom she might overhear uttering heretical opinions. No exception was made in favor of fathers, children, husbands, wives: to conceal was to abet their errors, and doom two souls to eternal perdition. A sentence of excommunication, to be incurred in the fact, was annually published against all persons, who having heard a proposition directly or indirectly contrary to the Catholic faith, omitted to inform the inquisitors upon it. Could any sincere Catholic slight such a command?

"Such is the spirit of the ecclesiastical power to which you submit. The monstrous laws of which I speak, do not belong to a remote period: they existed in full force fifteen years ago: they were republished, under the authority of the Pope, at a later period. If some of your writers assume the tone of freedom which belongs to this age and country; if you profess your faith without compulsion; you may thank the Protestant laws which protect you. Is there a spot in the universe where a Roman Catholic may throw off his mental allegiance, except where Protestants have contended for that right, and sealed it with their blood? I know that your Church modifies her intolerance according to circumstances, and that she tolerates in France, after the revolution, the Huguenots, whom she would have burnt in Spain a few years ago, and whom she would doom to some indefinite punishment, little short of the stake, at this present moment. Such conduct is unworthy of the claims which Rome contends for, and would disgrace the most obscure leader of a paltry sect. If she still claims the right of wielding 'the sword of Peter,' why does she conceal it under her mantle? If not, why does she not put an end to more than half the miseries and degradation of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Spanish America, by at once declaring that *men are accountable only to God for their religious belief*, and that *sincere and conscientious persuasion must both in this and the next world, be a valid plea for the pardon of error?* Does the Church of Rome really profess this doctrine? It is then a sacred duty for her to remove at once that scandal of Christianity, that intolerance which the conduct of Popes and councils has invariably upheld. But if, as I am persuaded, Rome still thinks in conformity with her former conduct, and yet the Roman Catholics of these kingdoms dissent from her on this point, they have already begun to use the Protestant *right of private judgment* upon ONE of the articles of their faith; and I may hope that they will follow me in the examination of that alleged divine authority by which they are prevented from extending it to all."

This passage I shall consider in my next.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 13, 1827.

LETTER XXIV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—I proceed now to examine the paragraph of White's "Evidence," which I added to my last letter.

The extract commences with a fallacious change of terms, which fallacy is continued with increased dishonesty through the entire passage; every logician knows that a change

* "Pope: see his letter to Atterbury on this subject."

of terms is the most criminal species of bad reasoning. I need only exhibit to you the fact, and quote the expressions of White.

I have in my former letters shown that the object of this man's employers was to perpetuate the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the British houses of parliament. For this purpose he writes in p. 53:

"At the time when I am writing this, one branch of the legislature has declared itself favorable to what is called Catholic emancipation; and, for any thing I can conjecture, Roman Catholics may be allowed to sit in parliament before these letters appear in public. A *Roman Catholic* legislator of *Protestant* England would, indeed, feel the weight of the difficulty to which my suggested question alludes, provided his attachment to the Roman Catholic faith were sincere."

And in pp. 56 and 57, he has the following passage addressed to the Catholic clergy:

"A conscientious Roman Catholic may, for the sake of public peace, and in the hope of finally serving the cause of his Church, *ostensibly give a free course* to heresy. But, if it may be done without such dangers, it is his unquestionable duty to undermine a system of which the direct tendency is, in his opinion, the *spiritual and final* ruin of men. Is there a Catholic divine who can dispute this doctrine? Is there a learned and conscientious priest among you, who would give absolution to such a person as, having it in his power so to direct his votes and conduct in parliament as to diminish the influence of Protestant principles, without disturbing or alarming the country, would still heartily and steadfastly join in promoting the interest of the English Church."

The Protestant dissenter who sits in the British Parliament is not required to swear or to promise that he will "heartily and steadfastly join in promoting the interest of the English Church." The Catholic seeks admittance only upon that principle, upon which it has been conceded to the Presbyterian, to the Baptist, to the Unitarian, and to the Jew, for I believe there are members of that nation in the British Parliament, I know there were; and I know there is nothing to prevent their admission; for the oath of supremacy and the Test Act are equivalently repealed, and there is no oath now required, save that of allegiance, and of abjuration of Popery. Thus, in fact, the British House of Parliament is open to every and to any person of any religion, or of no religion, unless he be a Roman Catholic. Hence, the case is grossly misstated by White, in asserting that a Roman Catholic would, upon entering parliament, be obliged to swear that he would "heartily and steadfastly join in promoting the interest of the English Church." The Catholic only requires to have the oath and declaration against Popery consigned, together with Test Act and the oath of supremacy, to the tomb of all the Capulets.

But a difficulty arose in the minds of the English churchmen respecting Catholics, and was special in their case. They knew that all their rich benefices were but the remnants of donations given by pious Catholics during centuries to their own Catholic Church; and their terrors arose at the prospect of restitution. It was not the pang of a lacerated conscience, but the terror of an avaricious heart, which proclaimed, "Beware of those Catholics, for they will reclaim the property of their Church." Thus the whole bench of Bishops, with him of Osnaburg as their blaspheming leader, arose to vote for the eternal exclusion of the Catholic. The whole, did I write? No! The good, the just, the benevolent Bathurst of Norwich, and the fearless and upright Bishop of Rochester, would not unite with the ruthless oppressors. The Catholics assured the houses, long before, that upon this subject they need have no dread, and swore, and continue to swear, that "they will not use any right or privilege which they now enjoy, and may become entitled to, by any act of the legislature in their favor, in order to subvert or disturb the establishment of the Church, now by law Protestant, for the purpose of substituting a Roman Catholic establishment in its stead." Thus they gave those oaths, whose value has endured so searching a test as a guarantee that this terror was without foundation. Have you, my friends, ever known the possessor of rapine disposed to believe the declarations of the injured party, that he will seek no restitution? Men generally judge of others by themselves. But this is not my object. The truth is, then, that a Roman Catholic, if admissible to parliament, would not be required to swear that he would "promote the interest of the Protestant Church;" but he would be required to swear, not "to take its income away, for the purpose of giving it to the Catholic Church."

Thus the writer of the "Evidence" was guilty of misstatement, when he insinuated that a Catholic would be required to swear "that he would heartily and steadily join in promoting the interests of the English Church." In the passage before us, he commences by stating accurately the fact, in p. 70, where he mentions that "the Catholic divines of those kingdoms give their approbation to oaths tendered for the SECURITY of the *Protestant establishment*." SECURITY is not PROMOTION of *interest*, and there is a wide difference between a CHURCH and an ESTABLISHMENT, as Bishop Kemp himself *feelingly*

knows. Not only does this wide difference exist, but one still more palpable; for if by any sophistry, the two phrases could be brought to appear as equivalent to each other, still the Catholic could not be said to promote the interests of the Protestant Church by taking the oath; but that interest is promoted by the Protestant legislature, which, by requiring the oath, secures the establishment against the aggression of the Catholics; so that the requisition of this oath is perpetual evidence of the continued disposition of the Catholic not to secure the establishment by his own act. Yet this is what White calls, in p. 71, "oaths abhorrent from the belief of their own Church, which must precede the admission of Catholics into parliament;" "engagements on the part of the Roman Catholics, to SUPPORT and DEFEND the Church of England." In p. 72, "conscientiously SWEAR to PROTECT and ENCOURAGE the INTERESTS of the Church of England." The whole of White's argument is, then, based upon a false assumption, viz. that Roman Catholics seek admission into parliament upon the condition that they will swear "heartily and steadily to protect and to promote the interests of the Protestant Church." Whereas, the fact is, they seek it only upon the condition of not asking to resume the property of which they and their Church have been plundered by Henry VIII, the protectors of Edward VI, Elizabeth, the Stuarts, and the House of Hanover, under the pretext of reforming religion. And the writer of the "Evidence," by a gradual strengthening of his expressions, and using the weaker and the stronger, as if their meaning was the same, deludes the great body of his readers who hastily glance along his pages. Was this the case with the body of the American clergy who gave the book to their flocks? Were they misled by the sophistry? Or were they ignorant of the facts? Or, knowing the delusion, did they recommend the book for the charitable purpose of creating an unfavorable impression of the claims of the persecuted Catholics of the British empire, and a dislike of the Catholics of this Union?

White next asserts, that "the clergy of the Church of England have been involved in a general and indiscriminate charge of hypocrisy and simulation upon religious matters." As he does not specify the grounds of the charge, nor the persons by whom it is made, I am left solely to conjecture. I have frequently heard a conclusion drawn from premises which were never questioned; and this conclusion in some degree involved the charge. (1). It is a notorious fact, that the clergy of the Church of England subscribe, and perhaps swear, their ASSENT and CONSENT to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, on several occasions of the most solemn and religious description. (2). It is a notorious fact, that a vast portion of the clergy that have thus subscribed, publicly declare *that they do* NOT *believe* the truth of several of those articles. (3). It is a notorious fact, that during a very long period, some divines of that Church have maintained that no person can conscientiously subscribe his *assent and consent* to articles which he believes to be false. (4). It is a notorious fact that during an equally long period, some divines of that Church have maintained that a person may conscientiously subscribe his *assent and consent* to articles of religion which he believes not to be true, provided he does not intend to preach against them, or to teach a doctrine which contradicts them. (5). It is a notorious fact, that the great bulk of the clergy of the Protestant Church of England and of Ireland, avow that they subscribe upon this last principle, and that they do not believe all the doctrines contained in those artcles to be true. From those facts, the inference has been frequently drawn; and I think that the writer of the "Evidence" acted very wisely in not undertaking the defence of "that venerable body."

I have already shown how very little reliance is to be placed upon White as a witness, and therefore we can easily know the value of his assertion that "the strongest impressions which enliven and support his Christian faith are derived from his friendly intercourse with members of that insulted clergy." For my part I know from White's own book that he does not assent to the truth of the articles of the Church of England or he writes what he does not believe, and besides this certain knowledge, I am of opinion that he has no Christian faith. I am at a loss to know how the English Protestant clergy are insulted by believing their own testimony of themselves, viz. that they do not as a body believe in the truth of those articles to which they have sworn or at least subscribed their *assent* and *consent:* and I must avow that it would be adding to my stock of information, if the process were explained by which a man is confirmed in Christian faith by friendly intercourse with a clergy who are not agreed as to the articles which ought to be believed as being the revelation of Christ. But surely we would be more to blame, if instead of taking the character of the Protestant clergy of England from themselves, we were to seek out some profligate, who had in his early youth undertaken the solemn obligations of the ministry with a knowledge that he had not the requisite qualifications; who

spent his best years with irreligious companions in low debauch, who studied the worst works of infidels, to destroy in himself that faith which he preached to the people, upon which he lived, who closed his career of ten years' hypocrisy by vilifying his family, and who having fled from the punishment due to his multiplied crimes to a land which persecuted the professors of his ancient Church, of his father's land, earned the protection of its oppressive government by intreating it to continue its persecution; and calumniated his brethren for the purpose of palliating the criminality of that persecution. In a word, we prefer doing as we have done, to acting as Bishop Kemp and his associates have done, when they adduced the wretched White as the witness against the Catholic world. From their own mouths we take the testimony upon which we prove our charges against our opponents. We are assailed by the testimony of the profligates whom we have cast out, bolstered up by the recommendations of men who fill respectable offices.

Upon such testimony as this, Bishop Kemp and his associates have ventured to tell their flocks that there were "but few Spanish priests whose talents or acquirements were above contempt, who had not secretly renounced their religion." I say they tell this to their flocks, because they assure them that they may rely upon the statement of White, who says, p. 70, *that he knew this to be a fact.* I tell those gentlemen that such is not the fact. But if it was, see the dilemma to which they are reduced. They assert [that] the bigotry of the Spanish clergy is the proof of the bigotry of Roman Catholics; they assert that the Spanish clergy are not Roman Catholics. Now if they are not themselves members of our Church, why impute to us their bigotry, if they are bigots? As for the miserable exception of those whose talents or acquirements were below contempt: I can assure the "venerable body" that it would be found very small indeed. "The ignorant clergy of Spain" is a fashionable phrase, but if it is a true phrase, I believe we shall find a very ignorant clergy in other parts of the world, and perhaps even the Protestant clergy of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington would not escape; White is himself looked upon as not an ignorant man in the English University of Oxford, and in 1817, he published at Oxford a series of lectures upon the study of religion; yet he avows in p. 17, that he "was not of sufficient standing" to obtain a degree of licentiate of divinity at the Spanish University of Seville, and he avows in the note of that page, that a licentiate must undergo a *severe examination* before he can obtain either the rights or the honors of *Doctorship.* Some of the best informed theologians whom I have ever met with were educated amongst this "ignorant Spanish Clergy." In their schools were formed some of the best teachers from whom I ever imbibed any knowledge; and for my own part I must avow, [that] when I hear any person speak of the gross ignorance of the Spanish Clergy, I suspect he never had an opportunity of knowing what they are, or was unable to turn that opportunity to account. I must avow my misfortune, if misfortune it is, that I have studied under no better masters than those formed altogether in the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Flemish, the French, and the Italian schools: hence I may obtain some of the commiseration of the "venerable body," in regard to my stinted opportunities: and they will perhaps still more pity the delusion which leads me to boast that I owe all my knowledge to priests, and to thank Heaven that to England I owe nothing, save the detestation of her persecution and the forgiveness of her injuries. This libellous attack of White's upon the Spanish Clergy, has in Europe called forth a triumphant refutation, and the most ample testimonies have been given to the worth, the learning and the virtue of the calumniated Spanish Clergy; no person will deny that there are criminals to be found in their body, as a criminal was to be found in the Apostolic band; but collectively taken, the Clergy are learned and virtuous. There must be exceptions, of which White himself is an unfortunate exemplification. In Ireland the venerable, learned, and virtuous Primate of Armagh, the amiable and talented Primate of Dublin, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishops of Ardagh and of Ossory, are, and the late Archbishop of Cashel, was, an exhibition of the Spanish School, as the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, (Doyle,) and the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore are of the Portuguese. In the searching examinations before the committees of the British Parliament, most of those Prelates were closely and elaborately and ingeniously sifted, and won the approbation and esteem and respect of their very enemies, whilst the only Protestant Prelate whom Ireland exhibits as a theologian, Magee of Dublin, so far lost himself in the House of Lords, that not only did he sink in the estimation of the committee, but it was resolved that a portion of his testimony should be expunged, and expunged it was! The American Clergy who have drawn us into this discussion, must be very ignorant of the state of things at the other side of the Atlantic, or totally heedless of the consequence of their assaults upon us here with their imported weapons. I advise them to be quiet.

The next passage is as little founded in decency as it is fact, "that the Catholic priesthood of these kingdoms" are "in a state similar to the Spanish clergy," that this "may explain the support which they seem to give to oaths so abhorrent from the belief of their Church," viz. "those which must precede the admission of Catholics into Parliament." "If there are conscientious believers amongst the Catholic priesthood, they are either forced into silence or they deprecate those oaths."

Here are a number of distinct and calumnious falsehoods brought forward to explain a fable.

The fable is, that the Catholics previous to being admitted into Parliament engaged to swear that they will support and defend the Church of England.

The calumnious falsehoods are—

1. That very few Spanish priests whose talents or acquirements were above contempt, adhered conscientiously to their religion.

2. That only the supposition of the Irish and English Catholic priesthood being in a similar state could rationally explain their conduct.

3. That the oath required of Catholics previous to their admission into Parliament, is abhorrent from the belief of their Church.

This proposition, perhaps, is not a falsehood, for it is nonsense. I do not know how an oath can feel horror, or how it can be abhorrent *from* belief: however, as Mr. White is a foreigner, I shall give what I suppose he meant by what he wrote, viz:

The oath is in opposition to the tenets of the Catholic Church.

4. In those cases, conscientious believers deprecate and condemn the oath and engagement.

5. But in those cases they are forced into silence.

6. Such force has been used in similar cases.

7. The engagement implies either a renunciation of the tenet excluding Protestants from the benefits of the Gospel promises or a shocking indifference to the eternal welfare of man.

The last is not so properly a false statement as a false inference, and may be dismissed by merely observing that the disjunction is not good, as several middle propositions might be found as alternatives; and next, as the engagement is only a promise not to seek for restitution of Church property, it has nothing to do either with Gospel promises or indifference to man's salvation.

An attempt is made in the following note, to sustain the truth of the 6th proposition.

NOTE—I recollect something about the persecution of one Mr. Gandolphy, a London priest, who was obliged to appeal personally to Rome against the persecution of his brethren, for exposing too freely the doctrines which might increase the difficulties of the Catholic emancipation. The Pope did not condemn him. Since writing this note I have seen the case of Mr. Gandolphy stated in an able publication of the Rev. George Croly, entitled *Popery and the Popish Question*. Mr. G's doctrines were highly approved at Rome.

It would have been much more to the purpose to state correctly and fully the proof than to pretend it existed. Mr. Gandolphy's case has nothing in it which can support the truth of the above proposition: as I do not wish to encumber my matter unnecessarily, I shall only say, I am ready to meet any attempt of this description when it shall be made.

It is very strange also to find that Mr. Gandolphy who wrote in London, and published his book in that city, and who appealed, as it is said, to Rome, and was, as it is said, sustained by Rome, was forced to be silent. Could the "venerable body" explain what this sort of silence means? Writing, speaking, printing, publishing, appealing, obtaining the approbation of the supreme tribunal for what was so written, said, printed and published, means, being forced into silence!! Wonderful discovery!!! White, in addition to his other good qualities, has proved himself to be the very pink of lexicographers.

I must close this letter.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 19, 1827.

LETTER XXV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—I now come to the topic which has, during centuries, afforded a most prolific source of calumny, and an abundant theme of declamation to our opponents. I shall enter upon it at some length, and discuss it thoroughly; you will therefore have need of patience, and my excuse must be found in the importance of the subject and the injustice of our assailants.

White continues in the following strain:

"If your leaders, whom it would be uncharitable to suspect of the latter feeling, have so far receded from the Roman creed as to allow us the common privileges of Christianity, and can conscientiously swear to protect and encourage the interests of the Church of England, let them, in the name of truth, speak openly before the world, and be the first to remove that obstacle to mutual benevolence, and perfect community of political privileges—the doctrine of exclusive salvation in your Church. Cancel but that one article from your creed, and all liberal men in Europe will offer you the

right-hand of fellowship. Your other doctrines concern but yourselves; this endangers the peace and freedom of every man living, and that in proportion to your goodness; it makes your very benevolence a curse."

The doctrine of *exclusive salvation* is the vision which appals the lisping infant in the nursery, is given as the schoolboy's theme, rounds the period of joyous graduates at commencement-day, affords scope for the amplification of the spouter at the sanctified assembly of collectors of cents, rouses the ire of the raving enthusiast, fills the eye of deluded piety, and is as solemnly given by doting age as it is flippantly stated by careless infidelity to be the attribute of Popery, the characteristic of our Church, the mark of Antichrist. What in the name of wonder is the meaning of this cabalistic phrase; this so frequently repeated, and so little understood, expression? The phrase, taken in its obvious meaning, is, that salvation is to be had only in some special way, that is by that mode to the exclusion of all others. In this general principle every human being agrees, that there is some one way which man must follow to be saved. When I say every human being, I mean every one who believes in a state of salvation and in a state of damnation; even the Universalist, who says that all will ultimately be saved, is included, for he believes that there is at least a purgatory, though not a hell: and this purgatory is so far a state of damnation.

There is not a human being then who does not hold the doctrine of exclusive salvation: the difference of their belief consists only in the different extent and description of the exclusion. The Deist excludes the murderer and the robber: the Mahometan excludes the infidel: the Christian requires the belief of the doctrines of Jesus Christ and a conformity to his law on the part of all those to whom that law is promulgated; the Presbyterian, who believes in the Trinity, excludes the Socinian and the Unitarian; the Episcopalian excludes those who have not apostolical ministry, or who wilfully or carelessly follow corrupt doctrine. Thus, in a word, there is no religious division which does not exclude many persons from salvation. If, therefore, the doctrine of exclusive salvation be "an obstacle to perfect *community of political* privileges," every sect which in any way acquired political privileges must suppose itself justified in not admitting others to any participation therein. Is this the *political doctrine* of Bishop Kemp and the "venerable body?" And yet how White and they inveigh against Spain and South America! The doctrine of exclusive salvation, then, means the belief that only some persons will be saved. Would White have us believe that *all persons* will be saved? Yet he would call himself a Christian, and a member of the Church of England; of that Church whose 18th article is in the following words:

"They also are to be had ACCURSED, that *presume* to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us ONLY the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved."

In 1814, White tells us, p. 32, "Evidence," that he subscribed this article: thus he subscribed the doctrine of *exclusive salvation.* Bishop Kemp subscribed this same doctrine, for he subscribed the same article.

In the Presbyterian Confession of Faith for the Church in the United States, published in 1821, chap. x, *Of effectual calling*, sec. iv, it is stated as follows:

"Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the spirit, yet they never truly come to Christ, and therefore *cannot be saved: much less can men, not possessing the Christian religion,* BE SAVED IN ANY OTHER WAY WHATSOEVER, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the law of nature, and the *law of that religion they do profess;* and to assert and maintain that they may, is very PERNICIOUS and to be DETESTED."

This Confession of Faith is adopted by some of the venerable body which has charged the holding of the doctrine of exclusive salvation to be making *our* very benevolence a curse, and makes *us* dangerous to the peace and freedom of every man living. The same doctrine is found word for word in the corresponding chapter and section of the "Confession of Faith of the Associate and Reformed Church, following the Church of Scotland, in the United States of America," as published in 1813. This denomination is, I believe, generally known by the appellation of "Covenanters." I add here, the questions and answers upon the subject from the larger catechism, which are in the Presbyterian and Covenanting Churches word for word the same, p. 194, Presbyterian.

"Q. 59. *Who are made partakers of redemption through Christ?*

"A. Redemption is certainly applied, and effectually communicated, to all those for whom Christ hath purchased it; who are in time by the Holy Ghost enabled to believe in Christ: according to the Gospel.

"Q. 60. *Can they who have never heard the Gospel, and so know not Jesus Christ, nor believe in him, be saved by their living according to the light of nature?*

"A. They who having never heard the Gospel, know not Jesus Christ, and believe not in him, cannot be saved, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, or the laws of that religion which they profess; neither is there salvation in any other, but in Christ alone, who is the Saviour only of his body, the Church.

"Q. 61. *Are all they saved who hear the Gospel, and live in the Church?*

"A. All that hear the Gospel, and live in the visible Church, are not saved; but only they who are true members of the Church invisible.

"Q. 62. *What is the visible Church?*

"A. The visible Church is a society made up of all such as in all ages and places of the world do profess the true religion, and of their children.

"Q. 68. *Are the elect only effectually called?*

"A. All the elect, and they only, are effectually called; although others may be and often are outwardly called by the ministry of the word, and have some common operations of the Spirit; who, for their wilful neglect and contempt of the grace offered to them, being justly left in their unbelief, do never truly come to Jesus Christ."

Surely the gentlemen who teach this catechism will not deny that they teach a doctrine of exclusive salvation.

The Confession of Faith of the Reformed Dutch Church of the United States of America, published in New York in 1815, has the xxviii article of its doctrine in the following words:

"*That every one is bound to join himself to the true Church.*"

"We believe, since *this holy congregation* is an assembly of those who are saved, AND THAT OUT OF IT THERE is NO SALVATION, that no person, of whatsoever state or condition he may be, ought to withdraw himself, to live in a separate state from it; but that all men are in duty bound to join and unite themselves with it, maintaining the unity of the Church; submitting themselves to the doctrine and discipline thereof; bowing their necks under the yoke of Jesus Christ; and as mutual members of the same body, serving to the edification of the brethren, according to the talents God has given them. And that this may be the more effectually observed, it is the duty of all believers, according to the word of God, to separate themselves from all those who do not belong to the Church, and to join themselves to this congregation, wheresoever God hath established it, even though the magistrates and the edicts of princes were against it; yea, though they should suffer death or any other corporeal punishment. Therefore all those, who separate themselves from the same, or do not join themselves to it, act contrary to the ordinance of God."

The doctrine of *exclusive salvation* is not only taught by those whose Confessions and Catechisms I have here cited, but by all others, as I have before asserted, and shall hereafter more fully show, but I have here quoted only a few as samples of all.

I have now arrived at this point; that the general principle of the doctrine is not peculiar to our Church, but is common to every species of religious association: that the only difference between them consists on this head, of where the line is to be drawn within which, they who are in the way of salvation are to be found, and without which, they who are criminal and in a state of danger are left.

Before, however, I proceed to make that farther inquiry as to whether the Church to which we belong, or its opponents, act more reasonably and charitably in drawing this line, I shall make a previous inquiry, in order to rectify vague impressions, which are but too common, and whose vagueness and indistinctness make the doctrine appear what it really is not.

Suppose for instance I were to ask Bishop Kemp whether he has the power of condemning any person to hell; he would very properly and very naturally feel astonished at my gross ignorance, or unblushing effrontery, and he would in all Christian humility assure me that he had not. Let me ask the question of any one of his associates; I know, very naturally, that I shall be told in the same manner that he disclaims having any such power; that to pretend to its possession or exercise would, in him, be arrogance and blasphemy. But I tell them, that they have one and all, excluded from heaven and condemned to hell a large portion of the human race: for they have decided upon their damnation in those articles to which they have subscribed. The answer of the venerable body, will be very simple, and I believe very sufficient. It will be that in stating a plain fact, they only testify what they know, but the regulation lay not with them: they will tell me, that God, and he only, made the regulation, and that they only do as St. Paul did when he wrote,* *Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God:* they merely testify what God has regulated, not what they are disposed to do, or have the power of doing. They will still farther tell me that they consider it to be an evidence of kindness towards an unfortunate sinner to give him this information; that the declaration is made by the Apostle to remove a delusion; to save the sinner from destruction, not to send him to

* 1 Cor. vi, 9.—K. James's Version.

perdition. They will add that the Apostle wrote also:* *Without faith it is impossible to please him*, (God); and that our Saviour said,† *He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned*, and therefore it is charity and kindness on their part and not any bad disposition towards the unfortunate fellow-beings whom they desire to save, [which] urges them to testify [that] those things are necessary to salvation. White himself, they would swear, agrees with them in stating, page 72, [that] approbation of error in doctrine would argue "a shocking indifference to the eternal welfare of man." Such, I am convinced, would be their answer substantially, if not in words. The conclusions which they would have us draw from it are, "That to declare plainly what we believe is required by God for salvation, is not to dictate to God upon what terms he must save man." "That our plain declaration of what we believe to be against God's law, is not on our part to doom to hell, the guilty person." "That our simple declaration of what we believe to be necessary for salvation, accompanied with an admonition to those who refuse conformity, of the danger of their destruction; is not a want of charity for them: in several instances, would be the best evidence of our affection for themselves, and of our zeal for their welfare."

I am, for own part, fully satisfied with the correctness of this reasoning: I give the full benefit of it to the venerable body, upon the condition that they do in like manner to me; and we shall then have arrived at this conclusion: The doctrine of exclusive salvation is no evidence of uncharitableness in those who hold it. It *might* create party spirit, but not as its necessary consequence.

Having cleared up so much of our way, I now complain of that gross and palpable injustice which makes criminal in the Catholic what is not rebuked in his opponents; which perpetually accuses us of illiberality for what is never charged as illiberal against our assailants: I complain that too many persons talk of uncharitable doctrines where they do not exist: and exhibit us as exclusively uncharitable in holding a tenet which is not peculiar to ourselves, but which is held in common by every religious society: because in truth all hold the doctrine of exclusive salvation, but the point of dispute is, where shall the line be drawn.

I shall state where we draw it, let others draw for themselves. The first principle of a Roman Catholic is: man is bound to believe all that God teaches, and to do all that God commands: whosoever refuses to believe what God proposes or to obey what he commands, is not in God's Church; and out of his Church there is no salvation. A question next presents itself, as to how the fact of what God teaches and commands can be ascertained by man, and upon this a Roman Catholic believes, that when God made the revelation of his truths and of his precepts, he entrusted their preservation to a society for which he established a special constitution and government; and that this society was by his ordinance to continue at all times the witness of the facts, and that this divinely commissioned witness was his Church; whether we view it in the patriarchal aggregation before the days of Moses; in the Aaronitic and Levitical body and their adherents to the coming of Christ; or in the Apostles and their successors and adherents, thence, to the end of the world. The Roman Catholic believes that the testimony of this body is the evidence of the truth of doctrine, and of precept, and of divine institution to those to whom that testimony is given; and that the unbounded mercy of God may provide extraordinary help for those who have never received this testimony or who have never clearly seen its foundation of certainty based upon the truth and power, and commission of God himself. Thus all they who profess their belief of what God has taught by the testimony of the Church are in its invisible society: but several comprised in this society will be excluded from salvation, because of their violation of the precepts; and probably several who do not now appear in that society, may by the extraordinary grace and favor of our merciful God be brought within its bosom by belief, and practice, and profession: and though this external profession should never be made, we cannot pass our judgment upon individuals of whose opportunities and dispositions God alone can judge. We therefore say [that] all who are separated from the Church are in error: but we cannot say that all who are now in error will be excluded from heaven: neither can we say that all who die under delusion are criminal: because there can be no criminality without either neglect of the opportunities which existed, for the discovery of truth, or the obstinate rejection of discovered truth, or the base shame of professing what one knows to be truth: and we may charitably hope that those exceptions will cover a multitude. Thus our doctrine of exclusive salvation, unites truth and charity together.

I shall pursue this subject in my next.

Yours, &c.,

B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 26, 1827.

* Heb. xi, 6. † Mark xvi, 16.

LETTER XXVI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—It has too long and too generally been the impression in these States, that the doctrine of exclusive salvation is peculiar to the Roman Catholic Church; you now perceive that such is not the fact; you are aware of its being the doctrine of every religious society. Having ascertained this point, I now proceed to make an historical inquiry, of great importance to the cause of Christianity, and to the vindication of our own character. The general impression is also in America, that it was our Church which, with a ruthless and tyrannical spirit, created that separation of Christians which here so lamentably exists: that it was we who banished from our society, and denounced damnation against the Protestants for their merely being obedient to the dictates of conscience;—are these facts?—Let us examine.

Of one fact there can be no doubt, viz. that in Europe at the commencement of the fifteenth century, Christians were in a religious unity; we will, if our opponents require it, admit, for argument sake, that this was a unity of error. But if this error were not calculated to destroy man's hope of salvation, there could be no excuse for departing therefrom: whoever went out could justify that procedure only upon the ground of the error into which that united body had fallen, being so grievous, as that a communion therein would exclude the participator from salvation. And in fact, the persons who led off the separatists gave this as the reason for their secession; they called upon all others to follow them, as they loved their souls and desired to avoid damnation. In the words of a very uncharitable and libellous "Protestant Catechism" printed in 1824, by J. Crissy, and G. Goodman, in Philadelphia; and published by "the Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, for the advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania," FOR "THE EPISCOPAL FEMALE TRACT SOCIETY of PHILADELPHIA," we find what they have stated: after the assertion of several calumnies it asks,

Q. Can you name any other errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome?

A. Several others might be named; but those already mentioned are abundantly sufficient to show that the Church of Rome hath, in a great measure, changed the pure and holy religion of Christ, into a most wretched and dangerous superstition.

Q. What do you think of those who live in the communion of so corrupt a Church?

A. That they are under a most grievous bondage; and therefore I heartily pity them and pray for their conversion.

Q. What do you think of those who separate themselves from the Church of Rome? May they do it lawfully?

A. They not only may, but ARE INDISPENSABLY BOUND by God's command to renounce all such idolatrous and sinful practices, and may rest assured of his favor in so doing. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." 2 Cor. vi, 17.

As one of the objects of their pity, I feel under such obligations to the good ladies of this society in the city of Philadelphia, that if God spares me life, I shall pay them no slight or evanescent attention. Meantime I shall feel obliged to any friend who will forward to B. C. through the office of the Miscellany, the list of the officers and members of this society in the year 1823, and thence to the present period; and I hereby tender my thanks to the person who forwarded this pretty tract to the Bishop, from whom I have received it; I had not previously seen a copy. My statement then is, that if there be want of charity in calling persons by provoking names for holding alleged doctrinal errors; that want of charity did not originate with Roman Catholics; if there be criminality in asserting that persons cannot be saved by following their fathers in the profession which they had made of the Christian faith, that criminality is not of Catholic origin; if separation because of doctrinal error is a curse to the world, that curse was not inflicted by Catholics. I shall proceed to show that we have been sinned against, and that the transgressors have imputed to us their own acts. I repeat my former assertion: and I shall fully prove its truth. WE DID NOT SEPARATE FROM THE PROTESTANTS. Their fathers and our fathers were in the same Church, and their fathers left ours, alleging that they could not be saved if they remained in the communion from which they departed. With them originated the charge against our predecessors: let them retract the charge and renew the union: let them bring back things to that state in which they were at the time of this unfortunate division: let them come in amongst us and we shall do every thing in our power to gratify, and to conciliate them: but we cannot charge our common ancestors with having destroyed the purity of Christ's religion, for we do not believe they did. How then, shall we be re-united, unless they come to us, or we follow them? We state that we have kept the doctrine unchanged—if such be the fact,

and they do not object to our present doctrines, their fathers made a sad mistake, which it is the duty of our friends to correct: if our present doctrines are such as they do not object to, we ask them only to embrace those doctrines which we now hold, but if they tell us that these are damnable and idolatrous, are they not now repeating the assertion of the first separatists *that there is no salvation in our Church*, and that they cannot come back; that the union would destroy truth which God commanded them to preserve. Thus we only stand upon that ground of doctrine upon which their fathers and ours, have during centuries, stood together: their fathers left us and made new Churches, alleging, that they would be criminal if they did not: we perpetually invite their re-union, and they answer by telling us, that all who desire salvation ought to leave us, for that we have corrupted the purity of God's religion; we state that our consciences testify to us that we have not, and that the evidence of history proves that we have only followed the Apostles, and made no doctrinal changes; we invite them to follow what this evidence makes plain, and to be re-united. We are again told that we are superstitious and idolatrous, and *that their value for the salvation of their souls prevents their uniting in our idolatry*, and they have the modesty to state that we shock the pious and destroy charity by our doctrine of exclusive salvation. "Cancel but that one article from your creed, and all liberal men in Europe will offer you the right-hand of fellowship."—Is not this worse than ludicrous? But the next assertion is, more absurd if possible. "Your other doctrines concern but yourselves." Why, was it not upon the very score of those other doctrines the separation was made? is it not upon their score the separation is continued? If you, good gentlemen of the "venerable body," will unite with us in professing the other doctrines, we shall cancel this as far as it regards you. No! you cannot, you say, adopt our doctrines. Why then exhibit such an absurdity as the assertion that those doctrines concerned *only* ourselves? I have frequently had to wade through nonsense and self-contradiction, but never have I felt it so thick and muddy as in this book, so lauded, by so venerable a body!

This topic must not be too hastily passed over; I shall take two or three of the divisions of our opposed phalanx, and test the assertion by facts. I shall with all due deference begin with him who has been put forward as the leader in our denunciation, Bishop Kemp, and shall pay my respects to his Church.

In examining the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, I shall use only her own standard book, and the thirty-nine articles as she has curtailed them: so that, I shall not be accused of doing as they have done who published White's "Evidence." I shall treat them with all fairness and honor.

In article xviii, as was seen in our last, she teaches that they are to be ACCURSED, *that presume* to say, that men may be saved in any law or sect, for there is *only the name of Christ* whereby man *must* be saved. I take the meaning of this to be, that *all who do not hold the right and true Christian faith, are excluded from salvation.*

The xxxvth article is in the following words:—

Art. XXXV. *Of Homilies.*

"The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined, under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of *Edward the Sixth*; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people.

Of the Names of the Homilies.

1. *Of the right Use of the Church.*
2. *Against Peril of Idolatry.*
3. *Of Repairing and Keeping Clean of Churches.*
4. *Of good works; first of Fasting.*
5. *Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.*
6. *Against Excess of Apparel.*
7. *Of Prayer.*
8. *Of the Place and Time of Prayer.*
9. *That Common Prayer and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known Tongue.*
10. *Of the Reverent Estimation of God's Word.*
11. *Of Alms-doing.*
12. *Of the Nativity of Christ.*
13. *Of the Passion of Christ.*
14. *Of the Resurrection of Christ.*
15. *Of the unworthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.*
16. *Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.*
17. *For the Rogation-days.*
18. *Of the State of Matrimony.*
19. *Of Repentance.*
20. *Against Idleness.*
21. *Against Rebellion.*"

The exception taken by the American Church is in the following words:

This Article is received in this Church, so far as it declares the books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrine, and instructive in piety and morals. But all references to the constitution and laws of England are considered as inapplicable to the circumstances of this Church, which also suspends the order for the reading of said Homilies in Churches,

until a revision of them may be conveniently made, for the clearing of them, as well from obsolete words and phrases, as from the local references.

This exception is an adoption of the *doctrine* contained in the Homilies—whatever therefore has no local reference, or is not based upon the British constitution, or British law, in the Homilies, is adopted as a good explanation of the doctrine of the American Church.

Those Homilies are stated in the article to be comprised in two books; the first was set forth in the time of Edward VI, the second in the time of Elizabeth. They are both stated "to contain Godly and wholesome doctrine," "and necessary for the time," viz. a time of transition from the Catholic to the Protestant doctrine.

My quotations are taken from the edition by Swords, 160, Pearl street, New York, 1815. In the *third part of the Sermon on Salvation*, p. 25, is the following passage:

"For *the right and true Christian faith* is not only *to believe holy Scripture, and all the foresaid articles of our faith, are true;* but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's promises, to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ: whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments."

I shall now state what I take to be the constituent parts of Protestant Episcopal Faith. (1). A belief of the doctrines contained in the Scriptures; the Nicene and Apostles' Creed are but partial specifications under this general head; I assume that the belief of the articles themselves is another specification. (2). Confidence in the promises of salvation through the merits of Christ. (3). And, as a consequence of this belief and confidence, the love of God manifested in the observance of his commandments. Thus, what they call faith comprises, our, 1, faith; 2, hope; 3, charity.

Now the want of any constituent part of faith destroys its existence; hence, erroneous belief being a want of belief of true doctrine, is destructive of faith, and consequently excludes from salvation.

I shall now advert to a very few of our doctrines, which the English Church and the American Church call erroneous, and for the holding of which, we are upon their principles excluded from salvation.

I shall not now stop to examine either of the articles x, or xi, or xii, but I shall take the xiiith. The Roman Catholic Church always held that in the Scriptures we are taught, that no work is deserving of God's kingdom, or of everlasting salvation, unless it be done by the special aid or grace of God, given for that purpose, through the merits of Jesus Christ; but she also taught, that many good, moral acts might be done by persons who had no faith, or the belief of the true doctrine, which acts, though not deserving of heaven, were yet performed in virtue of God's special aid; and so far from being sinful, were frequently rewarded by God with temporal blessings, and were also, as it were, inducements to him to bestow more ample and abundant and efficacious graces upon those persons who corresponded with his first aid. Those moral, good works were done before the performer had faith, or was justified; but they frequently made him meet for sanctifying grace, and by a sort of congruity or fitness deserved from the mercy of heaven, through the merits of the Redeemer, what could not be claimed upon the score of justice.

The Protestants, in the days of Edward VI, said that this was a blasphemous error of the Catholic Church, and stated that those works done without faith were all sins, and however good they might appear, yet they not only were not preparations for grace, but had the nature of sin. Thus, a man who erred concerning a doctrine, or who wanted full confidence in the promises of salvation through Christ, committed sin, when he relieved his sick or destitute brother from motives of mere humanity or compassion. Yes, I repeat the statement. The Catholic said it was an act of human virtue, and done in consequence of God's aid, and was meet to receive some reward, perhaps grace, from God's mercy; but the Protestant said it was a sin, as being done without faith, and deserved therefore no reward, and that it was a blasphemy to believe as the Catholic Church did; and that whoever desired salvation should separate themselves from the superstitious and blaspheming Catholics. Let me not be condemned until my proof shall have been examined.

The xiiith article of the Protestant Episcopal Church is—

"Works done *before* the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his spirit, *are not pleasant to God, for as much as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ*, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but *they have the nature of sin.*"

What would be said of our bigotry and infatuation were we to assert that a benevolent Unitarian, or a humane Quaker, neither of whom has Protestant faith, had no merit for relieving a sick family, but that we doubted not but this act of his had in it the nature of sin? The doctrine of our prede-

cessors was, as ours is, that the act would be meritorious of increase of eternal life, through the merits of Christ, if done under the influence of his grace by a justified person; but, under any circumstances, when done even through mere motives of natural virtue, from pure benevolence without faith, it would not be sinful, but would be virtuous, and would have a sort of claim of congruity upon the Author of good to bestow some favor upon the benevolent performers. This, however, is one of our Papistical errors, and one of so deep a dye of criminality, as to be a cause for leaving our communion! As I believe several of my readers may yet be inclined to doubt the truth of my statement, the above article notwithstanding, I shall go more fully into the case.

In the *second paragraph of the Homily on Salvation*, p. 21, after stating a variety of arguments, of the value of which I now take no notice, to support the doctrine of the article xi, *that we are justified by faith only*, and upon which rests chiefly the assertion in article xiii, that works done before faith have the nature of sin, the following passage is found: "This faith the Holy Scripture teacheth us; this is the strong rock and foundation of the Christian religion; this doctrine all old and ancient authors of Christ's Church do approve; this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beateth down the vain glory of man; this whoever denieth *is not to be accounted for a Christian man*, nor for a setter forth of Christ's glory, but for an *adversary to Christ* and his Gospel, and for a setter forth of man's vain glory," &c.

In the next page, the compiler of the homily insinuates a gross falsehood, viz. that Catholics claimed to be justified by their works, when, in fact, they assert *that man is justified only by God*, but they do not assert that useful works done with good natural motives were sinful, though the performer of those works were an infidel.

They always held that the works of natural virtue were not bad, though not sufficient for salvation; that he who aided by God performed such works, had by his obedience to the natural law, and his co-operation with the aid of heaven, a claim of congruity upon the further aid of a merciful God, so that by his co-operation with the first grace, or aid and preparation, or disposition, he became meet to receive from a merciful God a second grace, by means whereof God might justify him in his sight.

Now, if I can show that the Protestant Churches stated as a reason for their separation from the Roman Catholics, that our Church erred in extending the possibility of salvation to a greater number of persons, and a more diversified description of persons than Protestants did, I shall have shown that their doctrine of exclusive salvation is more illiberal than is ours.

Having taken the general view which I laid before you, we are better prepared to enter upon the examination of details. And first, we have seen that in article xviii they are called ACCURSED, who say that a man may be saved by diligently framing his life, according to the principles of the law of his sect and the light of nature, for he *cannot be saved unless by the name of Christ*. In article xvii, we are informed who they are that shall be saved, viz. *the predestined, they who be justified freely*, who are "made the sons of God by adoption," who "be made like to the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ," who "walk religiously in good works." In article xiii, we are told that works which spring not of faith in Jesus Christ are not good, but they have the nature of sin. In article xii, good works "do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith." In article xi, "we are justified by faith only." In the first part of the Sermon on Faith (Homilies, p. 29,) "without faith no good works can be done, which shall be acceptable and pleasant to God." In the homily, p. 25, we are told that the foundation of this faith is the belief of the doctrines of Christ. "For the right and true Christian faith is not only to believe that Holy Scripture and all the foresaid articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises, to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ, whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments." Here the Protestant Episcopal Church is, at least, equally exclusive in principle as is ours. I shall now point out an essential difference in favor of the liberality of our tenets. First, we do not exclude from the chance of salvation those persons who, not having heard of the name of Jesus Christ, are diligent to frame their lives according to that law which they have received, and to the light of nature: though we may run the risk of being denounced by Bishop Kemp as ACCURSED for our *presumption;* we refer him for our excuse to the second chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. Secondly, we do not say that all works which do not spring from faith have the nature of sin, and thus we do not say that the acts of benevolence and sincere prayers of Unitarians or Deists are offensive to God, as every thing must be which has the nature of sin. Thirdly, we do not say that God is not moved by those works, to look with kindness upon the performers,

but we do say that, although these works were not the result of his sanctifying or justifying grace, they were the results of the co-operation of the free will of the performer with the sufficient grace which God had bestowed; and that this co-operation was an act of virtue which makes the agent meet to receive grace, and inclines God to bestow it: that although the agent has no claim of justice upon the author of grace, by reason of his co-operation, yet by reason thereof, and the mercy of heaven, there is a congruity of fitness for more grace. White would never have written as he did, if he were even a tolerable theologian; perhaps the tenets of their own Churches, as exhibited in their own doctrinal books, will appear strange to many of our assailants. The truth is, they generally speak and write upon subjects of which they know little, and are therefore inconsistent with themselves. I defy them now to subvert this proposition: "The doctrine of exclusive salvation, as taught by the Roman Catholic Church, is far more liberal and more charitable, than the doctrine of exclusive salvation taught by the Protestant Church of England, or by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America." Should this be questioned by any person, I shall take no notice of rhapsody or of rhetoric, but I am ready to maintain its truth by documentary evidence, and the only documents which I will use or admit, are the doctrinal decisions or formularies, and authorized interpretations of public official bodies, or officers of both Churches.

I shall now proceed to shew that one of the reasons for separating from our Church was her alleged error upon the above and other heads of doctrine. In the second part of the Sermon on Good Works, (Homilies, p. 41,) the professed object is to shew what works spring out of true faith and lead men to everlasting life, and it is answered the observance of God's commandments. The sermon then continues to shew how men left the commandments, and devising what they called good works, fell into idolatry. God sent Moses to take away their blindness; but the Jews "esteeming their own fantasies and devotions to be better than the institutions of God," "invented pilgrimages and precious deckings of images, censing them," &c. "Priests and people were corrupted and blindly deceived with these abominations," until Josaphat, Josias, and Ezechias and others destroyed the same clearly, and brought the people from such their feigned inventions, unto the very commandments of God." When Christ came, he reproved them for substituting the traditions of men for the commandments of God. In the third part of the sermon, p. 45, it is stated that the same dereliction of the commandments of God for "such works as men have studied out of their own brain," has displeased God,—after a long enumeration of the "false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other abuses," and the usual subterfuge of conscious calumny, p. 46, "which superstition, although (thanks to God) it had been little used in this realm, yet in divers other realms, it had been and yet is used among many, both learned and unlearned," the following expressions are found,—"Honor be to God, who did put light in the heart of his faithful and true minister of most famous memory, King Henry VIII, and gave him the knowledge of his word, and an earnest affection to seek his glory, and to put away all such superstitious and pharisaical sects, by Antichrist invented and set up against the word, of God, and glory of his most blessed name, as he gave a like spirit unto the most noble and famous princes, Josaphat, Josias, and Ezechias. God grant all us the King's Highness' faithful and true subjects, to feed of the sweet and savoury bread of God's own word and (as Christ commanded) to eschew all our Pharisaical and PAPISTICAL leaven of men's feigned religion: which although it were BEFORE GOD MOST ABOMINABLE, and contrary to God's commandments and Christ's pure religion, yet it was praised to be a most godly life, and brightest state of perfection," &c. After an enumeration of several "other kinds of Papistical superstitions and abuses," the Homily towards its conclusion, p. 49, exhorts to "Flee all idolatry, witchcraft," &c.

For the present, I believe that I have proved our doctrine of exclusive salvation to be more liberal than that of Bishop Kemp, and next, that it was "that true and faithful minister of God, King Henry VIII, who put away the superstitious, idolatrous, and Pharisaical adherents of Antichrist" the Papists. Thus we did not turn out our Protestant brethren to be damned, but they left us, lest they should be lost by remaining in our communion. Is it then not ridiculous in Blanco White and his American sponsors of the Protestant Episcopal Church to upbraid us with our doctrine of exclusive salvation? Do they expect that we shall make ours as illiberal as is theirs? God forbid, that we should exclude from every hope of salvation the poor Indian who dies knowing nothing of Christ, or the Protestant Episcopalian who is perhaps kept from our communion only by the gross misrepresentations of those who ought to know better. God forbid that although we deplore their want of faith, we should say that their works of benevolence, and

their sincere prayers have the nature of sin! If they have for us the charity which we have for them, they will not bear false witness against us. I shall continue this subject. Yours, &c. B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 5, 1827.

LETTER XXVII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—It is well to keep our eye closely fixed upon the subject of our examination. I am not at present inquiring as to the correctness or the incorrectness of the doctrines of our opponents: but I am ascertaining their several doctrines upon the subject of exclusive salvation, in order to show that our tenets on this head are more liberal than theirs; and therefore that the charge of illiberality upon this score came with a very bad grace from them: next, I desire to show that it was not we who left their communion, alleging that we could not be saved if we remained therein, but that it was the assertion of their predecessors, that they could not with safe consciences remain in the Church, which was common to them and to our fathers; and therefore they went out from us. Thus the charge of holding corrupt and damnable doctrines was made upon us, not by us. If it be illiberal and uncharitable for any division of Christians to make such charges against their brethren, let the imputation of want of liberality and charity be cast upon those who deserve it: for our parts, nothing will gratify us so much as to receive our brethren back to our communion. Let them only destroy those documents which charge us with having corrupted the doctrine of Christ: let them only admit that we have not erred from the truth of the Gospel, and there shall be peace, harmony and communion between them and us again.

In my last, I have shown that the Church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, are more confined in their doctrine of exclusive salvation than is the Roman Catholic Church. I have also shown how they praise God for having raised up that "faithful and true minister of most famous memory, King Henry VIII," to put away our doctrine, "to eschew all our Pharisaical and Papistical leaven of man's feigned religion." I now proceed to the exhibition of the tenets of the Presbyterian Church of the United States: in doing which I use their Confession of Faith and Constitution of their Church, as printed in Philadelphia, and published by Anthony Finley, corner of Chesnut and Fourth streets, 1821, copy-right secured by the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, D. D., by order of the General Assembly, on behalf of the Trustees of the General Assembly of the said Church.

The chap. iii of the Confession of Faith is *Of God's Eternal Decree.* I select a few of the sections of this chapter.

"III. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death.

"IV. These angels and men, thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

"V. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereto; and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

"VI. As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved; but the elect only.

"VII. The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice."

From these sections I gather the doctrine of that Church to be, (1) That God has predestined some men to salvation; (2) That he has predestined the rest of mankind to damnation; (3) That those who are predestined to salvation, and who are called the elect, are so chosen, not by reason of any good which they do, but merely because God so wills; (4) That they who are predestined to damnation are so doomed, not by reason of any prevision of their misconduct, for his decree by which they are so predestined was not made because *he foresaw* that misconduct *as future;* for

"II. Although God knows whatever may or can came to pass upon all supposed conditions; *yet hath he* not decreed *any thing* because *he foresaw it as future,* or as that which *would* come to pass, *upon such conditions;*"

but *for the manifestation of his glory*, as is stated in sect. iii; (5). That as they who are elected are effectually called to faith in Christ, and kept through faith unto salvation; no person will be saved without faith.

The seventh chapter of the Confession of Faith is, *Of God's Covenant with Man.*

"III. Man, by his fall, having made himself incapable of life by that covenant, the Lord was pleased to make a second, commonly called the Covenant of Grace: wherein he freely offereth unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, *requiring of them faith in him*, that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe."

This still farther evinces the position which I have taken; as does chap. viii, *Of Christ the Mediator.*

"VIII. To all those for whom Christ hath purchased redemption, he doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate to the same; making intercession for them; and revealing unto them, in and by the word, the mysteries of salvation; *effectually persuading them by his Spirit to believe and obey;* and governing their hearts by his word and Spirit; overcoming all their enemies by his almighty power and wisdom, in such manner and ways as are most consonant to his wonderful and unsearchable dispensation."

To these I may add, chap. x, *On Effectual Calling.*

"III. Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ, through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word.

"IV. Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved: much less can men, not possessing the Christian religion, be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very PERNICIOUS, and to be DETESTED."

I might here add several other passages, but enough has been given to shew that the Presbyterian Church teaches a doctrine of exclusive salvation, because to attain salvation, faith is necessary. It is now time to see what that faith is. Chapter xiv is *Of Saving Faith.*

"I. The Grace of Faith, whereby the elect are enabled to believe to the saving of their souls, is the work of the spirit of Christ in their hearts; and is ordinarily wrought by the ministry of the word: by which also, and by the administration of the sacraments, and prayer, it is increased and strengthened.

"II. By this faith, a Christian *believeth to be true whatsoever is revealed in the word*, for the authority of God himself speaking therein; and acteth differently, upon that which each particular passage thereof containeth; yielding obedience to the commands, trembling at the threatenings, and embracing the promises of God for this life, and that which is to come. But the principal acts of saving faith are, accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace."

"III. This faith is different in degrees, weak or strong, may be often and many ways assailed and weakened, but gets the victory; growing up in many to the attainment of a full assurance through Christ, who is both the author and finisher of faith."

What we call faith, or *the belief of whatsoever has been revealed by God*, being an integral portion of what is here described as faith; of course the Presbyterian Church holds fully as exclusive a principle as we do when we profess that without *this true Catholic faith*, no one can be saved: and as her faith, which is necessary for salvation, contains or comprehends more than does ours, so the number of individuals within the extent thereof must be fewer, and consequently her principle of exclusive salvation is less liberal than ours.

Having thus, upon the general view, established my position, I shall confirm it by enumerating some particulars. In my last, I, at some length, and I fear very tediously, but I trust clearly, showed how far more liberal the doctrine of our Church is, than is that of the Protestant Episcopalian Church, regarding the works of such as are not justified, or have not faith. The same observations apply here with equal force at least. Chapter xvi, *Of Good Works.*

"VII. Works done by unregenerate men, although, for the matter of them, they may be things which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and others; yet, because they proceed not from an heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner, according to the word, nor to a right end, the glory of God; *they are* therefore *sinful* and cannot please God, *or make a man meet to receive grace from God.* And yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing unto God."

I shall only remark here that if we were to teach that a benevolent Presbyterian did a *sinful act* in relieving a sick brother; and that an Episcopalian who neglected to do so committed *a greater sin*, we should expect to be assailed for our illiberality by every human being. Our Church teaches us that the Presbyterian would have done a good moral

work, and that the Episcopalian would do well to join him in its performance: we know hundreds of our separated brethren of both those Churches who do those good acts; we respect and applaud them for their good moral conduct; we acknowledge that in the performance of those meritorious works they frequently give good example to our brethren in the faith, and we know that God will give them a reward; we trust they may be rendered meet for the grace of true faith. How gladly would we hail their return to that ancient Church which first gave the Gospel to their fathers!

In the above extracts it will be seen that the doctrine of exclusive salvation taught in the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, is not more liberal than that taught in the Protestant Episcopal Church, which I have before shown to be more illiberal than that taught by our Church. I shall now proceed to examine more minutely other portions of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith.

The Roman Catholic Church teaches us, whether correctly or not is not now to the purpose, *that we may pray for all persons:* for heretics, schismatics, infidels, excommunicated persons, and notorious criminals: some of her public prayers are specially framed to beseech God to bestow his grace upon those persons, to convert them, to bless them, &c. She teaches her children that it is an act of charity to pray frequently for them. The Church also with confidence in the mercies of the Saviour tells us that it is a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead. The Presbyterian Confession of Faith tells us, chap. xxi, *Of Religious Worship and the Sabbath day*, p. 107:

"IV. Prayer is to be made for things lawful, and for all sorts of men living, or that shall live hereafter; but not for the dead, nor for those of whom it may be known that they have sinned the sin unto death."

Here, we are not only prohibited from praying for the dead, but also for some living description of sinners; so that upon this score we ought not to be taxed for illiberal tenets of exclusive salvation by the gentlemen who adhere to this confession of faith.

I have shown that the predecessors of the Episcopalians, and ours, were in one Church which they left, and upon the plea that they could not be saved if they remained therein; and I concluded that we were not then the persons who denounced damnation against those who went out, for having gone, but they denounced it against us for not going. I shall show you that we are denounced in the same way by the confessions of other Churches. Still continuing to look at the Presbyterian Confession, chapter xxv, *Of the Church*, p. 125:

"II. The visible Church, which is also Catholic or universal under the gospel, (not confined to one nation as before under the law) consists of all those throughout the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."

In this it is plainly taught that there is no salvation to be had, ordinarily, out of the visible Church. In p. 127, we are taught:

"V. The purest Churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error; and some have so degenerated, as to become no Churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan. Nevertheless, there shall be always a Church on earth, to worship God according to his will."

The next article, p. 128, sets very quietly at rest all question as to what was meant by a Church which had so degenerated as to become a synagogue of Satan.

"VI. There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of *Rome* in any sense be head thereof; but is that antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself, in the Church, against Christ, and all that is called God."

There can be little doubt, then, of their having gone out from us upon the allegation of our being joined to Antichrist, and being children of perdition: even at this day, in those States, we are frequently complimented with the appellation, in papers which are called religious, and by writers who are said to be considered gentlemen, and who have some pretensions to scholarship. I do not notice the vehement brawlings of unlettered fanatics, nor the yelling denunciations of infuriated rhapsodists; of this each returning Sunday brings sufficient for itself. I allude to the deliberately written, and the deliberately selected vituperation of the Pope and Papists which forms a large portion of the contents of our *religious* publications.

The confession counts as one of our errors, a distinction which we draw between lesser offences of God which we call *venial*, and greater offences which we call *mortal*. We teach that God will not condemn to everlasting torments in hell, those persons who die guilty of only venial sin; we say they will endure only a temporary punishment proportioned to their offences, after which endurance they will be admitted into heaven: and that only they who die guilty of mortal or grievous sins will be condemned to hell for eternity. The confession, chap. xv, p. 76, says:

"IV. As there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation; so there is no sin so great

that it can bring damnation upon those who truly repent."

Yet we are taxed with the illiberality and cruelty of our doctrine, by the adherents of the confession!!! In chapter xxx, *Of Church censures*, p. 145:

"Church censures are necessary for the reclaiming and gaining of offending brethren; for deterring of others from like offences; for purging out of that leaven which might infect the whole lump; for vindicating the honor of Christ and the holy profession of the Gospel; and for preventing the wrath of God, which might justly fall upon the Church, if they should suffer his covenant, and the seals thereof, to be profaned by notorious and obstinate offenders."

This power is that of which they complain as most tyrannical usurpation of divine prerogative, in our Church, and yet they use it themselves and thus exclude from that visible Church, and from the ordinary means of salvation, notorious and obstinate offenders. We have seen before that in giving instructions to their flocks whom NOT to marry, we were specially noticed: "therefore such as profess the *true* reformed religion should not marry with *Infidels, Papists or other Idolators*:" nor "with such as are notoriously wicked in their life, or *maintain damnable heresies*." All this advice might be very good, but it really was very curious and amusing to find that portion of the venerable body which subscribed this confession of faith with sober and grave countenances telling the Roman Catholics to "remove that obstacle to mutual benevolence, *and perfect community of political privileges*, the doctrine of exclusive salvation, from their Church." Perhaps this might explain, why to this day the Roman Catholics are left *without* that community of *political privileges*, I would call them RIGHTS, in North Carolina and New Jersey. I am really tired of this disgusting topic, although I have not produced half of my testimony; I shall however take a respite for to-day and conclude by asserting what I think I have proved, viz. that our doctrine of exclusive salvation is not as extensively illiberal as that of either the Episcopalian or the Presbyterian; that we did not turn them out from our body, but they left us, alleging that with safety to their souls, they could not stay in our communion; and that besides having left us to damnation for our corruption of God's pure religion, they put us into very bad company and called us very unbecoming names; and then modestly tell the world that our doctrine of exclusive salvation is really too shocking. I must test the claims of our other opponents.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 12, 1827.

LETTER XXVIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—I have exhibited to you the grounds of my assertion that the doctrine of exclusive salvation as taught in the Roman Catholic Church, is not as excluding as that taught in the Protestant Episcopalian and Presbyterian Churches. The next portion of those gentlemen who appeared to be shocked at the illiberality of our tenets, which I shall consider, is that of the Congregational Church. Their doctrine in the Confession of Faith, published by W. W. Woodward, No. 52, South Second, corner of Chesnut street, Philadelphia, 1813, which is the Wesminster Confession, is in all the articles and sections quoted in my last letter, word for word, the same as that of the Presbyterian Church, saving only one word, which I look upon to have been an error of the printer, in the Presbyterian copy, which in section iv, chap. x, has "not *psossesing* the Christian religion," where this of the Congregationalist Churches has "not *professing* the Christian religion." Therefore, the observations made upon the one apply with equal force to the other.

The Confession was "agreed upon as a part of the covenanted uniformity in religion betwixt the Churches of Christ in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland," "by an assembly of Divines at Westminster with the assistance of commissioners from the Church of Scotland." The assembly was opened by the authority of Parliament on the first of July, 1643, and the Confession was received by the assembly at Edinburgh on the 27th of August, 1647, and was ratified and approved of by the Scotch Parliament on the 7th of February, 1649.

But previously to this, the Church of Scotland had made its "national covenant or the confession of Faith," which may be found in page 393, of the book published by Woodward. I have before adverted to this document which was first subscribed in 1580, and ratified by the general assembly on several occasions—and by the Scotch Parliament on the 11th of June, 1640, on which occasion also it was enacted with civil pains against recusants. Let us see what is its doctrine of exclusive salvation. The subscribers "protest, believe with their hearts, confess with their mouths, subscribe with their hands, and constantly affirm before God and the whole world, that THIS ONLY *is the true Christian faith and religion pleasing to God*, and BRINGING SALVATION TO MAN," "defended," p. 394, "as God's eternal truth, and ONLY GROUND OF SALVATION," they "*abhor* and *detest* all contrary religion and doctrine; but chiefly

all kinds of PAPISTRY in general and particular heads." If you look to my XXth Letter, you will find the special heads enumerated, which occupy more than a page of the book. In p. 398, they declare all who gainsay the doctrine of the confession of their faith or refuse their ministration of the sacraments, "to be *no* members of the *true kirk* within this realm and *true religion* presently professed, so long as they keep themselves so *divided from the society of Christ's body*," also, "that there is *no other* face of kirk nor *other* face of religion, *than was* presently *at that time*, by the favor of God, *established within this realm*," which therefore is "*ever* styled God's true religion, Christ's true religion, the true and Christian religion,-and a perfect religion." All within this realm are bound "to recant all doctrines and errors repugnant to any of the said articles." "Papists" are "adversaries of the true religion." In page 402, they swear by the GREAT NAME OF THE LORD OUR GOD, to "resist all these *contrary errors* and corruptions" "all the days of our life," the errors and corruptions were "novations and evils" amongst the Protestants, which they "are obliged to detest and abhor them amongst other particular heads of *Papistry* abjured therein."

In "the solemn league and convenant for the reformation of religion" and other purposes, agreed upon by commissioners from the Parliament, and the assembly of Divines of Scotland and the like commissioners on the part of England, in 1643: in the preamble it is stated, p. 411, to be caused by the necessity of opposing the practices, &c. "of the enemies of GOD, against the *true religion*," &c. The second article, p. 412, binds them to "endeavor the extirpation of POPERY Prelacy, superstition, HERESY, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever else shall be found *contrary to sound doctrine*, and the power of godliness, lest they partake of other men's *sins*, and thereby be in danger to receive *of their plagues*," &c. In the concluding paragraph, p. 414, they pray God to bless them for the "encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under or in danger of the *yoke of* ANTICHRISTIAN *tyranny*, to join in the same," &c.

In the Directory for public worship agreed upon by the assembly of Divines at Westminster, under the head *Of Public Prayer before the Sermon*, the minister is directed amongst other things to call upon the Lord to this effect, p. 442:

"To pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations; for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, *the fall of Antichrist*, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord; for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad from the *tyranny of the* ANTICHRISTIAN FACTION, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk; for the blessing of God upon all the reformed churches, especially upon the churches and kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, now more strictly and religiously united in the solemn national league and covenant; and for our plantations in the remote parts of the world: more particularly for that church and kingdom whereof we are members, that therein God would establish peace and truth, the purity of all his ordinances, and the power of godliness; prevent and *remove* HERESY, schism, profaneness, superstition, security and unfruitfulness under the means of grace; heal all our rents and divisions, and preserve us from breach of our Solemn Covenant."

Under the head *Of Preaching the Word*, p. 446, the minister is directed how to act in confuting *false doctrines*.

Under the head *Of Prayer after Sermon*, p. 448, the minister is directed to give thanks for the admirable goodness of God in freeing the land from ANTICHRISTIAN *darkness and tyranny*, &c.

Under the head *Concerning Visitation of the Sick*, the minister is directed p. 460, to convince the sick person "to apprehend the justice and wrath of God, before whom *none can stand but he that* lost in himself, *layeth hold upon Christ by faith*."

In the directions for family worship, the direction v, p. 473 is the following:

"V. Let no idler who hath no particular calling, or vagrant person under a pretence of a calling, be suffered to perform worship in families, to or for the same; seeing persons *tainted with* ERRORS *or aiming at* DIVISION, may be ready (after that manner) to creep into houses, and lead captive silly and unstable souls."

In the "Form of Church Government," Rule 3, for examination of a candidate for Ordination, p. 503, inquiry is to be made "of his knowledge of the grounds of religion and of his ability to defend *the orthodox doctrine* contained in them, against all *unsound and erroneous* opinions."

In the clause, 6, *The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers*, it is directed that the candidate shall be asked in the face of the congregation, after the sermon, by the minister who hath preached, amongst other things "concerning his faith in Christ Jesus, and his persuasion of the *truth of the reformed religion*, according to the scripture," "his zeal and faithfulness in maintaining the *truth of the gospel*, and the UNITY *of the church*, against *error* and *schism*."

From these the conclusions are obviously, 1. That the true Christian faith only will bring man to salvation; and hence the ortho-

dox ministers are to strive against and confute heresies, errors in faith, and all unsound doctrines. 2. That Roman Catholics who are the adherents to the Pope, who is called Antichrist, chap. xxv, art. vi, p. 136, are declared to be enemies of God and of the true religion; they are divided from Christ's body, they are no members of the true kirk; their errors and corruptions of papistry, are to be detested and abhorred. Yet the reverend gentlemen who have subscribed and adopted this collection of doctrinal documents as their standard of belief, have the modesty to tell us through White, that our doctrine of exclusive salvation, is an obstacle to mutual benevolence, and perfect community of political privileges!!!

Before I proceed farther in the examination of the claims to consistency of those who, holding a more illiberal doctrine than ours, charged us with being intolerant and uncharitable, let us take a momentary glance at their opinions of each other; after which a curious question would be, how such discordant parties could give the public so curious an exhibition.

In the "solemn acknowledgment of PUBLIC SINS, and breaches of the COVENANT," &c. made by order of the commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, passed at Edinburgh, October 6th, 1648, the first solemn promise which they make is the following, p. 426:

"1. Because religion is of all things the most excellent and precious, the advancing and promoting the power thereof against all ungodliness and profanity, the *securing and preserving the* PURITY thereof against all ERROR, HERESY and SCHISM, and namely Independency, Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Arminianism, and Socinianism, Familism, Libertinism, Scepticism, and Erastianism, and the carrying on the work of uniformity, shall be studied and endeavored by us before all worldly interests, whether concerning the king, ourselves, or any other whatsomever."

It is a little curious to find several of those whose *errors*, *heresies*, and *schisms* are here said to be against the *purity* of religion, uniting with those who made the promise to God against them, or the successors of those sponsors, against us as their common object of assault. But how fares Bishop Kemp and his "Apostolic Church" in this point of view? We shall here give a passage from the preface to the Directory, p. 435:

"Howbeit, long and sad experience has made it manifest, that *the liturgy used in the Church of England* (notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it) hath proved *an* OFFENCE, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed Churches abroad. For, not to speak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it, the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it *have occasioned much mischief*, as well *by disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people*, who could not yield unto them, as *by depriving them of the ordinances of God*, which they might not enjoy without conforming or subscribing to those ceremonies. Sundry good Christians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's table; and divers able and faithful ministers debarred from the exercise of their ministry (to the endangering of many thousand souls, in a time of such scarcity of faithful pastors), and spoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their families. PRELATES *and their faction* have labored to raise the estimation of it to such an height as if there were no other worship, or way of worship of God amongst us, but only the service-book; to the great hindrance of the preaching of the word, and (in some places especially of late) to the justling of it out as unnecessary, or, at best, as far inferior to the reading of *common prayer*, which was made no better than AN IDOL, by many *ignorant and superstitious people*, who, pleasing themselves in their presence at that service, and their *lip-labor* in bearing their part in it, have thereby *hardened themselves in their ignorance* and carelessness of saving knowledge and true piety.

"In the mean time, Papists boasted that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their service; and so were not a little *confirmed in their superstition and idolatry*, expecting rather our return to them than endeavoring the reformation of themselves; in which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, while, upon the pretended warrantableness of imposing of the former ceremonies, new ones were daily intruded upon the Church.

"Add hereunto (which was not foreseen, but since hath come to pass), that the *liturgy hath been a great means*, as on the one hand, *to make and increase* AN IDLE AND UNEDIFYING MINISTRY, which contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants, whom he calls to that office; so, on the other side, it hath been (and ever would be, if continued) a matter of endless strife and contention in the Church, and a snare both to many godly and faithful ministers, who have been persecuted and silenced upon that occasion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more still would be, diverted from all thoughts of the ministry to other studies; especially in these latter times, wherein God vouchsafeth to his people more and better means for the discovery of error and superstition, and for attaining of knowledge in the mysteries of godliness, and gifts in preaching and prayer."

Suppose I were to leave that Church which they have so thoughtlessly assailed, could

the venerable body give me an unanimous vote as to which of themselves I should join to be more secure of my salvation?

The article xxxvi of Bishop Kemp's Church is *Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.*

"The Book of Consecration of Bishops and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, as set forth by the General Convention of this Church, in 1792, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; neither hath it any thing that, of itself, is superstitious and ungodly; and, therefore, whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to said form, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered."

The preface to the book thus approved of, and declared to be free from superstition is the following:

"It is *evident unto all men*, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted thereunto *by lawful authority.* And, therefore, to the intent that *these orders* may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church, *no man shall be accounted*, or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, *according to the form hereafter following*, or hath had *episcopal consecration or ordination.*"

Thus the Protestant Episcopal Church rejects as *invalid*, Presbyterian ordination, and declares as sound doctrine, that her own form is not superstitious. The Directory, p. 493, under the head *Of Classical Assemblies*, denies that it *is evident* to all men reading the Scriptures, that there were those three orders in the Church, and undertakes to show, [that] "the Scripture doth hold out a presbytery in a Church."

The Directory denies the necessity or propriety of Episcopal consecration or ordination, but declares it to belong to the preaching ministers or presbyters, as under the head *touching the doctrine of ordination*, p. 499, parag. 4—"Every minister of the word, is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong." And in p. 501, under the head *concerning the doctrinal part of the ordination of ministers*, cl. 4, it is repeated, and in cl. 10, we read: "Preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities or neighboring villages are those to whom the imposition of hands doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively."

The general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, in its act approving the propositions concerning kirk government and ordination of ministers, passed at Edinburgh, on the 10th of February, 1645, gave as one of the reasons of its assent: "and considering, that as in former times there did, so hereafter, there may arise, through the *nearness of* CONTAGION, manifold mischiefs to this kirk *from a* CORRUPT *form of government in the kirk of England.*" A very slight reference to the passages before quoted concerning the *Prelatical faction* and the superstitious ceremonies of the common prayer, and service book, will show what was thought of the Episcopal ordination service.

I would then merely remark that we have those persons who joined in the cry against us, here arrayed against each other, each proclaiming the doctrine of exclusive salvation, each claiming to have the truth on his side, and the error on the side of his opponent, one denying the validity of the ordination of the other, and the person thus unchurched, proclaiming that he who condemns him is corrupt, and superstitious. Yet it is by a group of gentlemen of this description we are assailed for holding a much milder doctrine of exclusive salvation than either of themselves.

It has been always the cry of our brethren of the Protestant Churches, that we held such intolerant and uncharitable doctrines as made us unfit for society: they must have been very thoughtless when they made the charge, because they not only denounced us, but denounced each other. Until the period of their separation from us, and from each other, there was unity and peace; they made the separation upon the ground of our being in a state of damnable idolatry and error, yet, they soon began to charge each other in like manner: unity was lost, peace was banished, charity was seldom found, discord and dissension have unfortunately characterized the separation. This fact is admitted, and is deplored in the Book of Homilies even in the days of Edward VI, in the first part of the Sermon against *Contention and Brawling*, page 112:

"St. Paul could not abide to hear among the Corinthians these words of discord or dissension, *I hold of Paul, I of Cephas, and I of Apollos:* what would he then say if he heard these words of contention, which be now almost in every man's mouth! He is a Pharisee, he is a Gospeller, he is of the new sort, he is of the old faith, he is a new-broached brother, he is a good Catholic father, he is a Papist, he is an heretic.

O how the Church is divided! O how the cities be cut and mangled! O how the coat of Christ, that was without seam, is all rent and torn! O body mystical of Christ, where is that holy and happy unity, out of the which whosoever is, he is not in Christ? If one member be pulled from another, where is the body? If the body be drawn from the head, where is the life of the body? We cannot be joined to Christ our Head, except we be glued with concord and charity one to another. For he that is not of this unity is not of the Church of Christ, which is a congregation or unity together, and not a division. St. Paul saith, *That as long as emulation or envying, contention, and factions or sects be among us, we be carnal, and walk according to the fleshly man.* And St. James saith, *If ye have bitter emulation or envying, and contention in your hearts, glory not of it: for where contention is, there is unsteadfastness and all evil deeds.* And why do we not hear St. Paul, which prayeth us, whereas he might command us, saying, *I beseech you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will speak all one thing, and that there be no dissension among you; but that you will be one whole body, of one mind, and of one opinion in the truth.* If his desire be reasonable and honest, why do we not grant it? If his request be for our profit, why do we refuse it? And if we list not to hear his petition of prayer, yet let us hear his exhortation, where he saith, *I exhort you, that you walk as it becometh the vocation in which you be called, with all submission and meekness, with lenity and softness of mind, bearing with one another in charity, studying to keep the unity of the Spirit by the bond of peace: for there is but one body, one Spirit, one faith, one baptism.* There is, saith he, but one body, of the which he can be no lively member, that is at variance with the other members. There is one Spirit, which joineth and knitteth all things in one. And how can this one Spirit reign in us, when we among ourselves be divided? There is but one faith; and how can we then say, he is of the old faith; and he is of the new faith? There is but one baptism; and then shall not all they which be baptized be one? Contention causeth division, wherefore it ought not to be among Christians, whom one faith and baptism joined in an unity. But if we contemn St. Paul's request and exhortation, yet at the least let us regard his earnest entreating, in the which he doth very earnestly charge us, and (as I may so speak) conjure us in this form and manner, "If there be any consolation in Christ, if there be any comfort of love, if you have any fellowship of the Spirit, if you have any bowels of pity and compassion, fulfil my joy, being all alike affected, having one charity, being of one mind, one opinion, that nothing be done by contention, or vainglory. Who is he, that hath any bowels of pity that will not be moved with these words so pithy? Whose heart is so stoney, that the sword of these words, which be more sharp than any two-edged sword, may not cut and break asunder? Wherefore, let us endeavor ourselves to fulfil St. Paul's joy here in this place, which shall be at length to our great joy in another place. Let us so read the Scripture, that by reading thereof we may be made the better livers, rather than the more contentious disputers. If any thing be necessary to be taught, reasoned, or disputed, let us do it with all meekness, softness and lenity. If any thing shall chance to be spoken uncomely, let one bear another's frailty. He that is faulty, let him rather amend, than defend that which he hath spoken amiss, *lest he fall by contention from a foolish error into an obstinate heresy.*"

How have the separations and *heresies* multiplied since then? the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian, and the several sorts of Independents, all find some *heresy* in each other: do they not all then teach the necessity of unity, and the necessity of belonging to the *true* Church, and of holding the *true* doctrine? And does not each of them assert that his is that Church and that doctrine? And what more does the Catholic? Why then impute to us as a crime, what in themselves is considered a religious duty? We believe that no man will be saved who does not exert himself and use every opportunity which God affords him, to learn what God has taught that he may believe it; to learn what God commands, that he may fulfil it; we believe that Christ gave to the Apostles those doctrines and those precepts to be by them transmitted to the latest generations through their successors in the ministry; that all were to hold together in unity, receiving and preserving this testimony. Our succession is acknowledged, we say the truth has been preserved together with that succession: they have charged our body with having substituted damnable error for pure truth, and formed new societies: each society claims exclusively to be that which holds God's truth. I shall examine a few more of them.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 19, 1827.

LETTER XXIX.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I stated at the outset that I would enter at some length upon the topic of exclusive salvation. I shall in this letter continue the investigation. Allow me to remind you of the object I seek to attain. I desire not to set you above your Protestant competitors, to make you look down upon them as bigoted, illiberal, or ill-disposed; I desire not to make *wider* those breaches between the Christian denominations which are already too many and too large; I desire not to hurt the feelings of our fellow-citizens,

who may not be pleased at reading the exhibition of their own tenets, as given in their own books; I desire not to create, to excite, or to continue unpleasant altercations. My object is two-fold: first to shew the incorrectness of White's statement "that the doctrine of exclusive salvation in our Church was the obstacle to mutual benevolence and perfect community of political privileges, and that if we cast it away, all liberal men would give us the right hand of fellowship;" and next to teach a little moderation to those persons who so unsparingly abuse us for what they call a blemish, which is found in every one of themselves. My object is to endeavor to repress the unmeasured contumely of ourselves and of our religion by persons who do not know their own. And if I can effect this, I shall have done more to establish charity, harmony and good will between Catholics and Protestants, than has been done for some time. I do avow that I am most anxious to attain this object; but I know that it is not to be attained without convincing persons, who have been too long permitted to indulge the notion that they were our superiors in liberality and charity, that they have been under an egregious mistake. My task is very difficult, and probably I shall not succeed; but if I fail I shall have at least the consolation of knowing that I have marked out the path and been the pioneer to some more fortunate follower.

I now proceed to examine the doctrine of the Baptist Church upon exclusive salvation; I shall quote from the second Charleston edition, printed by J. Hoff, No. 117 Broad street, for the Charleston Baptist Association, of "A Confession of Faith, put forth by the elders and brethren of many congregations of Christians (baptized upon profession of their faith) in London and the country, adopted by the Baptist Association of Philadelphia, September 25, 1742, and by the Charleston in 1767." The preface states that the Confession was first put forth about the year 1643, by seven congregations then gathered in London, in order to correct mistakes as to the tenets of the societies; when copies of this became scarce, the members finding in their body a general agreement upon most topics with the Westminster Confession, adopted its plan and method, and in most instances, its very expressions: hence I may generally state that their doctrine of exclusive salvation is equally illiberal as is that of the Westminster Confession: there is, however some mitigation of expression as regards PAPISTS; for instance, in chapter xxvi of marriage, the article 3 is the following:

"3. It is lawful for all sorts of people to marry, who are able with judgment to give their consent; yet it is the duty of Christians to marry in the Lord; and therefore such as profess the *true religion* should not marry with *infidels*, or *idolators;* neither should such as are godly be unequally yoked, by marrying with such as are wicked in their life, or *maintain damnable heresy*."

Here we are not ranked with *other idolators*, but we find a distinction made between those who hold the *true* religion and *infidels*, *idolators*, or they who maintain DAMNABLE *heresy:* of course a DAMNABLE *heresy* excludes from salvation, so does *infidelity* and so does *idolatry*. Therefore the Baptist Church teaches the doctrine of exclusive salvation.

There is also in this Confession a very serious difference from the Westminster Confession upon the doctrine of predestination: the Baptist is far a milder doctrine upon this head, and approaches much nearer to the Catholic belief: still we are told in chapter xxvii *Of the Church*, that the invisible Church consists of the elect. The second article, p. 54, is the following:

"2. All persons, throughout the world, professing the faith of the Gospel, and obedience unto God, by Christ, according unto it, *not destroying their own profession by any errors, overturning the foundation*, or unholiness of conversation, are and may be called visible saints; and of such ought all particular congregations to be constituted."

In the next article we are told that there is a Church of believers and a synagogue of unbelievers.

"3. The purest Churches under heaven are subject to mixture and error; and *some have so degenerated as to become no Churches of Christ, but Synagogues of Satan;* nevertheless Christ always hath had, and ever shall have, a kingdom in this world, to the end thereof, of such as *believe in him, and make profession of his name*."

The fourth article is by no means delicate in the denunciation of that Synagogue of Satan, at the head of which is to be found the Pope.

"4. The Lord Jesus Christ is the head of the Church, in whom, by the appointment of the Father, all power for the calling, institution, order or government of the Church, is invested in a supreme and sovereign manner, neither can *the Pope of Rome* in any sense be head thereof, but is ANTICHRIST, *that man of* SIN, *and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church* AGAINST CHRIST, and all that is called God; *whom the Lord shall destroy* with the brightness of his coming."

Two conclusions are now evidently established, viz. that the maintaining of some errors and heresies are sufficient to exclude

from salvation, and next, that the Pope is Antichrist and our Church a Synagogue of Satan. This is indeed very charitable and complimentary and kind.

But let us go a little farther through the document, lest it should be asserted that we did not take a sufficiently extensive view. In p. 22, chapter vii, *Of God's Covenant*, art. 2, is the following:

"2. Moreover, man having brought himself under the curse of the law by his fall, it pleased the Lord to make a Covenant of Grace, wherein he freely offereth unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, REQUIRING FAITH *in him, that they may be* SAVED; and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto eternal life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing, *and able* TO BELIEVE."

The Covenant here is FAITH, by aid of which man is saved. We shall see the same doctrine in article 3:

"This Covenant is revealed in the Gospel; and was first of all to Adam in the promise of salvation by the seed of the woman, and afterwards by farther steps, until the full discovery thereof was completed in the New Testament; and it is founded in that eternal covenant transaction, that was between the Father and the Son about the redemption of the elect; *and it is* ALONE *by the grace of this Covenant, that all of the posterity of fallen Adam, that ever were* SAVED, *did obtain life and a blessed immortality;* man being now utterly incapable of acceptance with God upon those terms on which Adam stood in his state of innocency."

The next article of chapter viii, p. 26, shows how faith is communicated to the elect.

"8. To all those for whom Christ hath obtained eternal redemption, he doth certainly and effectually apply, and communicate the same; making intercession for them; uniting them to himself by his Spirit; *revealing unto them, in and by the word, the mystery of salvation; persuading them* TO BELIEVE, *and obey;* governing their hearts by his word and spirit, and overcoming all their enemies by his almighty power and wisdom; in such manner and ways as are most consonant to his wonderful, and unsearchable dispensation; and all of free and absolute grace, without any condition foreseen in them, to procure it."

In p. 29, we find in chapter x, *Of Effectual Calling*, that those in other modes of belief, howsoever moral or just, cannot be saved unless they become Christians, and of course *not* Roman Catholics, who adhere to Antichrist.

"4. Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the spirit; yet, not being effectually drawn by the Father, they neither will, nor can truly come to Christ; and *therefore cannot be saved;* much less can men that *receive not the Christian religion be saved,* be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess."

In chapter xi, *Of Justification*, article 2, we are justified by faith alone.

"2. FAITH, thus receiving and resting on Christ and his righteousness, *is the* ALONE *instrument of justification;* yet it is not alone in the person justified, but is ever accompanied with all other saving graces, and is no dead faith, but worketh by love."

The same is repeated in the 5th article: but to know the nature of that faith, I shall give you the articles, 2 and 3, of chap. xiv, *Of saving Faith.*

"2. By this faith, a Christian *believeth to be true whatsoever is revealed in the word, on the authority of God himself;* and also apprehendeth an excellency therein above all other writings; and all things in the world; as it bears forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Christ in his nature and offices, and the power and fulness of the Holy Spirit in his working and operations; and so is enabled to cast his soul *upon the truth thus believed,* and also acteth differently upon that which each particular passage thereof containeth; yielding obedience to the commands, trembling at the threatenings, and embracing the promises of God, for this life, and that which is to come: but the principal acts of saving faith, have immediate relation to Christ, accepting, receiving, and resting upon him alone, for justification, sanctification, and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace.

"3. This faith, although it be different in degrees, and may be weak, or strong, yet it is in the least degree of it, different in the kind, or nature of it, (as is all other saving grace) *from the faith and common grace of temporary believers;* and therefore, though it may be many times assailed and weakened, yet it gets the victory, growing up in many, to the attainment of a full assurance through Christ, who is both the author and finisher of our faith."

We have now clearly established the fact; that the doctrine of exclusive salvation, "without *this our true faith,* no person can be saved," is as much a doctrine of the Baptist as it is of the other Churches which I have brought in review before you.

Where the Roman Catholic Church believes that they who die guilty of venial sin alone, will go only to temporary suffering, the Baptist Church teaches that they will be damned perpetually, p. 36, chap. xv, *On Repentance unto Life and Salvation*, art. 5.

"5. Such is the provision which God hath made through Christ in the covenant of grace,

for the preservation of believers unto salvation, that although *there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation;* yet there is no sin so great that it shall bring damnation on them that repent; which makes the constant preaching of repentance necessary."

In p. 38, we are taught in chapter xvi, *On good Works*, article 7, that *all the works of persons who have not Baptist faith, are sins.*

"7. Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things which God commands and of good use, both to themselves and others; yet *because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith*, nor are done in a right manner according to the word, nor to a right end, the glory of God, *they are sinful and cannot please God, nor make a man meet to receive grace from God:* and yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing to God."

This really is a sad dilemma for an unfortunate man. "If you relieve that distressed man you commit a sin, if you neglect it you commit a most grievous offence."

I shall here close for the present this tedious exhibition with the doctrine of the Reformed Dutch Church of the U. S. A., as given in its constitution, printed and sold by George Forman, New York, 1815. I shewed in a former letter that in the xxxviiith of its confession of Faith it was declared that *out of the holy congregation of the true Church there is no salvation.* I give here now chapter xxix, from p. 32.

"*Of the marks of the true Church, and wherein she differs from the false Church.*

"We believe that we ought diligently and circumspectly to discern from the word of God, *which* is the true Church; since all sects which are in the world assume to themselves the name of the Church. But we speak not here of hypocrites, who are mixed in the Church with the good, yet are not of the Church, though externally in it: but *we say that the body and communion of the* TRUE CHURCH *must be distinguished from* ALL SECTS, *who call themselves the Church.* The marks, by which the true Church is known, are these: if the pure doctrine of the gospel is preached therein; if she maintains the pure administration of the sacraments as instituted by Christ; if Church discipline is exercised in punishing of sin: in short, if *all things are managed according to the pure word of God, all things contrary thereto rejected;* and Jesus Christ acknowledged as the only Head of the Church. Hence the true Church may certainly be known; *from which no man has a right to separate himself.* With respect to those *who are members of the Church*, they *may be known* by the marks of christians, namely, BY FAITH; and when they have received Jesus Christ the only Saviour, avoid sin, follow after righteousness, love the true God and their neighbor, neither turn aside to the right or left, and crucify the flesh with the works thereof. But this is not to be understood, as if there did not remain in them great infirmities; but they fight against them through the spirit, all the days of their life, continually taking their refuge to the blood, death, passion, and obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ, *in whom they have remission of sins, through faith in him.* As for *the false Church*, she ascribes more power and authority to herself and her ordinances, than to the word of God, and will not submit herself to the yoke of Christ. Neither does she administer the sacraments as appointed by Christ in his word, but adds to, and takes from them, as she thinks proper; she relieth more upon men than upon Christ; and *persecutes those, who* live holily according to the word of God, and *rebuke her for her* ERRORS, *covetousness, and* IDOLATRY. These two Churches are easily known and distinguished from each other."

In this we not only have exclusive salvation, for we are told that the *true Church* is distinguished from *all the sects which assume the name of the Church*, that no man has a right to separate himself from it, that its members are known by faith, &c. The calumnies which are cast upon the Roman Catholic Church are given as her characteristics, and she is designated as "a false church," "a persecutor of the saints," "having errors," "being idolatrous," and "being covetous." This is indeed complimentary!

I ask any person who has had the patience to read my four preceding letters and this present one, whether it is not as extraordinary and ridiculous an exhibition as he has ever known, to find a number of clergymen of Churches professing as their doctrine those tenets, deliberately charge us with being criminals in holding that God has made true faith a requisite for salvation? When our doctrine upon the subject is compared with theirs it is far less harsh, and much milder in its import; for aught that I know they may imagine the Pope to be Antichrist, but it is certainly no great recommendation to their doctrine that it is more harsh and uncharitable than that which is taught by Antichrist himself, and received by the synagogue of Satan, as we are politely and charitably said to be. Do these gentlemen really believe Pope Leo XII is Antichrist? Do they believe sincerely that their fellow-citizens are idolators and constitute a portion of the synagogue of Satan? If they do not, why keep such language in their confessions of Faith? I must continue.

Yours, &c.,

B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 26, 1827.

LETTER XXX.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I shall in this letter endeavor to conclude the testimony of doctrine from the Protestant Churches upon the subject of exclusive salvation. If I have selected some and omitted others, it was not from any predilection or dislike on my part: to me they are all alike, they equally denounce me as a corrupter of the pure doctrine of Christ, and a member of a Church whose errors are too numerous and too gross to allow their fathers to remain in her communion, or to permit them to return without danger of eternal ruin. So far as charity is concerned I hold the individuals of those several Churches upon a perfect equality, and feel convinced that it is my religious duty, as I trust it is my disposition to do them every service in my power, and to meet them in all the relations of society as friends, neighbors, fellow-citizens, or brethren of the human family. It would be too tedious to examine the doctrine of every denomination, but it was necessary to select a few, and in making the selection, I have as far as I knew, taken the Churches to which those gentlemen belonged who so zealously aided White in his charge against us. As those gentlemen charged us with holding a doctrine which made our very benevolence a curse and rendered us unfit to participate in an equality of political rights, with our fellow-Christians, I thought it to be only just to try themselves by their own test. I believe, that the Methodist doctrine is that which alone of the assailants has not yet been exhibited. Allow me now to dwell for a short time upon their confession of Faith.

"The Doctrines and Principles of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the twentieth edition, New York, published by N. Bangs & T. Mason, for the Methodist Episcopal Church. J. C. Totten, printer, 9, Bowery, 1820"—shall be my text book.

It is very obvious to all who know any thing of the origin of our several Protestant denominations, that Methodism was originally but a regular and methodical practice of the religious duties of the Church of Protestant England, but in process of time it has come to be a separate denomination, between which and the church whence it emanated there are many things not only discrepant but contradictory: not only things indifferent or upon which there might be difference without breach of communion: but upon what is really, and [is] known to be essential. However, we must necessarily expect to find in many instances a great similarity of doctrine. Hence as we know that the Church of England and the American Protestant Episcopal Church hold the doctrine of exclusive salvation; it must be also held by the Methodist Church unless it has been specially abandoned. As we have no evidence of this special abandonment, we must be of opinion that it continues to be still a tenet of the society. This, though a good presumptive argument, and nearly conclusive as to the fact, is not however such ground as I should be willing to rest upon, especially in a case like the present. I shall therefore use positive proof.

To establish my position, will require the attainment of two results: the first, that according to the Methodist Church doctrine, without faith there is no salvation, and secondly, that this faith exists only in those who believe the doctrine of Christ. I shall add another, viz. that Roman Catholics have not that doctrine, and it will follow that Roman Catholics are excluded from salvation.

The work which I shall use contains two parts, the spiritual and the temporal: section ii, of the first part, contains the "Articles of Religion:" they are generally taken from those of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Art. v, p. 8, corresponds with article vi of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and is in the following words:

"The Holy Scriptures contain all thing necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be *believed as an article of* FAITH, *or be thought requisite or* NECESSARY TO SALVATION."

The only difference is in the introducing the particle *The* at the commencement in this, and omitting the particle *the* before *faith*. Hence it is clearly implied if not fully declared; that the belief of an article of faith is necessary to salvation. In p. 10, we have the following article:

"VIII. *Of Free Will.*—The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, *to faith*, and calling upon God; Wherefore we have *no power to do good works*, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will."

This is exactly the same as article x of the P. E. Church, save that it omits the word *good* before "works" where it first occurs, and which word *good* is in the article of the P. E. Church. From this article we are necessarily led to infer that our good works depend upon faith, or are identified therewith, and that we cannot obtain this faith, or do those good works without the aid of God's

grace; indeed the plain meaning is that grace produces faith, and faith produces the works. So that we have no good work without faith as its foundation—hence it is obvious that as we cannot be saved without faith or good works, or both, he who has not faith cannot be saved. The next article removes all doubt from the question, art. ix, p. 11:

"*Of the Justification of Man.*—We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ *by faith*, and not for our own works of deserving; —Wherefore, *that we are justified* BY FAITH ONLY *is a most wholesome doctrine* and very full of comfort."

This is word for word so far as it has reference to the xith article of the P. E. Church; the latter refers to the book of Homilies for an explanation of the manner in which we are justified by faith only, and how it is wholesome and comfortable. My conclusion is, the Methodist Church requires faith for justification, hence either a person might be saved without being justified, or he cannot be saved without having faith: our Methodist friends are far from asserting that an unjustified man can be saved, and they necessarily teach what we have previously seen to be their doctrine, that only they who have faith will be saved: and this is the doctrine of exclusive salvation in its fullest extent and acceptation. We shall see this further confirmed in the tenth article.

"*Of Good Works.*—Although good works, which are the *fruits of faith*, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgments: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, *and spring out of a true and lively faith*, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a tree is discerned by its fruit."

The variance between this and the article xii of the P. E. Church consists in *although* being substituted for *albeit*, the word judgment being made plural, and omitting the word *necessarily* after *spring out*. The article in each case exhibits to us good works as the consequence of faith: and in each case shows the necessity of faith for salvation. There is however a wide difference between the substantial doctrine in each, for the Methodist does not assert in this article that good works *are a necessary consequence* of faith: he here admits the possibility of the existence of faith without being *necessarily* productive, whereas the P. E. Church asserts that the works must *necessarily* spring out from faith wherever it does exist; they both agree that the exhibition of good works is an evidence of the existence of faith, or belief, without which there is no justification. We next come to page 12, article xiii.

"*Of the Church.*—The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

This article is alike in both churches, and an essential mark of the Church is that the *pure word of God is preached therein*. They who will not believe these doctrines cannot have faith, cannot be in that true Church, cannot be justified, cannot be saved. For my own part I can see no ground for saying that any Church or religious society that I ever heard or read of, is not equally chargeable as is ours with holding this doctrine. I shall now proceed to examine a few of the passages in which the P. E. and Methodist Churches apply the principle specially to our Church.

In p. 13, the article xiv is the following:

"*Of Purgatory.*—The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardon, worshipping, and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but repugnant to the word of God."

This is also the article xii of the P. E. Church. We are here distinctly ejected from the Church, since we teach what is *repugnant to the word of God*, consequently not the pure word of God, but that which is repugnant thereto, and of course not grounded upon the warrant of Scripture. The next article charges us with what is also said to be *repugnant to the word of God*, article xiv which is article xxiv of the P. E. Church.

"*Of speaking in the congregation in such a tongue as the People understand.*—It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments, in a tongue not understood by the people."

Will any person who peruses this evidence for a moment hesitate to say that we are treated not only very unceremoniously, but very illiberally, by gentlemen whose first principle is, that neither we nor they can know with *infallible certainty* what is the meaning of the passages of the Bible, and that each person is to seek for knowledge from God and not to depend upon the testimony of any Church, because each Church is liable to err!

In page 14, we are charged with CORRUPT *following of the Apostles*; this is in article xvi and corresponds with article xxv of the P. E. Church. I really do not understand what the gentlemen mean, unless it be what I can-

not believe they intended, that they charge the Apostles with corruption, and consequently that we are criminal in following them. But in page 15, paragraph the second of article xviii, *Of the Lord's Supper*, there is another specific opposition to God's pure doctrine charged upon us.

"Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine in the Supper of our Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but *is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture*, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions."

This corresponds to article xxviii of the P. E. Church. Hitherto we were charged with opposing the word of God, and being superstitious. Now the sounds begin to grow more portentous: our Presbyterian, Baptist, and other friends, not content with this, which in all conscience was severe enough, add "is repugnant to *common sense and reason*, and hath been and is the cause of *gross idolatries*." Poor, senseless, Popish Idiots, and gross Idolators! Thank you gentlemen! It becomes you to lecture us and to rebuke us for illiberality. Let us, however, hear a little more to soothe our pride and to excite our vanity. In page 16, article xix, the Methodist Church has

"*Of both kinds.*—The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's *Supper*, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be administered to all Christians alike."

The P. E. Church has the word *sacrament* for *supper*. The declaration herein contained is that communion under one kind is contrary to the ordinance and commandment of Christ; of course then we are charged with this criminality. In the same page, article xx agrees word for word with article xxvi of the P. E. Church, except that the verbs which I have put in *italics* are in the past tense there; here they are in the present, and the fable and deceit here, are there in the plural.

"*Of the one oblation of Christ, finished upon the Cross.*—The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, in the which it *is* commonly said, that the Priest *doth* offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, *is a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit.*"

Our friends of the Reformed Dutch Church, at the conclusion of their xxxvth article, have this passage for our benefit:

"Therefore we reject all mixtures and DAMNABLE INVENTIONS which men have added unto, or blended with the sacraments."

And in the Catechism for the xxx Lord's Day, page 58, Q. 80, we are further complimented:

"Q. 80. What difference is there between the Lord's Supper and the Popish Mass?

"A. The Lord's Supper testifies to us, that we have a full pardon of all sin by the only sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which he himself has once accomplished on the cross; and, that we, by the Holy Ghost, are ingrafted into Christ, who, according to the human nature, is now not on earth, but in heaven, at the right hand of God his Father, and will there be worshipped by us; *but the mass teacheth that the living and dead have not the pardon of sins through the sufferings of Christ, unless Christ is also daily offered for them by the Priests;* and further, that Christ is bodily under the form of bread and wine, and therefore is to be worshipped in them; so that *the mass* at bottom, *is nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and sufferings of Jesus Christ*, and an accursed idolatry."

The good gentlemen will please to allow me to know what the mass is; and with that knowledge I beg leave to inform them that I do not believe even White himself would have been so barefaced as to assert that the propositions which I have marked in *italics* in the answer which they teach their children are true. Roman Catholics do not teach either of those two propositions, and the mass teaches nothing. Our Baptist brethren, page 61, kindly join our Presbyterian brethren in the following assertion, chap. xxix, art. 2:

"So that Popish sacrifice of the mass, as they call it, is most abominably injurious to Christ's own and only sacrifice, the alone propitiation for the sins of the elect."

The Methodist, in page 45, prescribing the trial for candidates for the ministry, in answer 2, places as a requisite condition "a just conception of *salvation by* faith," and at an ordination of an elder, p. 141, requires him to be "ready with faithful diligence *to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word;*" and in ordaining a Bishop, p. 154, requires of him, in addition, to promise "both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same."

I have been tedious, but upon this topic I have done for the present. I believe then, it must appear extraordinary that clergymen of those several Churches should have combined to unite with the writer of the "Evidence" in the following paragraph:

"If your leaders, whom it would be uncharitable to suspect of the latter feeling, have so far receded from the Roman creed as to allow us the common privileges of Christianity, and can conscientiously swear to protect and encourage the interests of the Church of England, let them, in the name of truth, speak openly before the world, and be the first to remove that

obstacle to mutual benevolence, and perfect community of political privileges—the doctrine of exclusive salvation in your Church. Cancel but that one article from your creed, and all liberal men in Europe will offer you the right hand of fellowship. Your other doctrines concern but yourselves; this endangers the peace and freedom of every man living, and that in proportion to your goodness: it makes your very benevolence a curse."

My friends, we have too long suffered under injurious and unfounded imputations: we have been accustomed to hear ourselves vilified as the only intolerant Church in Christendom, as the only Church which taught the doctrine of exclusive salvation; we ought not to permit this any longer—without any diminution of charity, without any violation of friendship, without any loss of affection for our brethren of other Churches, let us make them feel that we are at least as liberal as any of them. I am fully aware that several who hail under the names of those Churches will answer, that they do not believe all the doctrines which those Churches teach. But surely the clergy will not say so; they at all events believe what they profess to teach, and of course they believe this doctrine. When the other gentlemen shall have determined upon what they will please to believe, and give us an exhibition of their tenets, we shall be able to make the case as plain in their regard, provided they go but one line beyond this position. *Every person, good and bad, that ever was created will be saved, without any endurance of punishment: and truth and error are equally acceptable to God: neither does he take into account whether a person has been indifferent to the discovery of truth, or engaged in its investigation, nor whether he has made it the rule of his conduct, or been careless as to what rule he observed.* The least advance beyond this line is embracing a doctrine of exclusive salvation.

I shall proceed to examine the other portions of the "Evidence."

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., April 2, 1827.

LETTER XXXI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I have, I trust, fully established the following points: viz. 1. That a doctrine of exclusive salvation is taught by every religious society. 2. That the Roman Catholic Church did not drive out the Protestant sectaries, because of their refusal to abandon the doctrines which their predecessors had given to them, as derived from the Apostles. 3. That the first Protestants went out from the Roman Catholic Church, because she would not abandon the doctrines which she had received from the Apostles through their successors, and which Roman Catholics also believed to be in accordance with the Scriptures. 4. That the persons who so left the Roman Catholic Church, asserted that she erred in keeping those doctrines, and that their regard for the salvation of their souls and the purity of their religion obliged them to leave her communion. 5. That this is on their part an assertion that only they who reject false doctrine and adhere to the pure and true doctrine can be saved. 6. That they have separated from each other into a vast number of sects and divisions, each of which denounces the rest as erroneous in one or more points of doctrine, and justifies its separation upon the ground of the high obligation of adhering to truth and rejecting error. 7. That they all denounce the Roman Catholic Church as bigoted and intolerant and tyrannical, for not admitting as true, a principle whose truth they all deny, viz. that it is a matter of indifference in the sight of God whether a person adheres to religious truth or to religious error, provided he is a good, moral man. 8. That whilst they complain of being styled *heretics* or *choosers of doctrines*, by the Roman Catholic Church, they feel themselves justified in calling her a corrupter of God's word, the false Church, a lying harlot, the synagogue of satan, the scarlet * * * * * of Babylon; her members idolators; her clergy, lying prophets, wolves in sheep's clothing, imps of the devil; and their chief Bishop, Antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition. 9. That this unbecoming language is not only that of ages gone by, but that of the present day; not that which is used in a moment of irritation, but in the hours of deliberate and most solemn and serious reflection; not by the rabble drawcansirs, who seek for temporary notice and a daily morsel, without any farther hopes, but by dignified prelates, learned ministers, wise elders, provident deacons, and grave synods; it is language embodied in the awful formularies of Faith, for the edification of the sanctimonious, for the direction of the preacher, for the information of the inquirer, and to be used in the formation of the youthful mind, even from the first lispings of artless and unsuspecting infancy.

Yes, my friends, whilst the Church of Bishop Kemp, and those of his associates, use such language as this, they dare before a judicious public to arraign us who have not returned railing for their railing, or reproach for their scoffing, though they have thus denounced us in their doctrinal works. I have never known effrontery to equal that of

which those Right Reverend and Reverend approvers of the Reverend Joseph Blanco White are guilty. They may, if they will, set to work upon the amendment and revision of their doctrinal formularies, they may, if they will, make their pure religion more pure; with all this we have no concern; but we should not suffer them with impunity to charge us with holding a more intolerant doctrine than they do, when in truth ours is more liberal, than is the most liberal of theirs.

I have done for the present with the doctrine of exclusive salvation; not that I have exhausted my topics, but that I fear having tired my readers. Should the holy alliance of our opponents desire it, they shall be treated to as much more as they may be pleased to call for: I have it made up by me, ready to order.

White now passes to another topic, p. 72.

"Believe a man who has spent the best years of his life where Catholicism is professed without the check of dissenting opinions; where it luxuriates on the soil, which fire and sword have cleared of whatever might stunt its natural and genuine growth; a growth incessantly watched over by the head of your Church, and his authorized representatives, the Inquisitors."

This portion of the chapter, according to its heading in the title, I expected, would give us abundant evidence of all the atrocities of the Inquisition, and I therefore looked for an opportunity of giving a correct statement of the nature of that institution; but really there is so little upon the subject, that I must leave that history to another place, in which it shall be more appropriately introduced. After I shall have concluded my examination of White's "Evidence," I have by me another work, in the examination of which it will be more properly given.

White calls upon us to believe *him*. Believe whom?—Look to my Letters V, VI, &c. and will you believe him?—"Spain has cleared the soil with fire and sword." At all events, the Inquisition was no sword; the Kings of Spain used it in their wars with the Moors; but in the name of common sense why are we to be made accountable for the regulations by which the Spanish government secured itself against the secret attempts of an enemy which had long kept its people in bondage, and which now nearly driven out by the sword, sought to insinuate itself concealed in the country, to make new attempts at its subjugation? Let me put a case, which being of times now before us, will be better understood, and will perhaps even justify the Spanish policy. Suppose the cause of Greece triumphant; would our American patrons of Blanco White condemn the policy which would exclude the Turks from that liberated country over which they had so long domineered? Would they condemn the policy which dreading the return of those oppressors, would create a tribunal to inquire after such as might remain concealed or disguised and watching for a favorable opportunity of again subjugating their former tributaries? Yet this would be exactly what White calls clearing the soil with the sword in the first instance, and if the tribunal punished with death by burning those discovered enemies, it would be clearing it by fire. This was the origin of the Spanish Inquisition, a tribunal created in 1480, by Ferdinand and Isabella, to guard their territories against the return of Saracenic dominion. Neither were the Spanish Inquisitors the "authorized representatives of the head of our Church." The King of Spain named an Inquisitor general for all his territories; this name was transmitted to the Pope for his approbation; the local Inquisitors were nominated by this general, but they had no power in virtue of this nomination, until it was approved of and confirmed by the King: the monarch also appointed a council to sit with the Inquisitor general, and by the King's authority familiars or officers of the local tribunals were appointed from amongst the nobility, by the supreme council: thus it was not a tribunal of authorized representatives of the Pope, but of the Spanish monarch, and was established not against heretics, but against the ancient Saracenic enemies of the Spanish people. The Kings of Spain seeing the desolating wars of Germany and the convulsions of France, in consequence of the change of religion, and having unity and peace at home, charged the same tribunal to prevent the introduction into their territories of those strife-creating factions which tortured the minds and afflicted the bodies of other nations; they believed that the way to heaven was open to the professors of the ancient religion, and they saw no necessity for introducing theological discord and tumultuous wranglers into a land which was now enjoying some repose. It is indeed extraordinary that White should scarcely ever give even a coloring of truth to his statements. His book was written in the year 1825, at a period when the Inquisition did not exist, when he well knew there was no such tribunal in Spain, and yet he tells us that "the growth of Catholicism *is* watched over by the head of our Church, and his authorized representatives the Inquisitors."

I have in a former letter taken to pieces the fable which he gives us in p. 73, concerning his mother and the Inquisition. I shall not therefore now revert to it; but shall

hasten to the conclusion of this his second letter, p. 74.

"Such is the spirit of ecclesiastical power to which you submit. The monstrous laws of which I speak, do not belong to a remote period: they existed in full force fifteen years ago: they were republished, under the authority of the Pope, at a later period."

But Mr. White here asserts a deliberate falsehood. His letter is addressed to the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, and the power which he describes is that of the Spanish Inquisition, which has never been in force in Great Britain or Ireland. As well might he tell the Irish Catholics that the King of Spain could nominate the archbishop of Armagh because the Pope consented to his nominating the archbishop of Toledo: as well might he have asserted that the Church lands in Ireland belong to the Catholic Bishops, because the King of Spain agreed with the Pope that the Church lands of his dominions should belong only to Roman Catholics. This is the discreditable sophistry of endeavoring to establish general conclusions as the result of special premises. I would be just as well warranted in charging the Protestant Bishops of America with voting the persecution of the Irish Catholics. There is here also a wilful concealment of the truth: viz. that the tribunal has been abolished, and that the Pope refused to be concerned in its restoration—p. 75.

"If some of your writers assume the tone of freedom which belongs to this age and country; if you profess your Faith without compulsion; you may thank the Protestant laws which protect you. Is there a spot in the universe where a Roman Catholic may throw off his mental allegiance except where Protestants have contended for that right, and sealed it with their blood?"

Of all the barefaced effrontery which ever was possessed by any writer, the compiler of this passage must have had the greatest share; or he must be the most ignorant man who has attempted to treat of such a subject. He is addressing the Roman Catholics of Ireland whose predecessors have written at several periods, during centuries before they were persecuted for adhering to their religion, with the same freedom that they do now: to men whose fathers when they professed their faith before Protestants existed did so without compulsion; the same is true of the British Catholics. They were Catholics who refused to permit the Popes to interfere with their national rights, with the provisions of the Great Charter, who proclaimed that they would not have the laws of England changed, who passed the statutes of *Mortmain* and of *Præmunire*. Is it possible that the sponsors of White can, even in America, assert without blushing that the British and Irish Catholics may now thank the disgraceful code of Protestant laws by which they are persecuted for their religion, for the ability to confess their faith without compulsion? There never existed a law in Ireland to compel a man to profess any faith or system of religion, until Protestant laws were made to compel Catholics to profess the Protestant religion, and to torture them if they refused. Will Bishop Kemp have the goodness to produce the law if it existed? or state a single instance of persecution upon the score of religion in Ireland until the time of King Henry VIII, whom God raised up as he did Josias, and Ezechias?

Protestants never contended for the right of conscience in Naples, and never sealed it with their blood in that region or in Sicily, nor in the States of the Church, nor in Brazil: yet in these and several other spots of the universe, Roman Catholics may and do leave their Church, and openly profess having thrown off their mental allegiance. Thus every particle of this paragraph, is a tissue of untruth and unblushing effrontery. One would imagine by his style and manner that he felt confident that Protestants never interfered with the freedom of conscience. What does he say to the penal laws whose continuance and whose enforcement he advocates? Could George IV throw off his mental allegiance, for I will not charge him with the imitation of White's own hypocrisy, without losing his crown? Could Mr. Canning hold his place as Secretary of State if he became a Roman Catholic? Could the Lord Mayor of London wear his golden chain if he became a Roman Catholic? Could the Duke of Sussex vote in the house of Peers if he became a Roman Catholic? Could Sir Francis Burdett or Mr. Brougham retain their seats in the House of Commons if they became Roman Catholics? Could the Duke of Wellington retain his office of commander-in-chief, or could Marquis Wellesley retain the government of Ireland, if they became Roman Catholics? Could Sir Wm. M'Mahon keep his place as Master of the Rolls in Ireland, if he professed the religion of his parents and of his youth? Could the beadle of any hall in a British or the Irish University, could the lowest officer of the meanest corporation retain his place and change his religion?—Why did the Swiss Protestant canton turn Mr. Haller, but three years since, from his place in her council? Because he took the liberty of changing his religion and returning to the Church of his ancestors.

"I know that your Church modifies her intolerance according to circumstances, and that she

tolerates in France, after the revolution, the Huguenots, whom she would have burnt in Spain a few years ago, and whom she would doom to some indefinite punishment, little short of the stake, at this present moment. Such conduct is unworthy of the claims which Rome contends for, and would disgrace the most obscure leader of a paltry sect. If she still claims the right of wielding 'the sword of Peter,' why does she conceal it under her mantle? If not, why does she not put an end to more than half the miseries and degradation of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Spanish America, by at once declaring that *men are accountable only to God for their religious belief*, and that *sincere and conscientious persuasion must both in this and the next world, be a valid plea for the pardon of error!* Does the Church of Rome really profess this doctrine?—It is then a sacred duty for her to remove at once that scandal of Christianity, that intolerance which the conduct of Popes and councils has invariably upheld."

Upon what does this rhapsody rest? Upon a false assumption, viz. that the Roman Catholic Church has done what she has not done: that is, that she has enacted the civil laws of the various nations in which her faith was professed. She neither tolerates the Huguenot in France, nor has she desired to burn him in Spain, and she has no punishment to inflict upon him. She asserts that he has departed from the doctrines which his fathers received from the Apostles, and that his tenets are not conformable to those which came down from the beginning. She wields indeed the sword of Peter, but not to cut off the ear of Malchus, for such is not her commission, but to cut off from her communion those who would corrupt her doctrine, or rebel against the authority committed by Christ to those whom the Holy Ghost has placed as governors in the Church of God.

For my part, I cannot see either misery or degradation in any place equal to that which exists in Ireland, in consequence of the unholy effort which the British Church and State have made to force a people to act against their conscience. Will Bishop Kemp have the kindness to exhibit to me any thing to equal what I produce? As to the next part, the Church of Rome admits the principle with its proper restrictions; but she denies that this sincere conviction upon sufficient grounds, exists in those cases where White assumes that it does, and I deny the fact which White impliedly asserts, "that the conduct of Popes and Councils has invariably upheld such intolerance as is the scandal of Christianity." It is not my duty to prove a negative, but I am ready to meet any one who undertakes to prove the affirmative, and to give him sufficient returns for any instances which he might adduce.

"But if, as I am persuaded, Rome still thinks in conformity with her former conduct, and yet the Roman Catholics of these kingdoms dissent from her on this point; they have already begun to use the Protestant *right of private judgment* upon ONE of the articles of their faith; and I may hope they will follow me in the examination of that alleged divine authority, by which they are prevented from extending it to ALL."

This is again begging the question, and assuming the truth of what is untrue. The Catholics of Ireland and Britain do not dissent from the doctrines of their Church upon that point, but they adhere thereto; and White misrepresents and involves [the question], and after having endeavored to render it obscure, states that which is not the fact.

He appends a note to this letter, to show that the friar Alphonsus de Castro, who preached against the persecution of the English Protestants, under Mary, wrote a book, to prove that the laws which enacted civil and canonical punishment against heretics were just; and that the Fourth Council of Toledo was not as liberal as Mr. Charles Butler says it was. With respect to the friar, it is matter of notoriety, and admitted history, that he preached against persecution. When the good sponsors of White will adduce a single passage from his book to contradict the doctrine of his sermon, it will be time enough for me to reply to their assertions. Let them produce the laws which he defends. With respect to the Council of Toledo, it was a mere question between Mr. Butler and White, in his mode of treating which, White shows his own dishonesty. In his "Evidence," he, as I have shown, endeavors to conclude, from the establishment of the Inquisition against the Moors and Jews, that every Catholic country held the same principle, and that it was enforced by the Catholic Church against all dissenters from her body. But in p. 238, he discovers, for his own purposes, the distinction which I have drawn, and protests against Mr. Butler's deducing a general conclusion from a mere Spanish case; and founds his explanation of a notorious fact upon the surmise of his own opinion, and the induction of *his own probability*, p. 239. I shall not now, however, follow him into the explanation of a special case of Spanish discipline, as my object is not to vindicate the kingdom of Spain, but the Catholic Church; and the Council of Toledo is not a General Council.

Upon the postscript to this letter, I shall make a very short remark:

"POSTSCRIPT.—Want of books, or rather want of sufficient health to undergo the fatigue and discomfort of consulting them in public

libraries, had made me proceed in the composition of these 'Letters,' deriving the materials from my own stores, and from the book itself, against the general tendency of which I was induced to take up the pen. My knowledge of the Roman Catholic doctrines led me soon to conclude that Mr. Butler was a writer who, on the fairest construction, knew how to divert his adversaries from all the weak points of his cause. Yet I trusted that the accuracy of his quotations might be depended upon, especially when he gave us *authorized statements of the* ROMAN CATHOLIC TENETS. The translation of the creed of Pius IV, which Mr. Butler inserted in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, was, therefore, the only document of that kind from which I deduced my arguments, to prove the duty incumbent on Roman Catholics to propagate their religion by every means in their power. Whether I have succeeded or failed in proving that fact by inference, my readers will decide. But, upon a revision of my arguments, I do not regret that *an omission*, which I subsequently discovered, in Mr. Butler's translation of that creed, deprived me, at first, of the easiest and most direct proof which I could wish to support my assertion. For had I consulted the original at once, the *positive* confirmation which that document gives it, and my own familiar conviction of its truth, would have induced me to save myself the exertion of fully developing my argument. As it now happens, I flatter myself that my readers will give me some credit for accuracy in the knowledge of the Roman Catholic doctrines, when they shall see that a theoretical reasoning from her established general principles, fully and accurately agrees with a positive injunction of the Church of Rome, of which lapse of time had made me forget the existence.

"Let us, then, compare the last article in Mr. Butler's translation of the creed, with the original.

"Mr. Butler's translation: 'This true Catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I, N., promise, vow, and swear most constantly to hold and profess the same whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life. Amen.'

"The Latin original: 'Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsenti sponte profiteor, et veraciter teneo, eandem integram, et inviolatam, usque ad extremum vitæ spatium constantissime (Deo adjuvante) retinere et confiteri, ATQUE A MEIS SUBDITIS, VEL ILLIS QUORUM CURA AD ME IN MUNERE MEO SPECTABIT, TENERI, DOCERI, ET PRÆDICARI, QUANTUM IN ME ERIT, CURATURUM EGO IDEM N. SPONDEO, VOVEO, AC JURO.'

"Now, the words in small capitals, omitted by Mr. Butler, contain the very pith and marrow of the strongest argument against the admissibility of Roman Catholics to parliament. For if the most solemn profession of their faith lays on every one of her members who ENJOYS A PLACE OF INFLUENCE, the duty of '*procuring that all under him, by virtue of his office, shall hold, teach, and* PREACH the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and this under an oath and vow; how can such men engage to preserve the ascendancy of the Church of England in these realms.

"When, in the New Times of the 5th of April, I exposed this important omission before the public, I thought that Mr. Butler would have explained the origin of it. But I am not aware of his having given any explanation. Neither on that, nor on the present occasion, is it my intention to cast a suspicion on that gentleman's good faith! *He probably copied from some garbled translation, prepared by less scrupulous members of his communion, who wished to conceal the* REAL TENETS OF THEIR CHURCH *from a Protestant public.* At all events, this fresh instance of inaccuracy, on a most important point, gives additional propriety to caution in reading Mr. Butler's defence of Catholicism."

A more glaring untruth never was put forward than that which is here asserted, in two instances. He charges Mr. Charles Butler with having given *as an exhibition of the* CATHOLIC TENETS, a garbled document, by omitting an essential part. That part which he says was suppressed by Mr. Butler, he gives at full length. Now, that addition which he gives, contains *no expression of any tenet*, but is a promise and oath given by certain persons, *to teach* and *to have taught* the tenets which had been previously expressed and enumerated by Mr. Butler, therefore, when they had been so expressed and enumerated, there was no garbling of the document in the translation, by any member of our communion, who wished to conceal the real tenets of our Church from a Protestant public. In the next place, the oath is no part of the tenets, and is not to be found in the creed. The original has not the oath or promise. The last clause in the original is exactly that which Mr. Butler has given before the passage, which is here stated as the last article given by Mr. Butler, and which, in fact, is no article, except in its first sentence, which is that concerning exclusive salvation: but to this is appended a form of promise always made and sometimes sworn to; for the words "vow and swear," are generally omitted; they are never used, except upon some very extraordinary occasion, such as the reconciliation of apostates to the Church. But the question recurs, did White forget the clause which he says was omitted? No; but by a sort of deceit, which is highly censurable, he exhibits as an article of the faith of every Roman Catholic, and sworn to by every Roman Catholic, that oath which *a Bishop* swears after making the profession previously to his consecration.

But this is not all; for as the words evidently imply that this oath binds *a person in office*, to see that all under his charge shall hold, TEACH, AND PREACH the recited doctrines; he with equal want of principle and decency, concludes that it would bind a British Member of Parliament, by virtue of *that office or place*, to use his best efforts to make the Protestant clergy PREACH AND TEACH the Catholic tenets! And, thus, he endeavors to support his previous calumnies of our disregard for oaths, or of the obligation of Catholic legislators robbing Protestant Churches. The Church does not require that the oath shall be taken by such legislator, and therefore the whole postscript is an unbecoming falsehood, and of a piece with the rest of the book. How could Bishop Kemp and his associates, before the civilized world, give the sanction of their names to the truth of those assertions? As well might I assert, that no member of the Protestant Episcopal Church ought to be permitted to take his seat in our Congress, or State Legislatures, or that he could not, with a safe conscience, take such seat, if elected thereto, because the Bishops of his Church on the day of their consecration make a solemn declaration, equivalent to an oath, that they will with all faithful diligence banish and drive away from the Church all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word: and both privately and openly call upon and encourage others to the same.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1827.

LETTER XXXII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—Hitherto White's remarks were upon topics more of a political and personal than of a dogmatic description; his third letter however is more than the others, that of which the gentlemen of "the holy alliance" should naturally be esteemed competent judges, and for whose untruths or misrepresentations they are individually and collectively as amenable to us and to the public, as is White himself. We can excuse them for much, and only condemn their rashness and disposition to do us an unkindness, when they undertake to unite with Irish Orangemen and British persecutors, in lecturing British and Irish Catholics for their endeavors to regain their seats in their own legislative assemblies; and when they paint us who are Catholics, to our fellow citizens, as persons sworn to violate the constitution of this Union, and those of our States, by abusing the confidence of our constituents, should we be chosen to office or to seats in the legislatures. We could even smile at their credulity, if we thought they really believed what their friend, Blanco White, wrote concerning the situation of religion in Spain. But for their approbation of the Third Letter, the gentlemen must stand or fall upon their own merits. Its title is as follows:—

"Examination of the title to infallibility, spiritual supremacy, and exclusive salvation, claimed by the Roman Catholic Church. Internal evidence against Rome, in the use she has made of her assumed prerogative. Short method of determining the question."

As theologians, the gentlemen must be presumed to have studied our arguments in support of the doctrine of infallibility, before they pronounced those arguments to be insufficient: for we cannot suppose them to have solemnly protested before God and the world, that this doctrine was erroneous, until they were fully acquainted with all that is adduced to prove its truth. If therefore they suppress any of those arguments, when they state the reasons by which we uphold the tenet, for the purpose of refuting them, they have been guilty of that which I need not describe. They have identified themselves with White; his words therefore must be considered as theirs. His letter commences with the following passage:

"At the conclusion of my preceding Letter, I entreated you to examine the title by which your Church deprives her members of the right of private judgment on religious matters, and denies salvation to those who venture to think for themselves. In making this request I may appear to have overlooked the very essence of your religious allegiance, and to demand a concession which would at once put you out of the pale of the Roman Church. But I beg you to observe, that whatever be the extent of the authority of that Church over you, there is one point which it cannot withhold from the judgment and verdict of your reason. The *reality* of her title to be the guide and rule of your faith, must be a matter, not of authority, but of proof. He that claims obedience in virtue of delegated power, is bound to prove his appointment. Any attempt to deprive those who, without that appointment would be his equals, of the liberty to examine the authority, nature and extent of the decree which constitutes the delegate above them; is an invasion of men's natural liberty, as well as a strong indication of imposture. If before we come to God we must, through nature, believe that he is, surely before we yield our reason to one who calls himself God's Vicar, our *reason* should be satisfied that God has truly appointed him to that supereminent post."

For the phrase "who think for themselves" would be much more correctly substituted "who select from the body of

revealed doctrines some which they choose to retain, whilst they reject the remainder as not suiting their taste." It is impossible to prevent a man's thinking for himself; and he who believes every doctrine of the Church upon her testimony, exercises this right as well and more judiciously than does the person who selects for himself: because all revealed doctrines are believed upon the authority of testimony, and that man who examines the credibility of the witness, and is satisfied of the existence of those characteristics which make him competent and credible, has necessarily thought for himself during this examination; but when the authority of that witness is fully established, the selection of some portions of her testimony is not thinking judiciously, but choosing arbitrarily: and hence the person who so chooses is called Αἱρετικὸς, *a chooser*. The right of private judgment as to the character of the witness must necessarily precede the decision upon her authority, but that authority once recognised, it would be a contradiction to suppose a right of choice to remain: the co-existence of authorized testimony, and of a right of choice, is impossible. The Catholic Church does not therefore deprive her members of the right of private judgment upon her own character as an authorized witness: nor does she deny salvation to those who think for themselves; but she teaches that they who choose for themselves, do, by so acting, contradict the first principles of reason, and the first maxims of religion.

Had the writer laid down those maxims without having had recourse to that sophistry of language, which in the very choice of its expressions begs the question in debate, I should without any remark, have admitted his position, that "the reality of the title of the Roman Catholic Church to be the guide and rule of our faith, must be a matter not of authority but of proof," as I would also have granted him the proposition which precedes that statement.

I have here to expose another of those subterfuges which the writer has frequent recourse to in the process of his work, the use of ambiguous phrases, so as to destroy the distinction between objects which are very unlike. It is observable that many of our opponents in speaking of our Church, call it the "Roman Church," others the "Romish Church," and others the "Church of Rome." I am aware that in a great many cases it is caused by pure unmixed ignorance, in others by dislike and bigotry, but many use it more for the purposes of sophistry. This latter description of persons know that the Roman Church, or the Church of Rome, is only the diocess which is superintended by the Pope as an individual Bishop: that the Catholic Church is spread throughout the world, but as in several parts of the world there are separatists of various descriptions, who claim to be portions of the Catholic Church, those Catholics who are in communion with the See or Church of Rome, and who acknowledge it to be the mother and mistress of all other Churches, are designated by the addition of the *prænomen* Roman, and therefore, that although the Roman Catholic Church is spread through the whole world, the Church of Rome does not extend beyond the walls of that city. White here tells the persons whom he addresses, as "the impartial amongst the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland," that a certain concession would at once put *them* "out of the pale of the Roman Church." This is just as if Bishop Kemp should tell me who am a citizen of Charleston, that doing a certain act would put me out of the citizenship of Baltimore, of which place I never was a citizen. If the Roman Catholic who resides in the archdiocess of Dublin, should remove his residence to the diocess of Rome, he would be immediately recognized and received, because of his quality of Roman Catholic, and would become a member of the Roman Church, ceasing to be a member of the Church of Dublin; as the Bishop, if he is an American citizen would be received and admitted a member of our city, upon his coming hither and ceasing to be a citizen of Baltimore. Thus every member of the Roman Church is a Roman Catholic, but very few Roman Catholics are members of the Roman or Romish Church, or Church of Rome. Having thus adverted to the manner in which the terms are confounded, I shall only lay down the general principle upon which we may frequently detect the sophistry. Our opponents prove that some act has been done by the Roman Church, and charge it upon the Roman Catholic Church, and thus draw an universal conclusion from particular premises; which is just as fair a mode of reasoning, as if I was to charge the murder of Morgan the freemason, upon all the freemasons in the world, Christians, Jews, Turks, Indians, and all others of the fraternity.

I will not quarrel with the amplification which goes to exhibit what I before admitted "the reality of *her* title to be the guide and rule of your faith, must be matter not of authority but of proof—" the word *her* refers to *that Church*; that Church again is of no meaning, unless it refers to *your Church*, which depriving the members of their right of private judgment, asserts her title to be

the guide, &c. Thus the question which in this case is proposed, for examination, is the title of the Church of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland; the Church to which they submit is not the Roman Church, but the Roman Catholic Church, spread through the whole world, and which they profess to be for them an infallible guide to the faith; *her* rule of faith they look upon to be correct. White sets out with a promise to examine the proof of the reality of *her* title. And he does not even touch upon the examination!!! Even in this first sentence of his letter he thrice changes the very state of the question. He first gives us the Roman Catholic Church, then the Roman Church, he returns to the Roman Catholic Church, or he states what is not true; and last of all he undertakes to examine, not the proofs of the infallibility of the Church, either Roman or Roman Catholic, but whether God has truly appointed as his Vicar, one who calls himself such, and to whom we are called upon to yield our reason. And this is theology!!! Verily it might pass at Oxford, but no degree would be conferred at Seville for such theology as this! In the name of common sense are those two questions the same? 1. Is the Roman Catholic Church an infallible guide to the knowledge of what God has revealed? 2. Ought we yield our reason to one who calls himself God's Vicar? For my part I think they are as far asunder as the poles: and I should first like to know whether there ever was an individual who called himself God's Vicar, whilst he demanded the sacrifice of reason: I avow myself to be one who never heard of such a claim having been made, and who am not prepared to make the sacrifice. My reason teaches me that I ought to believe the doctrines of God, and that I shall infallibly arrive at their knowledge by the testimony of the Roman Catholic Church, and in receiving that testimony, I do not yield my reason, but I act conformably to its clearest dictates.

White proceeds to state his case after having slabbered through his preliminary sentence—

"How then stands the case between the Church of Rome and the world?

"The Church of Rome proclaims that Jesus Christ, both God and man, having appeared on earth for the salvation of mankind, appointed the Apostle Peter to be his representative; made him the head of all the members of his Church then existing; and granted a similar privilege to Peter's successors. Christ ensured an infallible knowledge of the sense of the Scriptures, and an equally infallible knowledge of certain traditions, and their true meaning. On the strength of this divine appointment, the Church of Rome demands the same faith in the decisions of her head, when approved 'by the tacit assent or open consent of the greatest part of her Bishops,' as if they proceeded from the mouth of Christ himself. The divine commission, on which she grounds these claims, runs in these words of Christ to the chief of his Apostles: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'"

This sentence I divide into three parts, and I deny the correctness of the preliminary allegation, viz. that the question is between the Church of Rome and the world: the parties are by no means properly designated. The first party is not the Church of Rome, but is the Roman Catholic Church: the second party is not the world, but is the congregation of all the different sorts of sectaries which have ever separated from the Catholic Church, from the followers of Ebion, or Nicholas, or Cerinthus, or Simon Magus, down to the last denomination, whatever it may be, which has raised a pulpit for its peculiar teacher. I assert that the Roman Catholic Church has in her communion at least one hundred and fifty millions of the present inhabitants of the world: they must be deducted from Blanco White's world. We must next deduct a much larger number who have no share whatever in the contest, who know nothing of the question, who therefore are not parties in the case; the bulk of the inhabitants of China, of Japan, of India, of Persia, of Thibet, of Tartary, of Arabia, of Turkey, of Africa. After making this deduction, we shall have but a very small portion of the world, and from even this we must deduct the Israelites, and pure Deists. We shall have the Greek Church, which is separated from the communion of Rome, together with the miserable remnants of Nestorians, Eutychians, Macedonians, Sabellians, Arians, Monothelites, and the Russian established Church: to these I add all the various descriptions of Protestants; and I believe I overrate their amount in making the entire of those who profess the Christian religion, but are not Roman Catholics, sum up at seventy-five millions. Thus an accurate and honest writer would have commenced, by stating that the parties in the case were the Roman Catholic Church on the one side, and all other denominations on the other: and he would have added, if he desired to be exact in his statement, that although their aggregate did not exceed half the number of the Roman Catholics, this was the only case in the whole

range of doctrine, upon which they could possibly be brought in array together against her:—on every other point they waged war upon each other, a large portion of them upon every other question voting in support of the Roman Catholic tenets, and condemning as erroneous those with whom they now united for the moment. Thus he would have stated, upon this question, the fact that this is Christ's doctrine, is supported by the testimony of all Christendom, with a majority of two to one, and in every other doctrinal question, with a much greater majority; and thus instead of coming to the examination with that prejudice which is excited by the wrong description of the parties at issue, the readers of the "Evidence" would not only have that prejudice removed, but would be led to ask themselves this question, "Has the majority been always at the same side?" To which I assert, the history of the Christian Church would have answered, "Yes." I would then leave to their own fate the following questions: "And is it possible that at all times the majority of the Christian world were ignorant of the true Christian doctrine?" "And upon what rational grounds shall I follow the testimony of the minority, or of some subdivision of that minority, or my own individual conjecture, in opposition to the testimony of the great body of Christians?"

The first proposition of White's sentence is that the Roman Catholic Church teaches the supremacy of St. Peter, and his successors, to the end of the world. The second proposition is, that Christ promised, according to the doctrine of that Church, a certain specified infallibility *to the Church*, united under Peter and his successors. The corollary from this second proposition is stated to be that the Roman Catholic Church demands acquiescence to her decisions, when made in a specified manner—and the third proposition is, that the *only proof* of this commission is the words quoted, as spoken by Christ to the chief of his Apostles.

I will admit the truth of the first proposition. In viewing the second, I find White to be grossly incorrect in these expressions, "An infallible knowledge of certain traditions, and their true meaning." I shall allow the corollary, but his third proposition is altogether incorrect.

There is a wide distinction to be taken between a certainty that we are to receive the testimony of true doctrine with infallible correctness from a designated witness, and a certainty of the special mode by which that witness will give that infallibly correct testimony, or obtain the knowledge necessary to give such testimony. When the people of Israel beheld the miracles which Moses wrought, they had the testimony of heaven, and of course the utmost certainty that he was to declare to them the truth of God: the object of the Lord being to make him a witness, whose testimony would give them infallibly correct [knowledge] of the will of God. Nothing more was necessary than the declaration, on the part of the Most High, that his will would be taught by Moses. Whether the Lord gave the knowledge to Moses by inspiration, or by conversation, or by writing, or by vision, or by strengthening his natural powers of reasoning, made no difference: still he was the authorized interpreter of the will of Heaven; for God had declared that he had commissioned him for that purpose. The Roman Catholic Church states that God has made her the authorized witness of what he has revealed, and that her testimony, given by the decision of the great majority of her Bishops together with their head, is the infallibly correct rule of ascertaining what has been revealed. In a word, she says that the error of hell will never prevail over her testimony of the truth of heaven. She does not state in this general principle, the special mode by which she will arrive at the knowledge which she communicates: it might, or it might not be the mode which White designates: but one truth is obvious, that if the commission was given at the time designated by the writer, it could not have been then executed in the manner specified by him, because the books containing Christ's doctrine were not then written: and the first commissioners, who had no predecessors in their office, could not know traditions of such predecessors. Neither White, nor his abettors, then, having given to us what the Church states to be her commission, it is proper that we should see what she claims. Her doctrine is, that the testimony given by the judicial decision of the great majority of her Bishops, together with the successor of Peter, who is the head of the Church, is an infallibly correct mode of learning what Christ has taught, as necessary to be believed, and necessary to be practised, in order to obtain salvation. I admit the corollary drawn by White flows from this; but I assert that what he lays down instead of this proposition, differs very materially therefrom.

I stated that our opponents gave the commission which the Saviour conferred on Peter, as above recited, as *our only proof* of the infallibility of the Church. I used the expression *only*, because it is the only proof of ours which they adduce, where the nature of the case fairly required of them to adduce all, or at least several, or to state that there were others. Now, as we produce several

others, and they make no allusion even to any one of them; they are ignorant of their existence, or they knew and wilfully concealed them. I shall not interfere with their choice.

Before I proceed to remind you of what our proofs are, allow me to conclude this letter by examining the manner in which even this argument, adduced by themselves, is met by White.

"It will not be denied, that between this unquestionable authority and the statement which precedes it, there is no verbal agreement. A man unacquainted with the system of divinity supported by the Church of Rome, would probably perceive no connection between the alleged passage and the commentary. But let us suppose that these words of our Saviour contain the meaning in question: yet no man will deny, that if they do contain it, it is in an indirect and obscure manner. The fact then is, that even if the Church of Rome should be really endowed with the supernatural assistance which she asserts, the divine founder of Christianity was pleased to make the existence of that extraordinary gift one of the least obvious truths contained in the Gospels."

Now I am one of those who will make that very denial which he says will not be made: for I find a verbal agreement between the subjects of both propositions, "the Church united under Peter and his successors," "My Church built upon Peter," or if the holy alliance will so have it, though such is not the text, "The Church built upon the faith of Peter." I also find a plain agreement between the attributes, "infallible knowledge of what heaven reveals"—and "not to be prevailed against by the gates of hell" or the power of hellish error. I find it also in the circumstance which joins them in each case, viz. the promise of Christ. I am a man, and I deny that the assurance is only either obscurely or indirectly contained in the words, but I assert that it is contained plainly and directly in them, and that it is one of the most obvious truths in the Gospels. Nor am I singular in this. I have the majority of Christendom, during successive ages, at my side: of course our opponents will assert, with their usual modesty and love for republican principles, that the minority must be right. White continues to disprove our proof in the following manner, p. 84:

"It might have been expected, however, that Peter, in his Epistles, or in the addresses to the first Christians, which the Acts record, would have removed the obscurity; and that, since the grant of infallibility to him, to his peculiar Church, and to his successors in the See of that Church, (either independently of the infallibility of others, or in combination with other privileged persons—for this is also left in great obscurity,) was made the only security against the attacks of hell: he would have taken care to explain the secret sense of Christ's address to him. Peter, however, does not make the slightest allusion to his privileges."

In this passage, all that is contained is reducible to this semblance of proof, "Peter does not state that infallibility was granted to the Church; therefore it was not granted." Suppose I were to admit the truth of the first proposition, the second is not a necessary consequence of that admission. St. Matthew, who does state it, is as good a witness as is St. Peter; and the silence of one does not destroy the testimony of the other, The holy alliance and their associates never doubted the fact of Peter's denial of Christ, though he never mentions that fact in his Epistles, and Peter was more disposed to state his faults than his privileges: nor need he in his Epistle testify of that infallibility which no Christian called in question at the time of his writing. But I have farther to object to this passage than dishonesty of construction, to which I have before alluded, a changing of terms; here we have "the grant of infallibility to him:" in p. 81, it was the *reality* of *her* title to be the "guide and rule of your faith:" here we have "his peculiar Church," that is, the Roman Church: in p. 81, it was "your church," "the Roman Catholic Church," which by his confusion of terms he attempted to identify with the "Roman Church," Peter's "peculiar Church." We have here his successors; and a new step is made to take infallibility from the Church and bestow it upon the individual, "independently of the infallibility of others," which is not what he laid down in this statement upon p. 63: "the decisions of her head, when approved by the tacit or open consent of the greatest part of her Bishops:" we have here "privileged persons." No mention is made of such persons even in his own statement, for no privilege was given to persons, but authority to give infallibly correct decisions was given to an aggregate body, not to the separate members who compose that body, in their individual or personal capacities; as no power of legislation is given to either the President or to any individual member of Congress taken alone; neither of them has the personal privilege of making a law, but the legislative authority is vested in their aggregate body. Nor is it true there "is obscurity," nor is it true that there is any "secret sense of Christ's address to Peter." Thus there are a dishonest change of terms, and two false assumptions, together with three or four insinuations of untruth, in this illogical sentence.

"His successors being not named in the supposed original grant of supremacy, it was in course that, by an express declaration, Peter

would obviate the natural inference, that they were excluded from his own personal prerogatives. But Peter is eqally silent about his successors; and to add to the original mysteriousness of the subject, he never mentions Rome, and dates his Epistles from Babylon. Babylon may figuratively mean Rome; the silence of both our Saviour and his Apostle may, by some strange rule of interpretation, be proved to denote those successors; the whole system, in fine, of the Roman Catholic Church, may be contained in the alleged passage; but, if so, it is contained like a diamond in a mountain."

Mr. White is a member of the Church of England, Bishop Kemp is a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America; let them adopt the principle here in its application to the hierarchy which they say they have, and upon what ground will they prove that the Bishops were to succeed the Apostles? Upon what ground will the gentlemen of other denominations prove that any person was to succeed to a power of administering a sacrament? If they deny that the successor of Peter was to succeed to the power of Peter, they must deny that any minister was to succeed to the power of the first ministers of the Christian religion, because Christ never used the word successors. This has, however, no connexion with the question of infallibility. But the Church was to be built upon *Peter*, for such is the expression in the original; the subterfuge that the given name of the Apostle does not in the English language signify what it does in the Syro-Chaldaic, will be too miserable to be attempted by any person having respect for his character. White must acknowledge that the proper translation is, "Thou art a ROCK, and upon this ROCK I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall *never* prevail," &c. *The rock*, PETER being the foundation, must continue as long as the edifice; for the gentlemen will not assert that we were to have a baseless edifice, and thus the office then instituted in the person was to continue as long as the Church itself, which was to the end of the world. It has now continued during nearly eighteen centuries. The next quibble is indeed a miserable piece of sophistry. We do not state that the Saviour mentioned Rome, nor was it necessary. We say the successors of Peter or the Rock were to be the chief pastors of the Church; had Peter continued at Antioch, the Bishops of that See would have inherited his power. The facts of his death and the designation of his See, and the recognition of his successor, and not the declaration of the Saviour or his own, pointed out where the power originally given by Christ was to continue. Neither do we say that it is the silence but the institution of the Saviour, and the declaration of his Apostles, which denoted the successors of Peter, nor do we say that the whole system of the Roman Catholic Church—how quickly the gentleman changes his terms—is contained either in that passage or in a mountain.

"The plainest sense of any one passage of the Scriptures cannot be so palpable as the obscurity of the present. It follows, therefore, with all the force of demonstration, that the divine right claimed by the Pope and his Church to be the infallible rule of faith, having no other than an obscure and doubtful foundation, the belief in it cannot be obligatory on all Christians, who are left to follow the suggestions of their individual judgment as to the obscure meaning of the Scriptures, till the Scriptures themselves shall be found to demand the resignation of that judgment."

Now I believe the gentleman will be found here begging all his positions, for the passage is not obscure; the only demonstration which he has made is that of his own dishonesty; and he concludes by assuming that which we deny, that if the Scriptures be obscure, there is no way of knowing their meaning until they shall be made clear by themselves. This is another question, which I must lay aside for the present.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., April 16, 1827.

LETTER XXXIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—I have shown you in my last letter, White's falsehoods, and dishonesty respecting our doctrine of infallibility. We shall see in his next passage what is in perfect accordance with his last assumption, viz. "That individuals are by the Christian law left to follow the suggestions of their individual judgment as to the obscure meaning of the Scriptures, till the Scriptures themselves shall be found to demand the resignation of that judgment." In other words this is an assertion that Christ gave us *only* the Scriptures to lead us to a knowledge of his doctrine. The assertion contains two mistakes, because the Saviour did *not* give us the Scriptures; and the mode of learning the doctrine which was established by him, and followed by his Apostles, was *not* by submitting the meaning of the Scriptures to the judgment of individuals. And indeed St. Peter tells us that many persons who proceeded upon this plan did thereby procure their own damnation.

White's object, as is that of all those who are engaged in the same cause with him, is to persuade mankind, first, that every individual is equally authorized to pass his private judg-

ment upon the meaning of every text, and next to bring them to a belief that from a vast number of the passages which are so obscure, no person can with certainty know the doctrine which God taught, and hence they must inevitably arrive at these conclusions: That God revealed to man doctrines for his belief, which doctrines he cannot discover: or else that he gave a revelation which being unintelligible, man is at liberty to reject: or else that man is bound to believe doctrines which are not only undiscoverable, but also unintelligible. This I submit, is not very complimentary to God, to man, to the Bible, or to Christianity; and has been the chief cause of that extensive infidelity which we now witness. Mark what he has written, and what the holy alliance has approved and recommended to the perusal of their flocks, p. 85:

"I request you to observe, that the force of my argument does not depend upon the erroneousness of the Roman interpretation of the passages alleged for the spiritual supremacy; all I contend for is the *doubtfulness* of their meaning: for to suppose that the divine founder of christianity, while providing against doubt in his future followers, would miss his aim by overlooking the obscurity in which he left the remedy he wished to appoint; is a notion from which christians must shrink. It follows, therefore, either that Christ did not intend what the Romanists believe about Peter and his Church; or that, since he concealed his meaning, an obedience to the Roman Church cannot be a necessary condition in his disciples."

How would the venerable gentlemen answer the Baptist from whom the majority of them differ, when he tells them, "At least my friends, you have only your surmises that infants are capable of baptism. You must admit that it is doubtful if they are, you must then admit that Christ did not intend infant baptism to be a necessary doctrine for his disciples." What will the venerable body say to the Unitarian, who defies them to produce a single text from the Scriptures which would even create a doubt in favor of what he is pleased to call the monstrous and absurd doctrine of a Triune God? Especially as several of them have very generously, and with becoming liberality made him a present of the 7th verse of the fifth chapter of St. John's first Epistle. Upon their principle there must be more or less of doubt as to every doctrine: upon ours there is no doubt respecting any doctrine. When therefore the gentleman and his abettors assume what we deny, and draw inferences from the assumption, it is not reasoning, it is unbecoming sophistry; and all that is built upon such a foundation must totter and fall. They assume that what we assert to be clear, plain, and distinct, is obscure and doubtful. They next tell us that what is doubtful proves nothing; we admit the principle, but we deny its applicability to the case before us.

The value of the succeeding paragraph is easily settled, after the view which I have thus taken, p. 86:

"The liberty which, upon the supposition most favorable to Rome, Christ has granted to believers in his Gospel, the Pope and his Church most positively deny them. Placing themselves between mankind and the Redeemer, they allow those only to approach him, who first make a full surrender of their judgment to Popes and councils. A belief in Christ and his work of redemption, grounded on the Scriptures and their evidences, is thus made useless, unless it is preceded by a belief in Roman supremacy, grounded on mere surmises. Christianity is removed from its broad foundation, to place the mighty fabric upon the moveable sand of conjectural meaning."

The first passage begs the question: the second is an untruth, for we say "the Pope and his Church" only remain where the Redeemer placed them, we place them no where: and there is no surrender of judgment in receiving the judicial testimony of an authorized witness. The third passage is a pitiable misrepresentation, containing the insinuation of an impossibility, the statement of an untruth, and a shifting of the case; because there could be no scripture evidence without the testimony of the Church; and the evidence of the right and power of the Church to give that testimony, rests upon plain facts, and not upon mere surmises; and the question is not concerning Roman Supremacy, but concerning the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church. The concluding passage, as being the result of the others, contains the combination of their faults.

The following passage upon which it is now unnecessary for me to remark, winds up his observations, p. 87:

"This looks more like love of self than of Christ; more like ambition than charity. The title to infallibility and supremacy being at *the best* doubtful, the benefit of the doubt should have been left to christian liberty. But may not the opposite conduct of the Roman Church have arisen from sincere zeal for what she conceived to be the true intention of Christ? Christian candor would demand this construction, were it not for the use she has made of the assumed privilege: yet if we find that, having erected herself into an organ of heaven, all her oracular decisions have invariably tended towards the increase of her own power; it will be difficult to admit the purity of her intentions."

Before I commence the examination of his succeeding topics, I now feel authorized plainly to charge White and his American sponsors with having grossly imposed upon his readers. They concur with him in asserting that the claim of the Roman Catholic Church to infallibility in her doctrinal decisions rests only on the text adduced in p. 83. I have before given my reasons for the introduction of the word *only*. Now this text is by no means the only ground upon which we rely: there are very many prior and very many subsequent facts besides that of the promise made by the Redeemer on this occasion; and there are several other considerations, a few of which I shall rather allude to, than enlarge upon.

The first ground which I rest upon, is the very nature of faith. Faith is a divine virtue by which we believe what God teaches: this belief is founded upon the impossibility of a mistake on the part of the Omniscient Being who makes the revelation; and the impossibility of deceit, on his part, as being essential truth. God cannot be himself deceived, nor can he deceive us; therefore the mind rests with the utmost certainty of truth upon his declarations: the heavens and the earth may pass away, but his word will not fail. The truth of God being the foundation of faith, the soul cannot admit the shadow of a doubt as to the truth of his declaration; faith is lost at the very instant that any deliberate doubt is wilfully entertained in the soul. Thus it is not a profession of faith to declare that I think it *highly probable* that there are three persons in one God: that such is *my opinion*, but that I may be in error: that possibly there is but one person, and that I am under a delusion. This would not be a declaration of *my firm belief of what God had taught*, but a declaration of what was *my own individual opinion*. Thus the very nature of faith requiring that it should be a firm and unshaken belief of what cannot possibly be an error; not only must the God who reveals, but also the witness who gives me the testimony or the revelation, be infallibly identified with truth, so far as that testimony is concerned; otherwise I might be deceived, I could not have certainty, and therefore [would] not have Faith. Upon this view of the nature of Faith, it can exist only in those souls to which God has given special and individual revelation of his doctrine; or else, if he made a general revelation for mankind, and appointed teachers of that revelation, he must have made their testimony an infallible evidence of his doctrine to those whom he sent them to instruct: and the moment it ceased to be such evidence, the foundation of Faith was altogether removed.

Suffer me to put a plain case to which this principle will apply. It is now nearly eighteen centuries since Christ was on earth and gave his revelation. He required; as I am led to believe that it was essential to that Faith which is necessary for salvation [that he should do]; that all who heard him should believe truly and firmly in the nature of God, and of the Redeemer. Had I [had] the happiness to live at that period when he was on earth, and heard from his lips what that nature was, I would firmly believe his declaration. I have not had that consolation, but a Bible which I am told, is believed to contain his doctrine upon this head, is put into my hands: I read, and an Episcopalian tells me, that it clearly teaches that there is a Triune God, and that the Redeemer is a God-man. An Unitarian on my other side asks me where that is found in the book, and tells me that my Episcopalian friend mistakes the meaning of those passages. I ask the Episcopalian upon what grounds he will show that this explanation is not incorrect, and besides the texts which he adduces, he tells me that he can show that in the several ages of the Church they were explained as he now explains them: the Unitarian asks him whether those men were infallibly correct in their explanations; and whether in fact it be not true that "the Church of Hierusalem, of Antioch, and Alexandria, as also that of Rome, have erred not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith," (art. xixth, of P. E. C.) And further: whether it be not true "that Laity and Clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women and children of whole Christendom, (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man, and that by the space of eight hundred years and more."—(Homilies, p. 201.) The Episcopalian acknowledges that it is a fact that those Churches did err in matters of faith, and that all Christendom, Clergy and Laity was during upwards of eight hundred years drowned in abominable idolatry. The Unitarian still presses him to know whether he or his Church is less liable to error than all Christendom, and if he is equally liable to err, what assurance has he that he is not now in error, when he asserts that there is a Triune God; and how is he certain that he is not guilty of damnable idolatry in adoring as God, Jesus who died upon the cross? I ask whether either of them claims to be infallibly correct, and perfectly competent to inform me of any one doctrine without the possibility of being mistaken. They tell me, "No, we do not claim infallibility." But they tell

me to read and to decide for myself. Really I can only form a good conjecture, but I look at the Episcopalian's text, 1 John, v, 7, *For there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.* The Unitarian assures me that this text is not a part of the divine revelation, but is an interpolation. This the Episcopalian denies,—and is asked by his opponent, whether he is infallibly certain that it was a part of the original text. Thus at my very outset, I am left at a perfect loss not only to know the meaning of phrases, but whether the very phrases are genuine. And in this situation, I feel [that] one of two results must be the consequence: either God has established for my guidance some witness which will infallibly lead me to a knowledge of what I could not discover with certainty, and thus I must have an infallible witness of doctrine; or faith is not attainable, and is not necessary for salvation. We find the first to be true in fact as well as in theory. Our Protestant friends, whilst they teach the necessity of Faith, have by denying the infallibility of the Church, created in their societies the impression that Faith is not necessary, nor indeed attainable. It is not my business to reconcile contradictions; but the very nature of Faith implies the necessity of an infallible witness of revelation.

We also find another ground in the very object of revelation. That object is to give man from heaven, easily and perfectly, knowledge to which he could never or only with great difficulty attain by natural means, and perhaps then only imperfectly. Thus the communication of divine knowledge upon which man might build his hopes and regulate his conduct, was a principal object of the divine communications. Without revelation, man was left to conjecture, to probability, to the wandering of his private judgment. But with the testimony of God for his guidance, knowledge succeeds to conjecture, certainty to probability, and public and unchanging evidence to private and erring judgment. The truth which is given to all, becomes the great rule for the guidance of all; and the perplexity of disquisition being removed, the minds of the sage and of the simple are equally taught by their common Creator and Father, the common truths respecting his nature and theirs, and their duties which are the results. The object being then to give to man the certain knowledge of heavenly doctrine; that could be attained only by some mode which would give that knowledge with infallible certainty: and this could be effected by no less means than by giving to us the utmost certainty of the infallible competency of the witness. Thus if I might be misled or deceived by the witness who testifies to me what is the doctrine, one of the great objects of revelation is defeated.

Suppose I am certain that Christ taught the doctrine of Heaven in Jerusalem on the day of his ascension; of what avail will that be to me unless I know what that doctrine was?—Suppose I am convinced that the book which is in my hands contains the expressions which he used; of what avail is that to me, unless I know what he meant by those expressions? If I have the expressions without any certainty of what ideas he intended to convey by them, of what use is his revelation to me? I am not thereby instructed. When it is my misfortune to live at a time when several divisions of his followers are contradicting each other as to the meaning of every phrase, and the nature of every doctrine, if I have no infallible guide to lead me from the labyrinth, how shall I be extricated? Of what use to me is an unintelligible book? The great object of his revelation, viz. a *certain knowledge* of what he taught, is to me unattainable, without an infallible guide, one that cannot lead me into error; and because they have been persuaded that there is no such guide to be found, millions have abandoned in utter despair and disgust, all inquiry for the doctrines of Christ.

Another great object of revelation was to restrain, and to humble the pride of man's understanding, as it was by the indulgence of this guide he fell, and as its exaltation is a principal obstacle to his spiritual perfection: so far from being attained, this object is counteracted by the principle of submitting each doctrine to the private judgment of individuals.

These general principles lead to the conclusion that for the knowledge of revealed truth, for the existence of faith, and healing the ravages which the pride of intellect has made in the human soul, it is absolutely necessary that the witness of doctrine should be infallible.

Allow me to expatiate a little upon the application. Let me now be desirous of learning what God has revealed at any time to any portion of the human race; clearly I can obtain that knowledge only in one of two ways, either by the testimony of God himself, or by some other testimony. Few if any will assert that God himself is to be to me individually the witness of what he has formerly, for instance, manifested to Moses, to Abraham, or to St. Paul. To indulge this supposition would be, indeed, to assert that the communications of heaven to one individual, were absolutely useless to every

other. Yet there have been sects in the reformed Churches that held the principle; for they taught, that the only evidence which we can have of revealed truth is from the Spirit of God making manifest to our spirit that this is the doctrine: and until we are prepared to come to this point fully and entirely, it is not possible to adopt the maxim that the private judgment of each individual is to be the rule of his doctrine of faith. I shall now add but little on this subject.

One of the best arguments used against our claim to Church infallibility is the alleged contradiction of our decisions upon doctrine; for, say our opponents, God cannot teach contradictions. We admit the correctness of the principle: and when they shew us in fact such contradictory decisions of doctrine, even upon one single point, I shall cease to be a Roman Catholic; I will publish my name, retract what I have written, and depart from your communion. Admitting then the force of the principle, I find in all the individuals as well as Churches that claim this evidence of the Spirit, palpable doctrinal contradiction; and I therefore conclude, that what has thus perpetually misled, cannot be the evidence of the God of truth.

I must then find some other testimony; and clearly it must be that, either of a document, or of an individual, or of a body: by one of these I must be taught what I desire to know. Suppose a document is handed to me; it will not be evidence until I receive sufficient testimony of its nature, and value. I cannot receive this from the Spirit speaking to my spirit, as I saw before. My witness must be either an individual or a body; and unless that witness can give me infallible certainty, I cannot have perfect assurance of what God has taught; and without this perfect assurance, I cannot have unshaken belief, which alone is faith. Hence, if Faith is firm and unhesitating belief of what God has taught, it must be founded upon infallible certainty, and this certainty must rest upon infallible evidence, which evidence I can receive only from an infallible witness; this infallible witness cannot be one which has been detected in frequent and flagrant contradictions, it cannot be the private spirit or judgment of individuals. Where then am I to find this witness? I shall in my next give the outline of our doctrine upon this head. Not to enter into the reasoning by which it is upheld; but to prove the truth of the assertion which I made that White and his associates did not state our case fairly.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1827.

LETTER XXXIV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—In my last letter, I exhibited to you an outline of the reasons which show that, without an infallible guide to the knowledge of doctrine, it is impossible to have faith; and that the great objects of revelation would be unattainable. I proceed now to show you that, whenever revelation was given, such a guide was pointed out. The books of Moses contain no revelation of man's immortality, nor of his accountability in another world, for the actions done in his mortal state. Yet it is manifest, that the people of Israel did believe in the immortality of the soul, and in a future judgment, which was to be followed by a state of eternal reward and of eternal punishment, and that they believed it as a revelation made by God, and not as a mere discovery of human reasoning; also that they believed it before the books themselves were written by Moses. How was this revelation given? How was it preserved? What was the evidence of its infallible truth and certainty? God himself gave the evidence of his presence, and made his declarations to the patriarchs, and continued those manifestations to them in the midst of their families, who were frequently witnesses of such revelations, and thus during the period which preceded the days of Moses, there existed in the unanimous testimony of the heads of the families of Israel, unquestionable evidence that God had spoken to their fathers, and revealed to them the few doctrines, the belief of which he required, and gave to them the short but cheering and simple promises upon which their hopes rested, and instituted the few but significant ceremonies of their external worship. The faithful Israelite received the testimony given by his fathers, admitted and preserved by his kindred, and in that testimony saw the infallible evidence of what God had taught, promised, and instituted; this he believed, looked for, and adhered to. The public testimony of the whole body, and not the internal inspiration of his own mind, or the discovery of his private judgment, was his rule of faith and practice, before the days of Moses, whether he wandered in Canaan or served in Egypt.

Thus, from the fall of Adam to the death of Joseph, the faithful adorers of the true God were never bereft of a living witness, to whom God had spoken, and who, in the midst of his people, testified to them the communications of the Most High; his commission to announce to them the will of God was placed in sufficient evidence, and his doctrines agreed exactly with those of his predecessors;

and hence there was full and infallible testimony upon which faith was to be built. Their eye always beheld the cloud of witnesses by day; and in the night, the splendor of heavenly guidance led them in the path to their salvation.

From the death of Joseph to the birth of Moses, there elapsed about sixty years; and though we possess little documentary testimony to show that, during this period, there had been any special revelation given to continue for a century the special interference of heaven, in a miraculous manner, for the preservation of the doctrine; still, from the history of the former, and of the subsequent periods, it will not be a very outrageous supposition that God did occasionally and specially make a renewed disclosure and promise. Josephus, the Jewish historian, in chap. ix, book ii, tells us that Amram, the father of Moses, had a special revelation previous to his son's birth. If, then, this mode which had commenced in the days of Adam, continued to the arrival of Moses, when he claimed from Pharao the liberation of his brethren, there was no moment in which the people of God had not to that period in their sight a miraculously authorized witness, who, together with those that heard his predecessors, testified with infallible certainty the nature of the doctrines which God had taught, and of the religious institutions which he had established. If a century elapsed without such a miraculously taught commissioner, there existed the concordant testimony of the heads of the house of Israel, teaching what had been given to them as delivered by the God of their fathers. Thus to the period of the public ministry of Moses, faith was founded upon the infallible testimony of a public witness, not upon the opinions and surmises, and conjectures of the private judgment of individuals; and thus the facts in the history of religion to the days of Moses, are in perfect accordance with the principles which I have exhibited in my last letter.

It will not be disputed that during his life time, Moses was, after leading out the people of Israel, an infallibly correct witness of the doctrines of heaven; and that through him the revelation was given to the multitude, after his commission had been fully exhibited. Nor will it, I suppose, be questioned, that the preservation of the law then given, and its explanation was committed not indiscriminately to the individuals of the multitude, but to a special tribunal then established for this amongst other purposes, by God himself. Nor will it be denied, that this tribunal was to continue as long as the law itself should be in force, and that the special and particular manner in which its members were to be selected and appointed was established by God himself. It will also be conceded, that no human power could abrogate what the divine power established, and that the wisdom of God foresaw the future contingencies for which it would be necessary to provide.

The Aaronitic priesthood was established by God, to last in authority until the arrival of the Messias, at which period the Mosaic law was to terminate. It was established and confirmed by God, that the high priest, together with his council, was to have a final appellate jurisdiction in all cases, as well of religion as of rites, and other matters of the Levitical law. Thus, from the establishment of the Aaronitic priesthood, the high priest, with the Sanhedrim, was the witness of doctrine; and as such was established by God himself, [who] allowed no appeal from their decision.

Let us now suppose a case, and try it by the contradictory principles of our opponents and our own. Suppose an individual in the Jewish nation finding no mention in the books of Moses of a future life, and its state of rewards and punishments, were to assert that this book written by the direction of God himself was to be the sole rule of his faith, and that his own private judgment was to direct him to its true meaning: that he is not bound to believe any doctrine which he does not read as clearly written in that book, or evidently deducible therefrom; that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and of a future state of reward and punishment is not clearly written, or evidently deducible from the books of Moses, and therefore he is not bound to believe such doctrine as an article of faith: that he may fairly teach what he is convinced is true; and therefore he teaches this doctrine in Israel, that man's existence terminates at death. Suppose this man to be a ruler of a synagogue. The high priest and the Sanhedrim testify that, although not contained in the Pentateuch, nor perhaps deducible from any passage therein, the doctrine of immortality and future rewards and punishments had been revealed to their fathers repeatedly before the days of Moses, and believed before and since the revelation of Sinai; that they have abundant evidence of the fact of the revelation of this doctrine, though not in that precise book, and that in their capacity as the public tribunal to testify doctrine and to expound the law, they declare that the immortality of the soul is a doctrine of faith. This man will not receive their decision, and will say, if they are not a tribunal which can testify with infallible certainty of truth, they

might err; if they might err, he may perhaps be right, and in adopting their decision, he might not be led to truth, but to falsehood. Yet God constituted this a supreme tribunal, to whose decisions he commanded obedience under the penalty of death; are we then to say that God commanded that a man should be put to death for not perhaps abandoning the truth? because such is the inconsistency, if the tribunal be not infallible. All this difficulty and absurdity, however, vanish upon the simple supposition, that the Deity constituted that tribunal the infallible witness of his doctrine; and such was the light in which this great council was viewed by the Jewish people, and therefore it was not only made the witness of the ancient revelations, which it had received by traditionary evidence, but also of the written revelation given by Moses, and the judicial tribunal to explain the meaning of both in all cases of doubt; and they who broke away from its communion, were not considered to be in the true faith of the law of Moses.

Let us for a moment dwell upon this case. Would God have established this tribunal to teach, and commanded that its decisions should be received under penalty of death, if he foresaw that it would or could lead into error, in place of guiding to truth? Is not his command to obey its decisions, considered in connexion with his essential connexion with truth, a guarantee to those, to whom the precept is given, that the decision will be infallibly true? If, in obeying the precept by receiving the decision, we were led into error, would not God be the author of that error? Will common sense or religion permit us to disobey the precept of our Creator requiring our submission, or permit us to charge him with having forced us to embrace error in obeying his law! It cannot be error. It must infallibly be truth.

Forgetting for a moment the fact, that God commanded this submission to the decisions of the Jewish council, and supposing no such precept to exist, and no such power to be vested in this body, how was this ruler of the synagogue, who taught that man did not survive the grave, to be corrected? Or, if he was right, how was that ruler who contradicted him, and taught the erroneous doctrine of the immortality of the soul to be corrected? Or how was an inquirer after truth to know which doctrine God had revealed, for he could not have revealed them both? If the Church of Israel had not in her high priest and council an infallible witness of God's revelation, how was that revelation to be known? These are difficulties which to me are perfectly insoluble. They may, perhaps, be easily and satisfactorily explained by Blanco White, or the Rev. William Hawley. I feel convinced, that without an infallible witness of doctrine, there is no rational ground for faith; and I see, in fact, that from the day God spoke to Adam, down to the arrival of the Messias, such a witness was found, in the line of Patriarchs to Moses, and in the Sanhedrim to Jesus Christ. By this testimony, the doctrines of revelation, written and unwritten, have been preserved and presented to the world. This was the doctrine of the Jewish Church, at the period of Christ's arrival, and so far from marking it down as erroneous, he confirmed and approved it. He called the Sanhedrim hypocrites; but he declared that they sat upon the chair of Moses: he reproved their works, and admonished the people not to imitate their conduct; but he charged the same people to hold their doctrines of faith and to obey their decisions. And if we believe that the Holy Ghost inspired the Evangelist St. John to write his Gospel, we have the distinct testimony of that divine Spirit (John xi, 49, 50, 51), that Caiphas did in virtue of his office, give a correct doctrinal decision, though, with a bad intention, as if to show to the world that the criminality of an unworthy head would not create an untrue testimony, in a tribunal which was even upon the point of losing its commission, and when the very being, whose appearance was to be cotemporary with its decline, was gathering the members of the body which was to be substituted under a new jurisdiction in its stead.

But the good gentlemen, who charge us with having no grounds for our doctrine of infallibility, either never knew, or affect to forget, that the Christian religion is not a system which was put together by human discovery, but one which was framed by the Saviour, and then delivered to his disciples to be preserved. In place, therefore, of seeking for texts upon which disputes might be raised (for ingenuity can raise them at will upon the plainest expressions) we should look to the facts whose existence is uncontroverted, and from which the truth can be with facility deduced. It is plain that Jesus Christ was an infallibly correct witness of the true doctrine, and that his infallible correctness was the only basis of the faith of his disciples, and this infallibility being removed, their faith could have no basis. If he required faith from the persons who never saw or heard him, he must have given them an equally good basis for their belief. Hence, when he sent his Apostles to teach his doctrine to those who had neither seen nor heard himself, he empowered them to work miracles, that they might thereby give evidence that

they taught truth with infallible certainty; thus their disciples had the evidence of infallible guides. Upon what principle could other nations or succeeding generations be required to give similar assent of faith without equally firm ground? The principle of the necessity of such a guide is recognized by us, and we exhibit now the fact of its existence. Amongst the doctrines taught to those disciples by preaching, before a single line of the Gospel was written, was that the doctrines of Jesus were to be taught by virtue of a commission of the Saviour given to the Apostles, to be communicated to others, and perpetuated to the end of the world, in order that men might at all times be taught those doctrines by proper authority; and that the Saviour declared, that whosoever heard them, heard him, and whosoever despised them despised him; and that he promised to them the Spirit of truth, who would bring to their minds all things whatsoever he had taught them, and would perfect the revelation, so that they should be witnesses to him; and that as he sent them to teach all nations, to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded, so he declared he would be with them all days to the end of the world; and that the Spirit of truth should abide with them always; and that the gates of hell should never prevail against that Church which he built upon Simon, the son of Jonas, whose name he changed to Rock or Peter, and to whom he gave a memorable assurance, that he had prayed for him that his faith should not fail; and to whom he gave in charge, when he should be converted after his fall, for Satan desired to sift him as wheat, that he should confirm his brethren; and that he also gave to him, having previously required a declaration of greater love, a charge to feed his lambs; and to feed his sheep, as he had promised to give to him the keys, or power of vicegerent, as was designated in eastern courts, by bearing the keys in the palace; what he should bind on earth should be bound in heaven, and what he would loose on earth would be loosed in heaven. That the Apostles testified this, was evident to the first Christians; and, therefore, the fact of the authority to teach being in them and in their successors, the pastors of that Church built upon Peter, was evident to those Christians; and, indeed they had no other mode of knowing the doctrines of revelation, but by such teaching. Surely, then, there was no hunting for the evidence of this in texts which as yet had not been written. They saw the Holy Ghost descend upon those Apostles; they witnessed their miracles; they recognized them as infallible witnesses of the truth; they saw them associate others, to their commission; giving them a part in their ministry; making them co-witnesses; and when a discussion arose as to what the doctrine of Jesus was upon certain points, they assembled those associates together with themselves, and instead of telling the disputants to read and judge for themselves, they made a judicial decision under the guidance of that Holy Ghost that was given to remain always, for the purpose of leading them into all truth; and having testified what the doctrine was, they commanded their decision to be followed. The Apostles thus exhibited the tribunal of the pastors of the Church by the institution of Christ, and under the influence of the Holy Ghost, [as] an infallible guide to lead mankind to a knowledge of the doctrines of Christ, to the very end of the world. As yet, the New Testament did not exist; portions of it were occasionally written, but it never was compiled as a summary of the Christian doctrine; and, although all its contents are true, yet it was not compiled to be the repertory of all the revealed truths of the new law, nor was it to supersede that mode of teaching established by Christ, and made evident by the Apostles; and certainly the Church was not to have less power, because a portion of its doctrine and history was committed to writing.

Nay, more, there were several spurious books published, purporting to be the revealed doctrine of Christ; and it was only by the authority of the Church that the early Christians were enabled to draw the line of separation between that which was written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost and that which was not. If that Church was not an infallibly correct guide, she might have rejected what was genuine, and given the faithful as the doctrine of God, the invention of man. Thus, if the Church was not infallible, we have no infallible certainty at the present day that the New Testament is the Scripture of God.

Reason, the example of the Old Law, and the testimony of the Apostles, and of the intermediate ages, prove to us the infallibility of the Church, as they proved it to the first Christians, before the New Testament was written; and that book itself could not be to us the evidence of revelation, if the witness from which we receive it was fallible. Thus there always was, and ever will be an infallible witness of doctrine on earth. Mr. White and his coadjutors were then guilty of gross misrepresentation, arising either from ignorance, or some less creditable cause, when they stated that our whole proof lay in a passage which White endeavors to render obscure, that he may destroy the

evidence which it contains, if he can bewilder his readers. I have not here argued to maintain the doctrine, but [have] exhibited how grossly the flocks of the holy alliance are deceived, if they believe White and their pastors, as to what our arguments are.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., April 30, 1827.

LETTER XXXV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—Having seen that White stated unfairly and imperfectly the case of our claim to Church infallibility, and that he with still more effrontery asserted that he gave our arguments in its support; I now come to examine the sequel of his remarks upon this topic. He says in pp. 86 and 87:

"The liberty which, upon the supposition most favorable to Rome, Christ has granted to believers in his Gospel, the Pope and his Church most positively deny them. Placing themselves between mankind and the Redeemer, they allow those only to approach him, who first make a full surrender of their judgment to Popes and Councils. A belief in Christ and his work of redemption, grounded on the Scriptures and their evidences, is thus made useless, unless it is preceded by a belief in Roman supremacy, grounded on mere surmises. Christianity is removed from its broad foundation, to place the mighty fabric upon the moveable sand of a conjectural meaning."

Here is one of the most extravagant and contradictory assertions which I have ever met with, viz. that Christ granted to believers in the Gospel the liberty of believing or rejecting what he taught. The Pope and the Church do indeed deny that he granted any such liberty, and they therefore most positively deny the truth of White's assertion that he did grant such liberty; but they do not deny to any man the exercise of that liberty which Christ bestowed: the question is concerning the fact of its bestowal. This man every where assumes as true that which is untrue, and whose truth is denied; and then has the effrontery to state that he has made the supposition *most favorable* to what he is endeavoring to overthrow by his falsehood. The Roman Catholic doctrine is, "Christ did not leave man at liberty to reject the doctrine of infallibility." White's assertion is, "The supposition that you are at liberty to adopt the doctrine of infallibility is the most favorable to Rome." No, my friends, that supposition which is most favorable, is that which is true, and that is, "Christ did not leave men at liberty to reject or to adopt his doctrines at their caprice, he bound them to believe what he teaches by the testimony of his Infallible Church." That Church existed before the Gospel; men know nothing of the Gospel except through her testimony; destroy her infallibility and the evidence of the Gospel is lost. Thus St. Augustine said fourteen centuries ago, "I would not believe the Gospel except for the testimony of the Church."

I cannot quarrel with White's English, as he is a foreigner; but I do not well understand whom he means by *themselves* in the second clause, "placing themselves between mankind and the Redeemer." If he means the Apostles and their successors in authority, Christ placed them between himself and mankind, when he constituted them his witnesses to mankind, when he gave them as teachers to mankind, "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." "*You* shall be to me witnesses * * * * to the ends of the earth." St. Paul and the Apostles themselves took this station as being appointed thereto by heaven. The people who believed, considered them as the ministers of God, and ambassadors between the Redeemer and mankind. What does Bishop Kemp say of himself? Does he not place himself between mankind and the Redeemer? The Catholic Church never placed him there; nor did it so place any other member of the holy assailants. Yet they place themselves there. Indeed they do not ask submission to the Church, that is the Popes and Councils which succeed to Peter and his brethren; but they ask a full surrender to some body or individual which began by denying to the whole Catholic world what it arrogates to itself, a knowledge of the revelation of God. They destroy the power of the Pope, that each teacher might exercise a greater dominion over the minds of his hearers than the Pope and Council can exercise in the Church.

A belief in Christ and his redemption, grounded on the Scriptures, without grounding those Scriptures upon any testimony, is indeed what White in p. 22 describes. "Was then Christianity nothing but a groundless fabric, the world supported by the elephant, the elephant standing upon the tortoise?" The belief in Christ rests on the Scriptures: upon what do the Scriptures rest? Upon fallible testimony, and then they are no security, or upon infallible testimony, and then they are security; but it is the Church which testifies to them, and therefore she is infallible. It is ridiculous to talk of rational belief, founded upon a document for whose sufficiency I have not proper evidence. The value of the Scripture is only as great as that of the testimony by which it is established; and that witness is the Church. There

is but one mode of evading the force of this reasoning, and that mode Bishop Kemp's associates of other Churches take, by making the witness of Scripture the private inspiration of each individual, or the Holy Ghost speaking within him; thus they make the individual members infallible, and deny infallibility to their aggregate: what each possesses alone, is lost to the whole when they assemble, because though the Holy Ghost will guide each separately to the infallible knowledge of the word of God and its meaning; yet when from their combination the Church is formed, the Holy Spirit will not lead that Church infallibly to the same knowledge. This is indeed an extraordinary mode of evading the conclusion; separately and singly, even though you contradict each other, you are guided by the Spirit of Truth; but if you join together and agree, you are fallible and liable to error!!! For the alternative must never be taken, viz. The Church is not liable to error. Bishop Kemp very modestly renounces individual infallibility and Church infallibility, and thus the individuals and the Church are liable to err in pointing out the word of God, and in discovering its meaning; and therefore a belief in Christ and his work of redemption grounded upon the Scriptures, and their evidences, is thus made not indeed useless but impossible; for there is no evidence, and to ground the belief upon want of evidence, would be indeed an absurdity. We may find ground for this evidence upon infallibility, and this we ground not upon Roman Supremacy, or mere surmises, but upon irrefragable and convincing proofs—and we thus place the mighty fabric of Christianity, not upon the moveable sand of fallible opinion, or the notion of private individual inspiration, but upon the broad ground of that foundation upon which Christ placed it, when he fixed as its basis a rock which the world must always behold, and against which hell can never prevail.

White proceeds, p. 87:

"This looks more like love of self than of Christ; more like ambition than charity. The title of infallibility and supremacy being at *the best* doubtful, the benefit of the doubt should have been left to Christian liberty. But may not the opposite conduct of the Roman Church have arisen from sincere zeal for what she conceived to be the true intention of Christ? Christian candor would demand this construction, were it not for the use she has made of the assumed privilege: yet if we find that, having erected herself into an organ of heaven, all her oracular decisions have invariably tended towards the increase of her own power; it will be difficult to admit the purity of her intentions."

This mode of examining a question concerning a fact of revealed religion is perfectly ridiculous: since the true question is not what "it looks like," but whether "it is a divine institution." Moreover the assertion is not true, for the love of Christ is the preservation of his doctrine, "he that loves me will keep my word," and there can be no mode of preserving his doctrine, save by proper testimony, there can be for this no proper testimony, save that which will lead us without danger of error to its knowledge. Christ himself points out that infallible witness in that Church which he built upon Peter, and the adherence to his institution is the best evidence of his love.

Charity leads us to seek what is for the welfare of our neighbor; the preservation of that truth which will bring him to eternal life, is the best mode of seeking his welfare. Ambition is an inordinate desire of power to which we have no claim: the testifying what we have received from others for the purpose of being transmitted by our testimony to our successors, the assurance that we faithfully discharge this great duty, the humble belief that Christ will fulfil his promise of not permitting error to triumph over that testimony, and thereby destroy that evidence, is not ambition. Much more does it savor of ambition in an individual to dogmatize against this testimony, and to declare in opposition to ages and nations united, that his private judgment is better able to know what Christ taught almost eighteen centuries before White was born.

It is not true that the title to infallibility, and supremacy is doubtful: and there being no doubt, the benefit of the doubt could not be given to Christian liberty. But what is meant by Christian liberty in this place? Liberty to believe or to disbelieve according to your caprice. Call you this faith? Liberty to be carried to and fro by every gust of opinion. Call you this a blessing? Liberty of contradiction, so that I might to-day say that Christ taught the doctrine of the real presence, and to-morrow assert that he did not. Call you this knowledge? Thus it is, that sounds delude. Christian liberty properly understood means that man is free where God has not bound him: but where God declares what is his will, man is no longer free, he is at that moment bound to believe; knowledge is a blessing, faith is a privilege, it is the communication of heavenly wisdom, man should receive it as his best boon, as the dearest pledge of his teacher's affection. How inestimable a benefit is it to be taught by God! How great the misfortune to be certain that he spoke for our information, but to be uncertain of what he said! Yet this

is the Christian liberty for which the holy alliance would contend! White again unfairly changes his ground when instead of examining the evidence of the fact, he speculates upon the motive of the Church in assuming that she is infallible, and that her head is supreme:—and because she does not decide that she has not the power which she received from God, he would have us conclude that she has it not, and that she knows herself to be without it. Thus according to this new system of logic, if a judge declares that he holds the commission of his office the declaration is evidence of his ambition, his ambition is evidence of his unfitness, and his unfitness is proof that he has no valid commission; if he states that he has no commission, then his word is good, and because he has no commission he is to be believed. This would be a convenient argument for every culprit to use against every judge. Suppose one of his Presbyterian compeers told Bishop Kemp, that his claim of holding a higher order than that of a Presbyter, looked more like ambition than charity: what would be his answer? Suppose he was told that his title was at best doubtful, and the benefit of the doubt ought to be left to Christian liberty; how would he reason with his old and new associate?—Suppose the honest Quaker was to tell the whole collection of our Reverend assailants that the very use which they make of their assumed privilege is proof of their fraud, and does not argue in favor of their zeal for what they conceive to be the true intention of Christ; for they erect themselves into an organ of heaven; and all their oracular decisions invariably tend towards the increase of their own power: what would the good gentlemen retort? Is not this charge daily made upon them? Are they not told that they do these things for the sake of filthy lucre? And do they not assert that the persons who thus charge them are imps of hell, foes of the Gospel, enemies of Christ, liars and blasphemers?

I shall not give such names to those who bestow them, but I should like to know their answer.

White now abandons every semblance of argument, and merely has recourse to prejudice for his protection, p. 87.

"By comparing the articles of the Church of Rome with those of the Church of England, we shall find that the points of difference are chiefly these: tradition, transubstantiation, the number of sacraments, purgatory, indulgences, and the invocation of saints. Such are the main questions on doctrine, at issue between the two Churches; for the differences about free-will and justification might, I believe, be settled without much difficulty, by accurately defining the language on both sides. Now I will not assume the truth of the Protestant tenets on these points, nor enter into arguments against those of the Roman Church; my present concern is with their tendency."

Their tendency is not the question for a Divine, but their foundation in the revealed truth of Heaven. There are a variety of other differences which he passes over, but to magnify or to adduce which is not my object. I shall always be happy to find our differences diminish. However, merely to show how little this man's statements respecting doctrine are to be depended upon; the doctrines of purgatory and of indulgences, upon which he lays so much stress, rest altogether for their basis upon our doctrine of justification. And certainly the question whether an Unitarian or a Roman Catholic commits a sin in feeding a hungry pagan, or clothing a shivering Greek, through mere motives of humanity, is one on which there is more than a mere verbal difference between the Church of England and ours. The Church of England as does also that of Bishop Kemp, and indeed the Churches of all our assailants teach, that this act has in it the nature of sin; our Church teaches that it has not in it the nature of sin, but the nature of virtue, p. 88.

"To begin with tradition: let us observe how broad a field is opened to the exercise of infallibility, by the supposition that an indefinite number of revealed truths were floating down the stream of ages, unconsigned to the inspired records of Christianity. The power of interpreting the word of God by a continual light from above, might be confined by the Scriptures themselves, as it would be difficult to force doctrines on the belief of Christians, of which the very name and subject seem to have been unknown to the inspired writers. *Divine tradition*, the first-born of *infallibility*, removes this obstacle; and, so doing, increases the influence of Rome to an indefinite extent. I do not *here* contend that to place *tradition* upon the same footing with the Scriptures, is an error; but whether error or truth, it is certainly *power* in the hands of the Roman Church."

I before remarked that White and his associates have disclaimed the use of argument: therefore I have here nothing to refute, but I have much to correct.

The supposition which he makes is gratuitous and untrue. When he undertook to exhibit what tradition was, he ought to have been honest. Tradition is the testimony of the revealed truth which exists in customs, documents, and other evidence besides the sacred Scriptures, which evidence is found in every age of the Church, and in every

nation; it is then, *not* "an indefinite number of revealed truths floating down the stream of ages," but it is the *testimony of the whole Church*, exhibiting what is revealed truth. Thus the universal custom of all the Churches in every age, to pay the homage of ADORATION TO THE REDEEMER, is not consigned to the *inspired* records of Christianity, but *is testified by other records* of Christianity; and joined to the undoubted principle of Christians in every age and every nation, that GOD ALONE SHOULD BE ADORED, is traditionary proof of the divinity of our Saviour. Whilst contending sects fly to grammars, and to old and new parchments and papers, how copyists marked, introduced or omitted accents, or divided particles and words—and whilst they array private individual judgment, and oppose conjecture to conjecture: we have a glaring fact in palpable evidence, and we pay the homage of our adoration with humble faith; whilst they are interminably quarrelling to know whether God inspired the writer to place or to omit his accent or his aspirate, and to know how it ought to be translated in either supposition. No doctrine is forced on the belief of Christians save what God originally forced, if I may use the expression, every one to receive: Scripture itself, and the very last passage that ever an inspired penman wrote, testifies that God taught doctrines and did acts which are *not written by the inspired writers*; but it is dishonest to insinuate that what has not been written by them, *was unknown to them*. We will readily admit, that the power of interpreting is power, as the power of testifying is also power. But it is strange to tell us that whatever bestows power must be dangerous to truth, at the same time, that it is avowed [that] Christ told the original members of this tribunal "ALL POWER is given to me in heaven and on earth." (Matt. xxviii, 18, 19, 20). "*As my Heavenly Father sent me, so I send you*," (John, xx, 21.) "You shall receive the POWER of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses to me." (Acts i, 8.)

I shall return to this.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., May 7, 1827.

LETTER XXXVI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—The leading characteristic of that portion of what is ludicrously designated as "Evidence," which is now under consideration, is an unhesitating assumption of the very question at issue. The question is, whether the true doctrine of Christ is retained by our Church, or has been lost by us. White assumes, without proof, that we have lost it; and then proceeds to show the bad consequences of this loss: in the exhibition of those consequences he again begs the question, by assuming that what many others, as well Protestants as Catholics, look upon to be good and useful, are bad and mischievous effects: he adds to this double fallacy, a dishonest blending together into what he insinuates to be an inseparable unity, facts and circumstances which are sometimes accidentally conjoined, which are frequently found in separate existence, and never have been necessarily and essentially united. The following passage is an exhibition of this dishonest and fallacious mode of proceeding: p. 89:

"By the combined influence *of tradition* and *infallibility*, the Church of Rome established the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. From the moment that people are made to believe that a man has the power of working at all times, the stupendous miracle of converting bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, that man is raised to a dignity above all which kings are able to confer. What, then, must be the honor due to a Bishop, who can bestow the power of performing the miracle of transubstantiation? What the rank of the Pope, who is the head of the Bishops themselves? The world beheld for centuries the natural consequences of the surprising belief in the power of priests to convert bread and wine into the incarnate Deity. (Note D.) Kings and Emperors were forced to kiss the Pope's foot, because their subjects were in the daily habit of kissing the hands of priests—those hands which were believed to come in frequent contact with the body of Christ."

The question as to the truth of our doctrine is not here even glanced at, but its falsehood is magisterially assumed: and the whole series of observations is made to rest upon a palpable falsehood, viz. "By the combined influence of *tradition* and *infallibility*, the Church of Rome *established* the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*." Had the writer substituted the following or an equivalent proposition for what he has here given, I should have admitted its truth, viz. "By the evidence of tradition, and with the authority of infallible truth, the Church *teaches* the doctrine of Transubstantiation." Yet this proposition, though true as far as it goes, would be inadequate to express the whole of the facts, because although the Church produces the evidence of Tradition, she does not rest solely upon that proof even conjoined with her infallibility; she has moreover the evidence of the Scriptures, she has the testimony of her adversaries, and she has the evidence of numerous, palpable, and continued miracles. Thus this fundamental proposition

upon which White rests his observations, is false, because it is imperfect; for it exhibits but a small portion of our proof as the entire: and because it conceals that which he esteems the most valuable, and exhibits only that which he deems to be of least worth.

The proposition is false upon another ground; because it gives a deceptive view of the mode in which the doctrine is preserved and delivered. There are two descriptions of evidence by which truth is made clear; to wit, that evidence by which what was never known or suspected is for the first time discovered, and its truth becomes thus established. Akin to this is the evidence by which what was formerly known but forgotten, becomes revived and established: under this head we may also place that evidence by which doubt is removed, and certainty obtained after a considerable lapse of time, or protracted investigation. In all those cases, ignorance or doubt pre-existed to knowledge and certainty. When the ignorance is overcome, and the doubt is removed, then evidence establishes the truth, and at every moment subsequent to that of this establishment, it will be true that a correct doctrine was then *established*.

The preservation of the truth thus discovered, and thus *established*, is a very different process from the original investigation and discovery. To preserve knowledge by correct testimony, is not then to establish knowledge by investigation and discovery. It is plain that the doctrine of Transubstantiation, supposing it to be that taught by the Saviour, was *established* only by his teaching and by that of his Apostles; the testimony of the Church is the mode by which it is *preserved*, or by which we establish the fact that Christ taught the doctrine; this uniform and uninterrupted and universal testimony we call *Tradition*; when we say that this testimony must infallibly lead us to a correct knowledge of what Christ and his Apostles taught, this is *Infallibility*. Thus it is not true that "by the combined influence of *Tradition* and *Infallibility*, the Church of Rome *established* the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*," for the doctrine was not established by the Church, but by the Saviour. But it is true that by their combination the doctrine and its evidence are both *preserved*; and I am at a loss to know what better mode could be devised for their preservation than the uninterrupted, uniform testimony of the Universal Church of eighteen ages and almost all nations; I must own that it weighs more with me, than does the opinion of Bishop Kemp, the sturdiness of Doctor Post, or the warlike impetuosity of the Rev. Wm. Hawley.

The proposition which forms the groundwork of the paragraph is then a double falsehood; and the galaxy of our divines have adopted it in their holy ardor against Popery. As Gustavus Vasa said to his Dalecarlians: "O how I admire their lovely, fierce impatience!" Show them but a rag of scarlet, and like the spurning bull, each hero bellows as he shakes his neck, and pushes with his frontlet. Their eagerness for the overthrow of Antichrist leads them to the thoughtless, indiscriminate adoption of all the means which their evil genius places within their grasp, and thus they become partners in the falsehoods and follies of the worst and weakest of our assailants. "From the moment that people are made to believe that a man has the power of working at all times the stupendous miracle of converting bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; that man is raised to a dignity above all which kings are able to confer." This being better expressed would be true; as it stands, it is to say the least, very doubtful. Suppose the man had the power though the people should never be made to believe that he had it, he still is raised to the dignity; and if the people were made to believe that he had this power which he really did not possess, he would not be raised to the dignity: so that the dignity depends not upon the belief of the people which might be founded on delusion, but upon the existence of a power, which could be derived only from God. Nor is it strange that the king of heaven should raise his ministers to a higher dignity than earthly kings are able to confer; so that the internal evidence here tells rather against White, who pays his court to his Majesty of England, and the good sovereigns of the European holy alliance in rather an awkward manner, by insinuating that it is a proof of the falsehood of our doctrine, that God's minister is raised to a higher dignity than a king's minister.

It certainly is to me a novelty to discover that the dignity of ministers is to be in the inverse ratio of their principles. Will Bishop Kemp and his associates strike their oriflamme to the flag of the beloved Ferdinand? The holy fathers would not: they all united in the declaration that the dignity of the priesthood, in consequence of that very power of consecration, was superior to that not only of kings themselves, but even of angels and archangels. These however, were the Chrysostoms, the Augustines, the Jeromes, the Basils, the Gregorys, the Prospers, the Clements, and such other antiquated personages. Men who lived before the discovery of the art of printing, before the invention of the mariner's compass, before the construction

of the blow-pipe, previous to the polygamy of King Henry VIII (the godly Josias,) or even to the days of the wise men of Gotham. Must we therefore be satisfied that they were ignorant of what Christ taught the Apostles, and the Apostles communicated to the Churches, and the Churches in their day exhibited as their uniform doctrine? We however will be content to believe with those holy fathers that the dignity of the Priesthood is above all which kings are able to confer, though like them we may rest in dull, lethargic insensibility to General Smith's Apocalyptic calculations, or Symes's Theory of concentric spheres, or the exact moment when Johanna's Shiloh is to make his appearance, or when Rabbi Frey who writes in the capacious receptacle of his own conscience, all the contradictions of the sponsors of Blanco White, shall have obtained money enough to purchase his brethren according to the flesh to brotherhood in spirit.

But to be serious: this language of White's contradicts the language of the Fathers; and he charges upon us as consequences of false doctrine, the exact results which thay drew from what they called the doctrine of Christ. It might be antiquated and unfashionable: but it is ours, and it was that of the whole body of the writers of the best, the brightest, and the earliest ages of the Church. White has left their communion; we glory that we adhere to it, and that we believe as they did. White proves here, for us, that we have not changed the doctrine.

One little correction is all that I shall add upon this topic. If we were to believe that priests had a natural power to make this change themselves, it would be indeed a surprising belief: but our faith is that it is the supernatural power of the Deity which effects the change of substance, but by the act of the priest; and if White were a member of the Church of England, he would believe that an unbaptized child was stained with the guilt of original sin; was a child of wrath, and exposed to ruin: he would also believe that if he baptized that child, a most surprising change would take place, by virtue whereof that sin would no longer exist, that child would be a favorite of heaven and have a title to everlasting life and glory. White would tell me that this change was not the consequence of natural operation, but of supernatural power; that though the man was the minister, in truth God was the agent, and that the change was not the less real and effectual because it was not visible, or otherwise sensible; his word "surprising" is not then applicable solely to the Eucharist, nor is it new, for it is at least as old as St. John Chrysostom, who believing as we do, used the phrase fourteen centuries ago, regarding transubstantiation.

The concluding passage is not true in fact, nor honestly constructed, even if the facts taken in their isolated character should be proved as true. Suppose the two assertions were proved to be true, *viz.* that the subjects of kings and emperors were in the habit of kissing the hands of the priests, and that kings and emperors were forced to kiss the Pope's foot, the truth of the facts would not be sufficient for the truth of the proposition; it should be moreover shewn that the latter fact was a consequence of the former, for such is the assertion, "because their subjects were in the daily habit of kissing the hands of the priests." This is not only a gratuitous assumption, but it is a false assertion. It is next to impossible for me to prove a negative, and therefore, I can here only do as I have done frequently before in the course of these letters: pledge myself to meet any of the Reverend gentlemen whose glove I have taken up, should he attempt to prove the truth of what I deny. I do not deny that kings and emperors and their subjects did occasionally kiss the hands of Priests and Bishops: but I do deny that the monarchs were *forced* to kiss the Pope's foot, either *because* the people kissed the hands of the priests, or *because* the hands of the clergy were believed to come in contact with the body of Christ. Thus this paragraph contains several falsehoods, and charges us with deviating from the doctrine of Christ, whilst in endeavoring to maintain its position, it proves that our doctrine agrees with that of the great Fathers of the Church and of the early Christians.

He throws a note upon this subject into his Appendix, which I shall next come to consider. He begins with the following paragraph, p. 242:

"TRANSUBSTANTIATION.—An accurate and detailed history of the rise and gradual progress of the doctrine of Transubstantiation would be a valuable contribution to the philosophy of the human mind. What appears to me most deserving the attention of philosophical observers, is the *concurrence* of two perfectly unconnected errors, in giving birth to this intellectual monster."

I once heard of a treatise written "*de omni re scibili, et quibuslibet aliis*," "concerning every thing which may be known, and some other things;" such would be the accurate and detailed history of the rise and gradual progress of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, unless it was combined with that of the rise and gradual progress of the doctrine of Christ; the history ought to be given if it

could: and as the writer of the note attempts its outline, I shall follow him in his philosophical observations:

"The natural propensity of mankind to refer their worship of the invisible to the symbols employed to express it, is found even among the early Christians. A great reverence for the bread and wine, which, in the words of the Saviour, were called his flesh and blood, far from being to blame in them, must be viewed as a direct consequence of the certainty they possessed, that the Eucharist had been established by the Son of God. But here the usual process of the vulgar mind began. Abstractions and distinctions are difficult and painful to the generality of mankind. The spiritual presence of Christ, the intimate connexion between an external and simple act of eating and drinking, and the influence of his grace on the soul of those who eat and drink by faith in his death and passion, was soon lost sight of. Though Christ himself had declared that 'the flesh profiteth nothing,' the bread and wine gradually assumed the character of his material flesh and blood. Yet neither the people nor their leaders were able to use any definite language upon the mysterious work of consecration."

This is beginning philosophical inquiry with a vengeance! In his first three lines, he most illogically begs the question, by assuming that the Eucharist is not what it is, and he most irreverently charges the early Christians with a propensity to idolatrous worship. "The natural *propensity* of mankind to refer their *worship* of the invisible to the *symbols* employed to express it, is *found* even among the *early Christians*." The philosopher has already done much to prove that the Church of Christ became idolatrous at a very early period; or else that our doctrine of what he is pleased to call worshipping the symbols, is not idolatrous! He next calls "bread and wine" what the Saviour, he tells us, calls "his flesh and blood." The philosopher begins pretty clearly in this place to lay his foundation for differing with the expressions of the Saviour; as he had previously condemned the worship of his disciples; but he does not blame them for having a great reverence for the "bread and wine," since this reverence is a direct consequence of the Eucharist having been established by the Son of God. But the philosopher would, I suppose, upon the same principle, not blame them for having equal reverence for "water," since baptism in water has been with equal certainty established by the Son of God. Yet we find the early Christians pay no such reverence to the water in which they were baptized, as to what the Saviour calls "his flesh and blood." Thus we do not find amongst the early Christians the same propensity "to refer their worship of the invisible to *all* the symbols employed to express it." Our philosopher will, I trust, admit the correctness of our logic in rejecting parity of consequence, where analogy does not exist, and in deducing similar conclusions where that analogy is found, and in not drawing universal conclusions from particular premises: he must therefore admit that, if we do not find worship paid to the water of baptism, and we do find it paid to the symbols of the Eucharist, there must be a very great difference between the nature of each symbol in the estimation of the early Christian; also that as both were equally established by the Son of God, and one was worshipped, whilst the other was not, the great reverence which was paid to what "the Saviour called his flesh and blood" did not arise merely from the certainty that the Eucharist had been established by the Son of God, but did arise from some other cause, which was not to be found in baptism.

His next passage is worse than insulting to the Christian Church. Good God! my friends, what kind of Christianity can that be, which can only be built upon the abuse and vilifying of the best, the earliest, and the most faithful disciples of Christ. "Vulgar minds." Such has always been the language of vain, empty and petulant philosophists, when describing the true followers of Christ during eighteen centuries. The whole host of confused theologists, who have bewildered themselves and their followers with such unintelligible jargon as the remainder of this passage contains, have ever been so entangled upon this subject, that I must avow my "vulgar mind" could not catch at the ideas, if any, which their words convey. I can understand what it is to eat bread and to drink wine, and to believe that Christ died to save me, and to hope for his grace, and to trust that I might be animated by his Spirit; but I cannot understand how I can eat a body which is not present, nor drink blood which is not in my mouth. I do not understand what is the idea of *eating* by faith; I can understand what *believing* by faith means, but eating is an act of the body, and believing is an act of the mind; and to believe is not to eat, as every one may easily experience. It is not a subject upon which to indulge levity, or I should give abundant demonstration. I shall have another opportunity of showing that Christ's flesh profits much by its immolation upon the cross, and that the meaning of the Saviour is here shamefully distorted. It is false, that there was no definite language used by the people and their leaders upon the mysterious work of consecration. Mark, then, the retreat of the

philosopher: "The first Christians did not know the nature of the Eucharist." Is this the result of philosophy? "The first Christians did not know the doctrine of Christ." I shall continue the examination.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., May 14, 1827.

LETTER XXXVII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—In my last I merely alluded to the passage of White's note, in which he states that "Though Christ himself had declared that 'the flesh profiteth nothing,' the bread and wine gradually assumed the character of his material flesh and blood." I shall now take up that passage more at length. We must in the first instance see what was the error of the Capharnaites which the Saviour corrected. The transaction is related in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, and in this place the Redeemer declared repeatedly that his flesh was meat indeed, and his blood was drink indeed, and that the bread which he would give was his flesh for the life of the world: he assured them that except they eat of the flesh of the Son of man and drank his blood they could not have life in them. Many of the people of Capharnaum apprehended that they were to receive his body as they used to receive meat at the shambles, and complained that this saying was hard, and who could bear it? The early writers testify to us this to have been the erroneous impression of this people. This is what we understand by eating *material* flesh and blood: the Roman Catholic Church believes that Christ did not intend to give his *material* flesh and blood thus to be taken, in this disgusting manner. Our bodies in their natural or material state, are in a very different mode of existence to what they will be in their supernatural or spiritualized state, after the resurrection; as the Apostle St. Paul testifies; where he informs the Corinthians that what is sown is a corruptible body, what rises is an incorruptible body; what is sown is a natural body, what rises is a spiritual body. The Roman Catholic Church believes that the body of Christ in the Eucharist is not in the natural, corruptible, passible, animal state; but in the supernatural, incorruptible, impassible, spiritualized state in which glorified bodies shall be after their resurrection, and in which his own body is since his resurrection.—And thus, although we know very little of the properties, and nothing of the nature of the human body in its natural or material state, we know still less of its properties in that supernatural or spiritualized state: it is therefore ridiculous presumption for us to argue upon a case of which we know so little: but reason tells us that respecting the body of Christ, we act correctly in receiving the testimony of God, who fully knows its nature in all its states. We know that the same identical bodies which we have will arise from the dead, although they shall have been first resolved to dust, but we know not how this will be effected: yet we know by revelation that we shall arise in the same bodies, not in newly created bodies; thus, although the body will be changed in its mode of existence, it will still be the same, now natural, material, then spiritualized; now corruptible, then incorruptible. So the Catholic Church believes that in the Eucharist is found the same identical body of Christ, which was material in its natural state, now spiritualized in its supernatural state. She does not teach the doctrine of the Capharnaites; on the contrary she condemns it: hence White and his sponsors allege what is not true when they assert, that we make "bread and wine assume the character of his *material* flesh and blood." It is but one of their ordinary calumnies to impute to us the errors which we condemn in others. And the words of the Saviour are by us applied as they were by himself to condemn the error of the Capharnaites. There was either a want of generosity, of justice, or of knowledge in those who wrote and those who published this note, I cannot determine which. I have before remarked upon the falsehood of his concluding passage, "yet neither the people nor their leaders were able to use any definite language upon the mysterious work of consecration." No person indeed can tell how the God of Heaven produces the change, but all know by his own declaration the fact that he does produce it, and all antiquity is full of testimonies of their belief. At this day, if we are asked to tell exactly what is the nature of a spiritualized and glorified body, we must avow that we cannot tell; the most erudite physician cannot tell us the nature of a material body; he can inform us of several of its qualities and properties, which he has learned from observation, experience, and the testimony of other men: we can tell him some of the qualities and properties of spiritualized bodies which we have learned by the testimony of God, which is to say the least, as good a criterion of the truth, as is the observation and experience and testimony of man. I know not how the Eucharistic change is effected, but neither do I know how the mysterious operations of nature are produced: when our opponents shall have explained to me how seeds are produced in trees and herbs, when they shall

have informed me how animal life is produced, communicated and extinguished, I shall explain to them the "mysterious work of consecration."

I shall now proceed to another paragraph of our investigating philosopher: and if we had not in Doblado's Letters seen abundant evidence by his own avowal, of his neglect of study, the passages which are now to pass in review, would be sufficient to lead us to the same conclusion.

"It happened, however, in the metaphysical ages (such name, I believe, would suit the period between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries) that every system which successively occupied the attention of the schools, had an effect not unlike that which is now produced by physical discoveries, though upon very dissimilar objects. A newly discovered law or power of nature, in our days, puts the whole mass of European intellect into motion: a thousand applications are tried, ten thousand hopes of improvement are raised, till the effervescence is sobered down by experience and failure. A new metaphysical system produced in those times a similar state of mind, among the class who pursued abstract knowledge, with regard to the objects of their favorite studies, and that without any thing to check it. Platonism first, and then Aristotleism were believed to be sufficient to explain every mystery in theology. The success, however, of the latter was unrivalled in defining, explaining, and demonstrating the as yet indistinct and fluctuating theory of the Eucharist."

Upon this passage I shall make but few observations; first, he might have very properly stated the commencement of this period a century or two earlier: second, though the schoolmen applied their ingenuity to explain the doctrines of theology by their philosophical systems, they never believed or taught that those systems would be sufficient to explain any one of the mysteries, so as to demonstrate its truth by reason, and make it cease to be mysterious and above the comprehension of the human mind: this point is easily settled: the position of White and of the holy alliance will be fully established, and I shall be completely refuted, by their producing names and works of those who made such statements; these vague assertions will not answer. The last passage is a distinct untruth, in as much as it asserts that it was believed that by means of Aristotelic philosophy, the doctrine of the Eucharist could be demonstrated, and in as much as it asserts that the theory; *doctrine*, (I know of no *theory* of the Eucharist) was before or at that time either indistinct or fluctuating: for in those ages as well as in the preceding centuries the doctrine was distinct, settled, and universally received, that at the consecration the substance of the bread and wine ceased to be under the appearances, and the body and blood of Christ were really and substantially present, under the appearances. In those ages it is true, metaphysicians began to inquire and to discuss *in what manner the change was effected*, but that it was effected they were agreed, for such was the doctrine that had come down from the Apostles, and was found in all the Churches, Latin, Greek, Nestorian, Eutychian, and all throughout the East and the West. The metaphysical question concerning the *manner* in which the change was effected, is a very different one from that which must have preceded, if the doctrine were fluctuating: for the schoolmen were sufficiently acute to know according to one of their own axioms tha tthe question *of fact* is previous to that *of mode*, and they would have investigated whether a change actually did take place, before entering upon the examination of the manner in which that change occurred. The schoolmen adhered more rigidly to the rules of sound logic than White has done, or dared to do with the case which he attempts to support. The schoolmen were seldom found begging the question, or deliberately writing palpable untruths under the guise of religious zeal: not so the author of the "Evidence" who is comparable

To Sir Agrippa, for profound
And solid lying much renown'd.

And as the next paragraph will show,

For mystic learning, wondrous able
In magic talisman and cabal.
By help of these, as he profess'd,
He had first matter seen undress'd:
He took her naked all alone,
Before one rag of form was on.
The Chaos too, he had descried
And seen quite through, or else he lied,
Beside, he was a shrewd philosopher
And had read every text and gloss over;
He Antroposophus and Floud,
And Jacob Behmen understood.

Mark his erudition in the following passage:

"One of the doctrines introduced by the Aristotelian system of the school, is that of *substantial forms* or *absolute accidents** The schoolmen suppose that the universe consists of a mass of matter invested by certain forms or qualities which possess a real and *substantial* being. This was a lucky discovery for the

* "The Schoolmen have foisted many of their absurdities upon the Greek philosopher. From the definition which Aristotle gives of matter, it is evident that he considered that word as the sign of an abstraction. 'Materia est neque quid, neque quantum, nec aliud eorum quibus ens denominatur.' I quote the translation used among the schoolmen."

school divines. It explained the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament. The *substance* of the bread and wine, they said, is converted into his body and blood; but the *absolute accidents*, the *substantial forms* of both remain as before.—Hence the word *transubstantiation*."

The schoolmen are here either not understood by our learned philosopher, or he plays Sir Agrippa with them. There is often to be found amongst our modern philosophers an overweening contempt for their predecessors of the period to which White has alluded. I can have no pretensions to rush into the ranks of the mighty men of mind who adorn the present age. They have carried forward the discoveries in natural philosophy of the laborious and scientific pioneers who have removed many of the obstacles which impeded the progress of man in the regions of air, of earth and of ocean. As White very properly remarks, this may very justly be called the epoch of the investigation and improvement of physical science. At a great distance I admire the men who so assiduously and successfully cultivate the field of knowledge; my destiny, perhaps my taste, and occasionally, it may be, my duty drew me in another direction. I have gone amongst the schoolmen and conversed with them in the dust in which they slept; having roused them from their slumbers, and brushed away the cobweb drapery in which they were enfolded, I was left almost in solitude to learn their opinions and to receive their testimony. It was fashionable to laugh at them; they were made objects of ridicule: and to sneer at the schoolman was to an idle or a brainless youth, a more agreeable or easy occupation than to read, to understand, or refute him: language has changed, and in the lapse of time the variation of phrases and their translation have given ideas altogether different from those which the scholastic writer intended to convey. The dignified baron and the chivalrous knight of the 13th century would have abundant theme for descant on the lisping fopling who might strut or slide through a modern drawing room. There is no period in which man in his civilized state does not exhibit in society a blending of what is respectable and contemptible. In the days of the schoolmen, the minds of the learned were not directed to the same objects which now occupy the attention of our men of information, and could the dunces of former ages see the labors of our best philosophers, they would lament, or affect to pity the ignorance of men whose productions they were unable to estimate, just as the thoughtless and ignorant of to-day sneer at schoolmen of whose valuable works they have scarcely an idea. I do not think it useful to literature, to cast away with contempt what has been the result of the disquisition and investigation of powerful intellect at any former period. I would prefer seeing the correction of the errors or mistakes of our ancestors added to their knowledge and our acquirements, rather than to witness the childish disregard of every thing they knew because their system of natural philosophy was imperfect, and their expressions were too formal, and are now antiquated. This foolish fashion of treating them with contempt, has deprived us of much valuable matter which they had collected and arranged in their own way, and I must avow, however my nameless self might suffer from the avowal, that I look upon their metaphysics to exceed that of most of our moderns as much as our knowledge of physics exceeds theirs.

White is either ignorant of their language or studiously misrepresents its meaning; he plays upon the word *substantial*, and is guilty of a dishonest quibble in its use, or he knows nothing of the language of schoolmen. The only difference which exists between us and them, is in the mode of expression. In our language at present, *substantial* does not mean what it did in the schools; and any person who would attach to the word in the schools the same meaning which it has in present common usage would be grossly in error. In the schools it means *real*, not chimerical. Appearances or secondary qualities of bodies which affect our senses, are by modern philosophers said to be nothing in the body, but are effects produced by the body upon us; thus heat, according to some, is a sensation of the soul produced by the disposition of the parts of that body which is said to be hot. I find several bodies of unlike substance but of the same temperature; iron, brass, lead, stone, cotton are all different substances, but all have the same degree of heat. The schoolman said that the *accident* of heat existed *absolutely* in each of them, that they all had the same *substantial* form of heat: a modern will tell you that they all emit the same quantity of *caloric:* another will tell you that they are all so configured as to produce the same sensation of heat: in fact they are but different modes of expressing the same idea; the expression being accommodated to the philosophical theory of the day, which theory is as yet fluctuating and unsettled. White then asserts what is not the fact when he informs his readers that the schoolmen supposed the "forms or qualities" to possess a real and "*substantial* being" if by substantial he would have us believe any thing different from or beyond what the moderns mean by the same real existence of those qualities. I shall give an illustration. In the book of

Josue it is stated that an angel appeared to that leader, in the shape of a warrior: there was here an angelic substance clothed with human appearance. The schoolman would say, the substance of a man was not there, but the substantial form or absolute accidents of a man were there, and clothed the angelical substance which was really there; thus the figure, color, &c., of a human being existed where the substance did not: a modern philosopher would tell you that those secondary qualities cannot exist but in the substance of a human being, that therefore as the substance of a human being was not here, these accidents which can exist only in that substance did not exist here: but he acknowledges that the angelic substance was really there, and that God miraculously caused the impressions upon the senses of Josue to be the same as if the substance of a human being and not that of an angel were present. Thus the modern and the ancient differ only in their mode of expressing the same identical idea, which is "the substance of an angel appeared as that of man." Before the doctrine of *substantial forms* or *absolute accidents* found its way into the schools, Christians believed that Christ was really present in the Eucharist by virtue of a change produced by God: when this philosophy prevailed, the schoolmen said that the substance was changed, but the absolute accidents remained: when a new philosophy succeeded, it was still taught [that] the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ; but [that] after consecration, God produces upon our senses the same impressions by the new substance that he would by the old, if no change had taken place; thus all the parade of our philosopher is of no avail; the same idea was still expressed in other terms suited to the age: the doctrine remained unchanged. I doubt if many members of the holy alliance have seen it before, but White does not understand Aristotle's definition of the matter. Upon his next paragraph I shall make little comment: it is the following:

"The idea of a general mass shaped by these *substantial* forms or moulds, is so agreeable to the external impressions of mankind, and so analogous to the operations by which what we call materials are converted into objects fitted for peculiar uses; that the words in which the school philosophers expressed them, have been incorporated with all the European languages."*

The good gentleman, I am convinced' knows just as little of the scholastic authors, and of the Aristotelic philosophy, as he does of the materials of the moon. I shall leave him and Bishop Kemp to get, as well as they can, out of the transubstantiation of their own Churches. Of one thing I must avow my own perfect ignorance, upon which perhaps, some one might condescend to inform me, viz. "What is the doctrine of the Church of England or what is the doctrine of the P. E. Church of the United States respecting the nature of the Eucharist." Do they believe the doctrine of the real presence? If they do, which is it, by consubstantiation with the Lutherans, or by transubstantiation with the Greeks and Latins? If they do not believe the real presence of Christ's body how can they eat it? Can they eat what they have not present? What is the difference between eating and believing? Do the two phrases mean the same, "I eat," "I believe"? How could the word *elements* be chosen *to avoid* expressing transubstantiation, if bread and wine were called *elements* because they were supposed to be *changed* into the body and blood of Christ? I can understand the doctrine of Zuinglius, who says that after consecration there is only what was before; but that in eating the bread and drinking the wine, you eat and drink what you have present, viz. bread and wine, that in doing so you may call to mind a former occurrence, and that for doing so, you may receive grace from God: but this is not eating Christ's body. I can understand the doctrine of the Catholic Church, which says that at the consecration although no apparent change occurs, yet a substantial change takes place, and now Christ's body and blood assume the appearance of bread and wine, or have the substantial forms, or absolute accidents of those substances or matters: in this case I eat Christ's body which is present, but I eat not bread which has ceased to be present, and I only require the power of God to perform the change, which is within that power. I can understand the doctrine of the Lutheran Church which states that the body of Christ is placed together with the substance of the bread under its appearance, for in this case I can conceive two substances, under one appearance; it requires more extensive miraculous interference than does the Catholic doctrine, because it requires that two

* "It is curious to trace to the same source even the word *elements*, which seems to have been chosen by the Protestants as the most independent from the theory of transubstantiation. *Elements* is another scholastic name for that substratum which is conceived to bear the qualities of things. "Omnium *elementa* possunt invicem in se transmutari, non generatione, sed alteratione." The bread and wine were *elements* because they were supposed to be changed into the body and blood of Christ. See Brucker, Hist. Philos. Part II, Lib. II, c. vii."

bodies shall occupy the same space; but in this case the communicant eats the body of Christ, as also bread, because both are present. But I cannot understand the person who tells me; "You eat what is not present, you eat Christ's body although it is not there." Nor is the proposition made intelligible by informing me that the mode in which I eat the absent body is by Faith, because faith is belief, and eating and believing are not in fact synonymous. Hence I have always looked upon the doctrine of Bishop Kemp's Church on this sacrament to be too abstruse for my conception, or to be sheer nonsense: it might however be owing to my own stupidity.

We now come to the last paragraph of the note, p. 245:

"That the doctrine of *transubstantiation* could not have been established without the aid of Aristotle, any one who examines the technical words of the Roman Catholic divines, upon that question, will readily perceive. Of this they were so fully convinced but a short time ago, that I recollect the opposition to which the modern system of natural philosophy was still subject in my youth, as depriving the Roman Catholic faith of its chief support, by the rejection of the *substantial* forms. Indeed, *transubstantiation* conveys either no meaning at all, or one entirely the reverse of what Rome intends; unless we suppose the separableness of *substance*, and forms or qualities. The *substance* of the bread and wine, it is said, is converted into the body and blood of Christ, which, translated into any language but that of the schools, means that the body of Christ (I wish to speak reverently) chemically analyzed in the consecrated bread and wine, will be found to consist of every thing which constitutes bread and wine, i. e. the body and blood of Christ will be found to have been converted into real bread and wine. What else do we designate by bread and by wine but two aggregates of qualities, identical to what the analytical process will show after consecration? Substance without qualities is a mere abstraction of the mind; with qualities, it is that which the qualities make it. So here we have a mighty miracle to convert Christ into bread and wine; for such would be the substance of his body if it changed its qualities for those of the two well known compounds which the Roman Catholics adore. If it is said that Christ occupies the place of the bread and wine, and produces the impressions peculiar to them on the senses, the supposed miracle should change the name of *transubstantiation* into that of *delusion*. Surely transubstantiation has for its basis the most absurd philosophical system which ever disgraced the schools of a barbarous age!"

The first proposition here is altogether untrue, upon the old maxim of the schoolmen, *ab actu ad posse valet consecutio*. The doctrine was established long before the aid of Aristotle was sought to explain its philosophy. Ages succeeding ages saw it spread through nations before the principles of the Greek philosopher were applied to the subject; and it now exists where that philosophy has been rejected, of which the self-contradicting White himself bears evidence in this very passage; for he admits that the modern system of philosophy co-existed with the belief in the Spanish universities, though some advocates of the Aristotelic system raised the difficulties which he states. Did he deny what he here admits, I am prepared with abundant evidence to show the co-existence of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the modern theory of natural philosophy in the great majority of European universities, and in some of them long before the birth of White, who avows his own idleness, and consequently his own ignorance. Some of the most steady believers in the doctrine have been some of the best contributors to modern science in France, in Italy, in Germany, and even in Spain itself.

But of all the miserable attempts to put on the semblance of learning that ever fell under my eye, the following is the most abject. "What do we designate by bread and wine but TWO AGGREGATES OF QUALITIES identical to what the analytical process will show after consecration." And this is the man who laughed at substantial forms and absolute accidents! Surely he ought to have known that bread and wine are substances, and not qualities, nor aggregates of qualities!!! Bread is an AGGREGATE OF IDENTICAL QUALITIES!! Bless him for the discovery! He has at last gone beyond my reach, "substance without qualities is a mere abstraction of the mind." Granted, good Sir; and so are qualities without substance, or as the old schoolmen would call them *absolute accidents*, also an abstraction of the mind; and yet White gives us this abstraction, this aggregate of qualities for bread! "With qualities, it is that which the qualities make it." By no means, good Sir; it is the substance which produces the qualities, or, if you will, makes them; and not they that make the substance.

You must, in all natural cases, have the substance of gold before you will have its color, gravity, taste, &c. It is not the taste and smell which make the wine, but the wine which makes, or produces, or causes them. Such is the case according to the laws of nature, and hence, though the qualities do not make the substance, we will generally, but not universally arrive at a knowledge of the substance itself, by ascertaining what the qualities are; this, I suspect, is what the philosopher was blundering to express, when

he compiled this paragraph of jargon. I said this was not universally the case; for there are several instances where our knowledge is so limited, that we draw our inferences too hastily; the principle upon which they are drawn is analogy, and this is not the most easily ascertained, our observation is not sufficiently close, nor experience sufficiently extensive, nor acquaintance with nature sufficiently intimate to save us from mistakes, and those of the most serious, and not unfrequently of the most fatal description. But in miraculous cases, it is totally inapplicable. I shall instance but one or two. The "aggregate of qualities" in the apparition of the angel of Josue would lead to the conclusion, that the substance was that of a man.* Did the qualities *make* the substance in this case? The "aggregate of qualities" would have *made* the Holy Ghost the substance of a dove in one instance;† and the substance of fire in another. ‡ Will Bishop Kemp hold to the "identical analytical process?" In those cases, the substance was neither *made* nor *detected* by the qualities. And yet there was no *delusion*, because there was a mode afforded for discovering by the declaration of God and by faith, what could never have been detected or known by the unaided senses. But, mark the dishonesty of White, who set out in this paragraph by stating that our doctrine could not be established without the aid of Aristotle; and at its conclusion, gives its explanation by modern philosophy. "Christ occupies the place of the bread and wine, and produces the impressions peculiar to them on the senses." Thus he shows that he knowingly wrote what was not true. He however calls this *delusion*. What will he call the cases of the apparition of angels and of the Holy Ghost? It is not delusion; because we are informed that at the consecration a change is effected in substance, though not in appearance. God thus affords to us the means of knowing the fact; if we believe him there is no delusion; if we will not, we delude ourselves, and we are criminal; the fault is ours, not that of our Creator.

I may then conclude this letter by stating, that of all the wretched attempts of this man, that made by him in this note is the most unfortunate. It is, throughout, a combination of false imputations, unsound philosophy, undeserved sneers at men of extraordinary acquirements and great natural ability, confusion of ideas, a betrayal of ignorance and self-sufficiency, together with low blasphemy; and this is what the Right Rev. Bishop Kemp and the other members of the holy alliance recommend to their flocks, by way of sound instruction! Surely their doctrine has need of explanation, and it would be well for them, if it was as intelligible as is the philosophical system of what they are pleased to call a barbarous age.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., May 21, 1827.

* Josue v, 13. † John i, 32. ‡ Acts ii, 3.

LETTER XXXVIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—The next passage of White's that comes under our observation commences at p. 89.

"The abundance of ceremonies supposed to produce supernatural effects, must magnify the character of the privileged ministers of those ceremonies. Hence a Church possessing seven sacraments, is far superior in influence to one who acknowledges but two. Add to this the nature of four out of five *Roman* sacraments—penance, extreme unction, ordination and matrimony—and the extent of power which she thereby obtains, will appear. Penance, i. e. auricular confession, puts the consciences of the laity under the direction of the priesthood. Extreme unction is one of her means to allay fear and remorse. Ordination is intimately connected with the influence which the Roman Church derives from transubstantiation, and its being made a sacrament, adds probability to the miraculous powers which it is supposed to confer. Finally, by giving the sacramental character to matrimony the source and bond of civil society is directly and primarily subjected to the Church."

Upon this I have little to remark—the principle having been previously disposed of, viz. That the possession of *power* in the Church is evidence, "internal evidence," that ours is not the true Church of Christ, who said to his Apostles, and in their persons to the Church, "As my Father hath sent me, even so I send you."* "But that you may know the son of man hath *power* on earth," &c.† "They marvelled and glorified God which had given such *power* to men."‡ "And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them *power*," &c.§ "All *power* is given to me in heaven and in earth, go ye *therefore*, and teach all nations * * * * teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, *I am with you always*, even unto the end of the world."‖ Yet in the very teeth of those declarations, White and the holy alliance would tell us that her claim to spiritual power is internal evidence of the corruption of our Church: and there is not a single one of the sects to which they belong that does not claim and attempt to use more power over its members than any

* John xx, 21. † Matt. ix, 6. ‡ Ib. ix, 8. § Matt. x, 1. ‖ Ib. xxviii, 18. *et seqq.*

general council claims or uses in our Church. Suppose, then, I were to admit the truth of White's first proposition, what would be the consequence? That the clergy had more spiritual power, because their commission was more extensive. It this untrue? No Christian will deny its truth, but even any rational man will say, that the important question is not whether the character is magnified or diminished, but whether any ecclesiastical ceremony is efficacious, and if so how many. The true question is, to what does the commission extend? Thus the very question which this man avoids is that which is important, and his rhapsody is but got up for creating prejudice, not for investigating truth: hence too his second proposition, and the whole sequel, are unfair and delusive. The number and the nature of the sacraments are to be known by inquiring what Christ instituted; not by asking what mankind may think of his bestowing character or conferring power.

It is untrue that penance is auricular confession, or that auricular confession is penance. I might as well assert that the Senate is the Congress, the main spring is a watch, the rudder is a ship, or the axletree is a cart; in a word, that one of the parts of any thing is the whole of that of which it is a part. Penance consists of three parts on the side of the penitent, and one on that of the clergyman, that is, four parts in the whole: and confession is but one of those four parts, and very frequently the least necessary: so that it is a gross misrepresentation to identify penance and auricular confession in this offhanded mode in which the untruth is here put forward. I will suppose the case of a man who has committed a theft to a large amount, and contrived to shift the imputation of dishonesty upon an innocent father of a family, by which his reputation is destroyed and his family is ruined. This criminal may, however, through the merits of Christ's death, be forgiven by the sacrament of "Penance, i. e. auricular confession." The impression which this conveys to the mind, is naturally that according to the tenets of our Church, the criminal has *only to confess* in the ear of a priest, and be forgiven. Such, I am aware, is the notion entertained by three or four millions of our enlightened fellow-citizens upon the subject. Yet an ignorant Spaniard would tell us that this was by no means sufficient amongst Catholics; that besides this confession, three other ingredients were necessary, viz. contrition and satisfaction on the part of the sinner, and absolution by the clergyman.

Thus, in the case stated, the crime is easily told—but, a true and sincere sorrow for having offended God, a sincere intention of avoiding future transgressions, and of flying from said to them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; temptation, true and perfect repentance of heart, without which there can be no reconciliation with heaven, is generally the result of reflection, prayer, and the grace of the most high God. This first and essential requisite Mr. White altogether omits when he tells us "penance, [and] auricular confession," mean the same thing. Another ingredient of penance is satisfaction. In the case before us, the criminal is bound to restore the sum which he had originally stolen to the person upon whom the theft was committed; to make good to him all the losses which he sustained in consequence thereof, and if possible to compensate for the feelings of mortification, pain and bitterness which were endured. This is something more than "auricular confession." But he has a far more extensive and difficult task to perform—he must use every exertion to restore the character of the innocent man, who, by his contrivance, bore the punishment due to an offence which he did not commit: he must compensate him for his losses, he must endeavor to soothe his feelings: he must make reparation to his family. This is something more than "auricular confession." This explains the horror with which dishonest Catholics contemplate confession; this accounts for their readiness to unite with Protestants in decrying and vilifying the tribunal of penance, and the difference of their conduct as regards this sacrament is an almost infallible criterion by which to judge of their general observance of the code of Christian morality. Were there no obligation to do more than to make "auricular confession," there would be no difficulty in penance: but confession leads to satisfaction, and is useless unless accompanied by contrition or repentance, and the clergyman is answerable with his own soul at the bar of heaven for giving absolution, except where he has a moral certainty, after close examination, that the person to whom he gives it has all the proper dispositions: but even then the mistake of the priest will be no more security to the sinner than would be the sinner's own insincerity: unless he be truly penitent, and fully disposed to satify the justice of God and man, the absolution will be invalid, and his imperfect attempt will be a sacrilege. Thus, if auricular confession places the consciences of the laity under the direction of the priesthood; it also places those of the Pope, and of the Bishops, and of the Priests themselves, under the same control, for they must have recourse to the same tribunal for the same purpose, the remission of their sins; and the law of God is the great principle by which the director is to be guided, for when Christ breathed upon his Apostles and

Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained;"* he committed to them this power of remitting and retaining, to be exercised upon the principles of his moral and religious institutions, and not according to their individual caprice. As to their predecessors in the typical law of Moses, he gave a power of offering an atoning sacrifice after the confessions of the people, not upon their individual caprice, but in accordance with the great principles of that law of which he constituted them the judges.† That there exists power in this tribunal of penance, we do not deny, but we assert that it is a power bestowed by Christ, who is better able than we are to judge of the necessity and propriety of its bestowal: and it is a curious sort of logic which infers from the existence of power that our's could not be the Church of Christ, though we prove that the Saviour left such power in his Church. But whatever excuse the holy alliance in America might have for using the argument, it comes with a very bad grace from White, who calls himself a clergyman of the Church of England—one of whose rubrics is the following:

"Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort:

"*Our Lord Jesus Christ who hath left* POWER TO HIS CHURCH *to absolve all sinners which truly repent, and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences, and by his* AUTHORITY *committed to* ME, I ABSOLVE THEE FROM ALL THY SINS, *in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.*"

It is a little strange that White, a minister of the Church which declares *Christ left this power to his Church*, and who, *by Christ's authority*, is liable to be called upon for this EXERCISE OF POWER, should give us, as one of the topics of "Internal Evidence against Catholicism," the claim of the Catholic Church to this power. What says Bishop Kemp to this? I am aware that his Church disclaims the power, but the Church of England claims it. But what says he to White's logic? What say the holy alliance to this argument of their adopted child? Before I leave this topic, I beg to remind Bishop Kemp that the first book of King Edward VI had this tailpiece to the above rubric:

"And the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions."

Thus in the time of Edward VI the English Protestant Church had private confession and absolution, of as strict necessity as in our Church. In the time of Elizabeth the confession and absolution were only necessary for the dying, subsequently the confession and absolution were left to the discretion of the sick person, and the American Protestant Episcopal Church got rid of them altogether: so that they could not all be following the institution of Christ: Will the holy alliance vouchsafe to inform us which of them was right?

Were I to argue against the Church of England, or against the Lutheran Church in Europe which preserves confession and absolution as White does against the Roman Catholic Church, I would feel humbled and degraded in my own estimation. I shall conclude this topic with the following extract from the Cork Mercantile Chronicle, an Irish paper, of the 2nd of last month, April, giving a portion of the assizes news in that city. The trial of the cause was held before Mr. Justice Torrens. De Lacour is the Treasurer of the County, and a Protestant.—Ryan is we believe a Catholic.

"RYAN V. DE LACOUR.

"This was an action brought by the plaintiff to recover the sum of £408 from the defendant, being the amount of a presentment for building a bridge on the Mallow-road, and which came on last assizes, but without being brought to any decision, a Juror having been withdrawn.

"In the course of the proceedings this day, a man named Riordan, who was produced as a witness for the plaintiff, astonished the Court and the Jury by his declaration. He swore that the present action was the result of a conspiracy against Mr. De Lacour; that he had perjured himself at the last assizes, and that other witnesses for the prosecution were perjurers; and that £20 a head was to be the payment for each perjurer. *He said that he made this avowal now in consequence of the advice which he had received from the Rev. Mr. Cotter, the Roman Catholic Curate of Ballinamona, to whom he confessed his guilt, and who suggested the present mode of reparation.* Riordan was committed for perjury on his own confession.

"At 5 o'clock a verdict was returned for the defendant, with 6d. costs."

What would Mr. De Lacour say to auricular confession putting the conscience of the laity under the direction of the priesthood? What do the holy alliance say to the restitution perpetually made in consequence of this direction? What say they to all the injustice and other crimes prevented by this direction? The God who established this doctrine knows more of human nature than they do.

"Extreme Unction is one of her means to allay fear and remorse."

* John xx, 22, 23.

† Lev. v, 5; Num. v, 7; Deut. xvii.

Unquestionably, when received with proper dispositions. But who made it so?

"Is any sick amongst you? Let him call in the priests of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick person, and the Lord will raise him up; and if he be in his sins they shall be forgiven to him."*

White before he wrote this passage, should have done as Luther did: this holy father of the Reformation denied the Epistle of St. James to be an inspired document: how have his followers admitted it? White should also have recollected, if ever he knew the fact, that the Protestant Church of England retained Extreme Unction as a divine institution.

"*If the sick person desires to be anointed, then shall the Priest anoint him upon the forehead, or breast only, making the sign of the cross, saying thus:*

"As with this visible oyl thy body is outwardly anointed: so our Heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of his infinite goodness that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the spirit of all strength, comfort, relief and gladness. And vouchsafe for his great mercy (if it be his blessed will) to restore unto thee thy bodily health and strength to serve him; and send thee release of all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in body and mind. And howsoever his goodness, (by his Divine and unsearchable Providence) shall dispose of thee; we his unworthy ministers and servants, humbly beseech the eternal Majesty to do with thee according to the multitude of his innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences, committed by all thy bodily senses, passions and carnal affections; who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength by his holy spirit, to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory and triumph against the devil, sin and death: through Christ our Lord, who by his death hath overcome the prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost, evermore liveth and reigneth, God, world without end. Amen.

"*Then follows the Psalm*† xiii. How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord, &c. Glory be to the Father, &c. As it was in beginning," &c.‡

Bucer however, struck out the rubric and prayer, omitting the oil he only retained the Psalm: leaving its use also a matter of discretion.

"Si videtur commodum, dicatur etiam hic Psalmus, pro usitata, ante hæc tempora, unctione. *Usquequo Domine*," &c.§

* James, v, 14.

† In the Catholic enumeration, Ps. xii.

‡ K. Edw. VI. First Book. Ord. Vis. Sick.

§ Ed. Lat. Buceri.

The ceremony of anointing was then used in the time of Edward VI, in the Protestant Church of England, and the prayer expressed exactly and fully those effects which the Roman Catholic Church teaches to be those of Extreme Unction: it is in perfect conformity to the direction of the Apostles and the usage of the holy Catholic Church in the East and in the West: it was cast out by Bucer, omitted by Elizabeth, and declaimed against by White and the holy alliance. Bucer (Censur. p. 486,) quoted by L'Estrange, p. 299, says, *It is clear, this rite is neither ancient, nor commanded to the Churches practice, by any either precept of God, or example of the primitive Fathers*, and upon those grounds he calls for its rejection, yet L'Estrange confesses, that it is Apostolical, and therefore ancient, and matter of a precept given in St. James, of course, a precept of God, if the Epistle be the word of God. As to the example of the primitive Fathers, we have the testimony of Pope Innocent I, who succeeded to the Chair of Peter in the year 402, who in his epistle to Decentius, c. viii, mentions it amongst those sacraments instituted by Christ, derived from the Apostles and always administered in the Church.* St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. John Chrysostom, who lived at this period, make honorable mention of Innocent, as a holy, learned, and extremely well informed pontiff. The centuriators of Magdeburg, who were staunch Lutherans, acknowledge that the administration of the rite was customary in this age, (cap. vi. De Rit. Visit. Infirm.) In the sixty-ninth canon of the Arabic copy of the Canons of Nice, the oil for the anointing of the sick, is mentioned together with the oil of catechumens and the chrism.†

White's passage regarding ordination, may go for what it is worth. He and several of the holy alliance will at all events allow that it is a visible ceremony instituted by Christ, to be permanent in his Church, and that the person who is ordained with becoming dispositions will undoubtedly at the time of ordination receive the grace or gifts of the Holy Ghost to enable him to discharge the important duties of the ministry, and this is all that the Roman Catholic Church requires to make it a sacrament. Whether it imprints an indelible character is another question. The British Parliament which is the general council of the English Protestant Church, decided in the case of Horne Tooke, that it does. In the time of Edward VI, the teaching was otherwise: but I believe the doctrine of Bishop Kemp's Church is that the character of orders is indelible.

* See App. Note E. † Ib. Note F.

I profess my ignorance of the doctrine of his associates of other Churches regarding this subject. White and Bishop Kemp then at least ought not to quarrel with us upon the score of ordination, for they value what they have got of it, just as highly as we do.

With respect to matrimony, it is true that we raise it to an higher dignity than our opponents do, and yet the good gentlemen cannot be restrained from applying us to the text in which St. Paul condemns the Encratites, the Marcionites, the Ebionites, and their successors the Manicheans, who forbad marriage as criminal, and would never touch particular meats or wine, which came from the devil, as they say. But suppose we erred in believing that our blessed Redeemer did exalt this most necessary and important of all human contracts to the high dignity of a sacrament, and that since many religious duties are intimately connected therewith, it ought on those two accounts be in a great measure subject to the superintendence of the Church, we are at least consistent with our principle: nevertheless we do not deny the right which the State governments have, in all parts of the world, to make by reason of its being the "source and bond of civil society," such regulations as they might see necessary, provided they be not inconsistent with the divine law in respect to this momentous concern. Upon our principles, we can very consistently explain why a clergyman is called upon for the celebration of marriage. But if it be *only a civil contract;* and the clergy have *no concern in civil contracts;* upon what principle will any gentleman of the holy alliance in the United States, *who holds no civil commission*, and in whom the State recognises *no civil authority*, presume to be the principal official personage, and *pocket fees* for doing a civil duty? The general impression in the United States is that the clergy have no civil character beyond that of mere private citizens, but it seems this is an error: for a clergyman is an official personage, who receives a considerable sum for officially regulating mere civil contracts. The Roman Catholic Clergy do not pretend to be civil officers, they merely attend to the administration of the sacraments of their Church, and receive gratuities for discharging their duty as clergymen.

White continues, p. 90.

"There still remain three exclusive offsprings of tradition, explained and defined by infallibility, which yield to none in happy consequences to the Roman Church—indulgences, purgatory, and the worship of saints, relics, and images.

"The wealth which has flowed into the lap of Rome, in exchange for indulgences, is incalculable. Even in the decline of her influence, she still looks for a considerable part of her revenues from this source: to which she also owes the degree of subjection in which she keeps the Roman Catholic governments. My unfortunate native country shows the nature and extent of this influence in a striking light."

He then continues upon the subject of indulgences to the 94th page. As this subject has been amply treated of in a former volume of the Miscellany, and every topic which White introduces has been there fully discussed, and all his positions disproved in those papers, I shall only refer you to the examination of an article which appeared in the North American Review, No. XLIV, for July, 1824, the remarks upon which are found in No. 69 of the Miscellany, Sept. 22, 1824, and the subsequent papers.* After having read this examination, it will be manifest that Rome derives no part of her revenues from indulgences. His statement in p. 93, that "the tax thus levied on the people of Spain, is divided between the King and the Pope," is a plain simple untruth, just as correct as the table given in Guthrie's Geography of the rate at which Rome sells leave to commit the sins there enumerated. But why should White have the hardihood to complain of the inability of the Spanish Cortes to reduce tythes one half, whilst he had full in his view the inability of the British Parliament to resist the *power* which he was writing to support, the power which grinds down the Irish Catholic peasant with tythes and taxes to support a Protestant Church. The Spanish people and not the Pope resisted the encroachment of the Cortes. The Spanish peasant is supported by the charity of the Catholic Church, the Irish peasant is beggared and maddened by the rapacity of the Protestant Church; the Spanish peasants and poor desire to prevent the impoverishment of their Church by infidels who desired to enrich themselves, because the poor know that the Church property is shared with them, whilst a great portion of the Cortes having imbibed French infidelity, and having leagued with the infidels of the rest of Europe, imitated France in their efforts to destroy religion, and having disgusted a Catholic people, they made liberty and irreligion synonymous; and inflicted a deadly blow upon public freedom. White misrepresents the political state of Spain as much as he does the tenets of our Church: but my object being only to vindicate the latter, I

* See Strictures referred to, in Part II.

shall not enter farther into Spanish politics. I shall therefore pass forward to his portion on Purgatory.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., May 28, 1827.

LETTER XXXIX.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I stated in my last that the next portion of White's book which I would examine, was that regarding Purgatory. It is the following, and is found in pp. 94, 95:

"The belief in Purgatory is so inseparable from the former tenet, that I need not enlarge on the peculiar advantages which Rome has derived from it. I will not observe how fortunately for the interests of the Church of Rome, not only the existence, but even the mutual help and connexion of her *peculiar* doctrines, have happened. The power of remitting canonical penance would have been useless, on the cessation of penitential discipline; but TRADITION, having about the same time brought Purgatory to light, offered an ample scope to the power of the Roman keys. Transubstantiation now presented the means of repeating the sacrifice of the cross for those who were supposed to be undergoing the purification by fire. The whole system, indeed, is surprisingly linked together, and the very connexion of its parts, tending to secure the influence and power of the source from whence it flows, gives it the appearance of an original invention, enlarged from the gradual suggestions of previous advantages."

The former tenet to which he refers is that respecting indulgences. The passage now before us is one which it is not easy to refute, because it asserts so little, and it assumes so much: some of its assertions also are perfectly true, though the conclusions for whose insinuation they are constructed are false. Thus, when he asserts that the harmony of our doctrinal system is striking, he states only an obvious fact. It is one of the great characteristics of truth to be perfectly consistent in all its parts, as it is of error to exhibit multifarious inconsistencies. Surely our blessed Saviour did not reveal to the world a system of contradictions as the truth which descended from heaven, nor were his institutions either at their origin, or to become at any future period, inconsistent with his doctrines. As there was but one God, so there could be but one code of his true doctrine; and to say the least, the very exact accordance of principles and practices, of doctrines and institutions in a Church professing to be that of Christ the God of truth, must create a strong presumption in favor of her claim. "Not so," however, says White, "The whole system is, indeed, surprisingly linked together, and the very connexion of its parts, tending to secure the influence and power of the source from whence it flows, gives it the appearance of an original INVENTION, enlarged from the *gradual suggestions* of previous advantages." Mark the dilemma which would arise from the admission of White's principle. "If Catholics are at variance with each other in their doctrines, or if their doctrines and institutions are discordant, they cannot be professors of the true faith, because the true faith is consistent and not contradictory; if their professions and practice agree, and they exhibit unity of faith and consistency of practice, their system must be an *invention* of their own, *gradually suggested*, and not the doctrine of Christ." Thus in no case will White allow any Christian Church to have the doctrine of Christ; because, if there existed inconsistencies, her doctrine cannot be truth; and if there be none, it must be an invention. Such is the miserable retreat to which he is driven. It is indeed an unenviable position.

Now, we adduce on our own part the fact of our unity of faith and consistency of practice, as a strong and striking presumption, that our doctrine has been given to us by a God of truth, not invented by ourselves; and that our practice is consistent with his law. We say our conclusion is, upon this ground, more philosophical than his.

His next insinuation is, that our system must have been a gradually suggested invention, "because it tends to secure the influence and power of its source." What is its source? We say God is its source. Is it then an evidence of its falsehood, that our religious system tends to secure the influence and power of God—of our Saviour? No; he says that our system is not derived from God, but invented by ourselves; and he says that the doctrine of Purgatory is one of our inventions. Let us examine the charge to see its nature, and the facts to see its grounds. "*Tradition* brought Purgatory to light about the time that penitential discipline ceased." This proposition does not charge that the doctrine of Purgatory is an invention in that sense which would render it untrue, that it was a doctrine of Christ; most of White's fallacy consists in the studied ambiguity of his phrases, of which this is a notable example. When we say that any thing is brought to light, we usually mean that what is thus brought to light previously existed, though not manifestly and generally exhibited, thus what is so brought out is not an invention of imposture, but a finding of fact. What is discovered by tradition is not an invention, for the first time, but is receiving the testimony of a long-existing fact, which had been per-

haps nearly or altogether overlooked. Thus when White charges that tradition brought Purgatory to light, his charge does not assert, but it insinuates, that the doctrine was an invention of folly or of imposture *added* to the doctrine of Christ, and this insinuation alone would be profitable for his object, hence this is the meaning which I attach to his words, for this must be what he intended. We have now only to fix the time of this invention. Here, like all other opponents of our Church, and in almost all their charges, he is cautiously vague and indistinct; "the time of the cessation of penitential discipline" is a space spread over some two or three centuries, and "*about* the same time" will give two or three centuries more; here then is a space of about six hundred years, whose precise commencement or termination is not fixed, and we are told that this vague period was the era of the introduction of this doctrine. The penitential canons had their origin in the days of the Apostles, but were not arranged in their regular form of full perfection, before the middle of the third century; and at the close of the next century, public penance was abolished by Nectarius the Bishop of Constantinople, and by his successor, St. John Chrysostom; their example was followed pretty generally in the eastern portion of the Church, but it was not until the the commencement of the eighth century that the penitential discipline became considerably relaxed in the west, and it had not altogether ceased in the tenth century; and it is *about* this period so vague and so undefined, that White informs us that the doctrine of Purgatory was introduced.

Let us now see what is the doctrine itself. All that we are required as Roman Catholics to believe upon the subject, consists in two propositions, viz.

1st. "That there is a Purgatory." 2d. "That the souls therein detained may be aided by the prayers and suffrages of the faithful." Upon the first of these propositions, a question naturally presents itself, "What is meant by Purgatory?" Confining myself strictly to what is of doctrine, I answer, that it is a place in which some souls suffer for a time before they can enter heaven; but where that place is, or what is the exact nature or duration of the suffering, or what is the exact amount of relief which is received from the suffrages of the faithful, are all topics of conjecture and of opinion, upon which no doctrine is delivered; there is, indeed, a very general belief, that the suffering is from the action of fire, but this is not an article of faith. The souls which are liable to this punishment are those, which, being reconciled to God through the merits of Christ, and thus saved from the punishment of hell, have been subsequently stained with the filth of minor offences, or venial sins, which his mercy does not deem worthy of hell, but his justice deems worthy of punishment: also, those souls which, being saved from perdition by repentance and mercy, yet like the ancient penitents, Moses, and David, and others, had a temporary punishment substituted for the eternal, and not having through life endured or expiated what divine justice thus imposed, are after death, subjected to the temporary endurance equivalent to what remains.

My object now is to show that the belief of the existence of Purgatory was openly professed in the Christian Church after, together with and before, the existence of the penitential discipline, upon the cessation of which, White says it was brought to light, or invented; and, therefore, that his assertion is untrue.

The Latin Church believed in its existence in the thirteenth century, as no one will question; and, although the general opinion then amongst the Greeks was, that the suffering was not by fire, but by the endurance of darkness, labor, and affliction: all those Greeks united with the Catholic Church, and the vast majority of those separated from it, believed as of faith, the two propositions which form the whole substance of our doctrine, and the existence amongst the eastern Christians of a few, who denied their truth, would as little tend to prove the rejection of the doctrine by the Greeks, as the existence of the Albigenses and Vaudois, in the west, would tend to prove that it was rejected by the Latins.

I shall now adduce a few passages from the works of eminent witnesses of the Christian faith, in several of the previous centuries, and it will be manifest, from their testimony, that the doctrine of the Church, which in those centuries was conformable to that of those witnesses, was that of our propositions.

1. *St. Bernard*, abbot of Clairvaux, in France, who died, aged 63 years, on the 20th of August, 1153, in his Sermon on the death of Humbert, has the following passage:

"My brethren the irrevocable time flies rapidly away, and whilst you guard against a trifling endurance, you incur a much greater punishment. For be aware of this, that after this present life, those things which we shall have neglected here, will be repaid to us a hundred fold in the places of purgation; yea, even to the last farthing. I know what a hard thing it is for a dissolute man to undergo discipline, for a talkative man to endure silence, for one

accustomed to roving to remain stationary, but it will be harder, much harder to endure future afflictions."*

2. *St. Anselm*, Archbishop of Canterbury, in England, was born in Piedmont, in the year 1033, and died in 1109; in his Commentaries upon the iii chap. of I Ep. to the Corinthians, he writes,

"For we are to believe that for certain lighter offences there is a purging fire before the resurrection of the bodies."†

3. *Cardinal Peter Damian*, Bishop of Ostia, born at Ravenna, about the year 988, and died on the 22d of February, 1072; in his second Sermon on St. Andrew, [writes],

"Do not deceive yourself because a lighter penance is imposed upon you, for a grievous fault, by a mild or a partial person, since what you shall have here omitted must be supplied in the purging fires, because the Most High demands worthy fruits of penance."‡

4. *Venerable Bede*, a Priest in the province of York, in England, born about the year 673, died in 735, on the 26th of May: in his Commentary on Psalm xxxvii he has left the following passage—(Prot. Bib. Psalm xxxviii.)

"Some persons commit venial sins more or less grievous, and therefore it is necessary that they should be rebuked in wrath, that is in the fire of Purgatory; now they are so placed before the day of judgment, that whatsoever is unclean in them might be thereby burned away, and so at length, they might be found fit to be with those who are to be crowned on the right hand."§

5. *St. Isidore*, Bishop of Seville, in Spain, succeeded to Leander, Bishop of that see, who died in the year 600: Isidore died in 636: in his xviii chap. of the first book Of Divine Offices, he writes,

"For when the Lord saith (Matt. xii) *whosoever shall commit a sin against the Holy Ghost it will not be forgiven to him neither in this world, nor in that which is to come*, he demonstrates that sins are to be forgiven to some persons, and to be purged away by some fire of purgation."‖

6. *St. Gregory*, the Great, was born at Rome, about the year 540, and in 574 was made prætor of the city by the Emperor Justin the younger: the subsequent year he became a monk, and about five years after he was sent by Pope Pelagius II as nuncio to Constantinople; he was recalled in 584, and in 590, upon the death of Pelagius, was advanced to the papacy. He had the faith established in England, and died on the 12th of March, 604. In his Dialogues, B. iv, c. 39, we read,

"It is to be believed that there is a purgatory fire for some lesser faults before the final judgment."*

And in his Comment on the third penitential Psalm, (Ps. xxxvii) he writes,

"I know that after the termination of this life, it will happen that some persons will make expiation in purging fires, others will undergo the sentence of eternal condemnation."†

7. *Boetius*, the learned, the good, the honored and the afflicted, master of the palace and Secretary of State to Theodoric, was born in Rome in 470; deeply versed in science, and anxious for the promotion of learning, besides his own discoveries, he gave to the world his translations from the Greek of Euclid, of Plato, of Strabo, of Archimedes, and other authors of the ancient school. He was also a zealous defender of the purity of faith, with whose doctrines he was intimately acquainted. He was put to death by an unjust order of the barbarian to whom he was endeavoring to teach the art of ruling with Christian justice and moderation: he died on the 23d of October, 585, at a castle, about midway between Pavia and Rome. In his works, B. iv, Prosa 4, is the following passage—

"Do you leave no punishment of souls after the death of the body? Yes, indeed, and very grievous, some of which I look upon as having the bitterness of punishment, but others are inflicted with a clemency of purgation."‡

8. *Theodoret* was born near the close of the fourth century in Syria, and having received a most extensive and liberal education, he bestowed his property in alms and entered a monastery near Apamea, now Hems, not far from Aleppo. In 423, he was at an unusually early period of life consecrated Bishop of Cyrus, a small and poor town about eighty miles from Antioch and one hundred and twenty from Apamea: he died in 458: in his Greek Scholia upon chap. iii, of Ep. I to the Corinthians, is the following passage upon verse 13.

"We believe this to be that very fire of purgatory in which the souls of the departed are proved and repurged as gold is in the crucible."§

9. *St. Augustin* was born at Tagaste, in Numidia, on 13th of November, 354; he became a convert to a new life and to penance in August, 386, and was baptized by St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, on Easter eve in 387; he founded the institute of his hermits in 388, but did not found his institute of nuns until after he was raised to the episcopate; he was ordained priest in 390, consecrated Bish-

* See Appendix, Note G. † Ib. H. ‡ Ib. I § Ib. K. ‖ Ib. L.

* See Appendix, Note M. † Ib. N. ‡ Ib. O. § Ib. P.

op in December, 395, and continued to administer the See of Hippo, from the death of Valerius in 396 to his own death in 430. He instituted the order of canons regular in the early part of his episcopate. No Bishop was better acquainted with the doctrines and practices of the Church than was Augustin, and few have left to her a larger legacy of valuable works. In his book xxi, Of the City of God, c. 16, making mention of baptized infants, he writes of one,

"Not only is he not prepared for eternal torments, but after death he undergoes no purgatorial affliction."*

In the 24th chap. writing of faithful adults who die with lesser sins,

"It is plain, that their spirits being purged before the day of judgment by the temporal pain which they endure, will not be given over to the punishment of eternal fire."†

In his Book v, Hom. 16.

"They who have done things worthy of temporal pains, will pass through a certain purging fire, of which the apostle says: *he will be saved, yet so as by fire.*"

In his Book ii, de Genes. against the Manichees, c. 20.

"Whosoever will not till his field, but will allow it to be choked with weeds, hath in this life the malediction of the earth in all his works, and after this life will have either the fire of purgation, or eternal punishment."‡

There is a great number of similar passages upon the same subject in his works and those of the other authors whom I have quoted, and of several whom I have omitted. In his xxi Book of the city of God, chap. 26, and in his Enchiridion, this father states that a question may be raised as to whether the punishment in Purgatory is by material fire, and if so, whether by the same sort of fire as that of which mention is made in Matt. xxv, "eternal fire." This is the distinction to which I before alluded, and this question does not involve that of the existence of a purgatory, but regards a topic in which faith is by no means involved, viz. the nature of the punishment.

10. *St. Jerom*, the most learned commentator of the holy Scriptures, was born at Stridonium, now Sdrigni, near the famous Aquileia, about the year 330. Few, if any of the fathers of the Church had such ample opportunities of knowledge or turned them to better account: he died on the 30th of September 420. Amongst other testimonies of his, is the following from the latter portion of his Commentary upon Isaias:

"As we believe that the torments of the devil, and of all those who deny the truth, and of the impious who say in their hearts there is no God, as well as of other impious sinners are eternal; so we believe that there is a moderate sentence of the judge tempered with clemency for those Christians whose works are to be tried by fire and purged."*

11. *St. Gregory*, Bishop of Nyssa, was a pious and learned prelate, who died in the year 400; his see was in Cappadocia, near the lesser Armenia; he was one of the fathers of the second general council, (1, of Constantinople) in the year 381; and is an undoubted witness for the faith of his day. In his Sermon for the Dead, are to be found the following passages:

"1. Either being purged in the present life by prayers and the practice of wisdom, or expiated after death by the furnace of a purging fire, if he desires to return to his first happiness.

"2. Having gone forth from the body, he cannot become a partaker with the divinity, unless the fire of purgatory shall have taken away the spots fastened in the soul.

"3. Others clearing away the stains of matter, after this life by purging fire."†

12. *St. Ambrose*, the renowned Bishop of Milan, was born about the year 340, in Gaul, where his father was prefect of the Pretorium; he was educated in Rome, whither his mother returned after his father's death, with the infant Ambrose, of whose education she took the most special care. In 368, Anisius Probus, whom Valentinian made prætorian prefect of Italy, appointed Ambrose his assessor, and subsequently governor of Liguria and Æmilia: in 374, at the unanimous request of the people, this governor was appointed Bishop of Milan, and consecrated on the 7th of December: his administration exhibits several most instructive lessons: and the prelate was conspicuous for learning, eloquence, zeal, disinterestedness, independence and piety: he died on April 4, in the year 397. I shall make but one quotation from his works: in his Comment on Psalm xxxvi, (Prot. Vers. xxxvii,) v. 14, he has the following passage:

"Though the Lord shall save his servants, we shall be saved by faith; we shall be saved, yet so as by fire. Though we may not be burned utterly, we shall be burned. Yet how some shall remain in fire, and others only pass through fire, the divine Scripture teaches us in another place: for the people of Egypt was drowned in the Red Sea, but the Hebrew people passed through; Moses passed through, but Pharao was overwhelmed therein; because his grievous sins sunk him down: so will the sacrilegious be precipitated in the lake of burning fire."‡

* See Appendix, Note Q. † Ib. R. ‡ Ib. S.

* See Appendix, Note T. † Ib. U. ‡ Ib. V.

13. *St. Basil*, Archbishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, was born in the year 329, of parents illustrious for their descent and station, as well as their sanctity; his education was equally attended to for learning and for virtue; and his labors, erudition, knowledge and sanctity, conspire to make him one of the brightest ornaments of the Church; he died on the 1st of January 379. In his 9th chapter on Isaias, we have the following paragraphs:

"1. If therefore by confession we shall have uncovered the sin, we have thus dried up the growing grass, such indeed as would have been fit to be fed upon and devoured by the purging fire.

"2. He doth not in this place indeed threaten perfect death and extermination, but he alludes to that purgation according to the statement of the Apostle, *he shall be saved yet so as by fire*."*

14. *Eusebius*, Bishop of Emissa, or Apamea, now Hems, the birth place of Heliogabalus, about 30 miles from Aleppo in Syria, upon the Orontes, flourished about the year 340. The Homilies attributed to him are those of writers of not a later date; they are generally supposed to be of some of the Gallican prelates: but whoever might have been the writers, their doctrine is in perfect accordance with that of the Church in the fourth century. In the 3d homily, on the Epiphany we read,

"This punishment of hell awaits those who having lost or not preserved baptism will perish eternally; but they who shall have done things worthy of temporary punishment will pass through a fiery flood, through shallows dreadful with burning globes."†

15. *St. Hilary*, Bishop of Poictiers in Gaul, was styled by St. Augustin, *the illustrious doctor of the Churches*, and by St. Jerom, *a most eloquent man, the trumpet of the Latins against the Arians*: he was chosen Bishop of Poictiers in 353; he was banished by the agency of Julian the apostate, in the reign of Constantius, in 356; after spending some years in the East he was permitted to return in 360; and died at Poictiers in the year 368. In his Comment on Psalm cxviii, is the following passage:

"We must pass through that untiring fire, in which are to be endured those heavy punishments of a soul undergoing expiation for sins."‡

16. *St. Cyprian*, the eminent Bishop of Carthage, who suffered martyrdom in the year 258, left some valuable testimonies of the faith. In his Book iv, Ep. 2, we find the following passage,

"It is is one thing for a person tormented because of sins to be purged during a long period and to be corrected during a considerable time by fire; a different thing is it to have purged away all his sins by suffering martyrdom."*

17. *Origen*, the famous teacher of the Catechetical school of Alexandria, flourished in the year 250. Amongst other passages, he has left us the following in his 6th Homily on Exodus.

"He that shall be saved, shall be saved by fire, as if there was in him any thing of lead commingled, the fire would produce its effect thereupon and resolve it, so that he might all become pure gold."†

18. *Tertullian*, that most ancient witness, born in the year 160, and died in 245, has left us amongst other passages the following in the xxxv chapter of his Book of the Soul.

"He will commit you to the lower prison, whence you will not be let go, unless by the delay of your resurrection, and every lesser crime being expiated."‡

In the same book, c. lviii, is the following:

"Seeing then, we understand that prison which the gospel demonstrates to be places below, and the last farthing we interpret every small fault to be there punished by the delay of resurrection, no man will doubt but the soul doth expiate something in the places below."§

I am aware that to several persons my letters are tedious, and are looked upon as too long, and not very interesting, but the subjects are matters of importance, and I write not so much to amuse my readers, as to instruct them: hence I am more anxious to produce a full conviction of truth than to please the fancy. I have here adduced a number of witnesses, selected from a far greater body, and considerably curtailed their testimony: but I believe I have upset White's position, that purgatory was only invented after, or about the decline of the penitential discipline, for I have shown that discipline not fully abolished in the tenth century, although about the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth, its decline commenced in Constantinople—and I have shown the doctrine of the existence of purgatory, to have been in the Church up to the middle of the second age: I shall afterwards show it to have a much higher and more remote antiquity. Indeed if White believed as some of the best, and wisest, and most learned of the English Protestant clergy did upon this point, he never would have written the wretched passage which we now consider.

* See Appendix, Note W. † Ib. X. ‡ Ib. Y.

* See Appendix, Note Z. † Ib. AA. ‡ Ib. AB. § Ib. AC.

I shall here close this letter, and in my next I shall adduce evidence to prove the perpetual usage of praying for the dead, after which I shall lay before you the Scriptural proofs, and other historical and rational motives, to establish this conclusion, that it is one of the most ancient and universal doctrines of true religion, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are aided by the suffrages of the faithful.—Meantime I remain,

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., August 27, 1827.

LETTER XI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—Before I proceed to adduce evidence of the fact, that prayers were offered up for the deceased brethren by the Christians, I shall premise that a purgatory might exist, and yet the souls therein detained not be aided by the prayers of their friends on earth: but when I shall have shewn that such prayers were offered, it is manifest the object must have been, the benefit of the dead, or the solace of the living, or both. In examining the evidence, therefore, you will observe what was the object of the prayer; what benefit was expected; did they who prayed seek alleviation for the dead, or only solace for themselves? If we shall find that they expected the first effect, it will tend much to support the conclusion at which I aim. It will be unnecessary for me to give the character and era of the witnesses already described; I shall therefore only explain the [character] of any additional persons whom I may introduce.

1. *St. Malachy*, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, was born in 1094, and died at the abbey of Clairvaux, in France, on the morning of November 2d, 1148, being the solemnity of "All Souls," as is still observed. His life was written by St. Bernard, and he informs us that the holy sacrifice was offered for him (chap. xxxi) and that Malachy, upon coming to the monastery, informed the community that he came there to die.

"You all know well the near approach of that day which I have always desired should be that of my dissolution. I know in whom I have placed my trust, and I shall not be defrauded of my desire, for I already have a portion accomplished. He who by his mercy hath brought me to this place which I have desired, will not refuse the termination which I have also sought. As regards this worthless body, this is its place of rest: as regards my soul, God, who saveth those who trust in him, will provide; nor is it a small hope which is laid up for me respecting that day, upon which so many benefits are conferred by the living upon the dead."*

Such was the doctrine that had prevailed in the Irish Church respecting the prayers for the dead, upon the great solemnity of "All Souls," and in this doctrine we shall see that she agreed with all other portions of the universal body of the faithful. In chapter xxx, St. Bernard relates the foundation of the knowledge which the monks of Clairvaux had of his desire to die upon the solemnity of "All Souls." When Malachy had been on a former occasion at the monastery,

"Being asked, at one time, in what place, if he had the choice, he should wish to die, for the brethren were conversing upon the subject, as to the choice of each; he hesitated, but being pressed, 'If I go hence,' said he, 'there is no place that I would prefer to that whence I may in the resurrection arise with our Apostle,' he meant St. Patrick. 'But if I were from home, and God so permitted it, I have chosen Clairvaux.' Being asked concerning the time, he said 'the solemnity of All Souls.'"†

In another part of the work we have the account of his offering up the holy sacrifice of the mass, for the repose of the soul of his sister.

2. The venerable *Peter, Abbot of Cluni*, wrote a book in defence of the doctrine of prayer for the relief of the dead, against the Petrobrusians, or disciples of Peter de Bruis, who denied that it was useful to them.

3. *St. Bernard*, in his 66th Sermon on the Canticles, charges the Petrobrusians with error in denying the utility of such prayer.‡

4. The learned commentator *Theophylact*, who flourished towards the close of the eleventh century, has several passages which bear upon the subject; I shall produce only one, from his Comment on Luke xii.

"I say this respecting the oblation and alms which are made for the deceased, and which avail not a little even for those who have died under serious offences."§

This as most of the other testimonies which I produce, regards a public and well known practice of the Church; not the opinion of an individual.

5. *St. John Damascen*, was son of a noble Christian, who was secretary to the Saracen Caliph towards the close of the seventh century: Ali the founder the Persian Mohammedanism, appointed John to be governor of Damascus, and after the death of Ali, when the chief power passed to Moawyah, the first dynast of the Omniad race, John, though a Christian, stood high in his esteem. Having resigned his offices and honors, John

* See Appendix, Note AD. † Ib. AE.
‡ Ib. AF. § Ib. AG.

withdrew to the monastery of the great Laura, of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem, and there gave himself up to the study and contemplation of the Christian doctrine; about the year 780 he died full of years and good works; being the first who reduced Christian theology to a systematic course, in his great work, "The Exposition of the Orthodox Faith." In his book "Concerning those who erred from the faith" he adduced the testimony of St. Denis, St. Athanasius, SS. Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and others, to prove that at all times, orthodox Christians prayed for the repose of the deceased.

6. *St. Isidore*, of Seville, in his Book of Divine Offices, chap. xvii, has the following passage:

"Unless the Catholic Church believed that sins were forgiven to the faithful departed, she would not offer alms for their spirits, nor offer sacrifice for them to God."*

Thus he alludes to the two well known practices of alms and sacrifice, as well as prayer being offered for the benefit of departed souls.

7. *St. Gregory* the Great, Pope, in his ivth book of Dialogues, c. lv, [has] the following passage:

"The offering of the salutary victim is usually of great aid to souls, even after death, so that the souls of the departed appear even sometimes to demand it."†

The custom of burying the dead in or near the Churches, is peculiar to Christianity. We shall see earlier testimony upon which to account for its introduction; but so far as it goes we shall now use the testimony of this great and enlightened Pope:—the passage is found in his Dialogues, lib. iv, c. 50.

"For those whom weighty sins do not oppress, it is useful for the dead, if their bodies be interred at the Church, because their relations sometimes coming thither, recollect them, and then pour out prayers *for them* to the Lord."‡

Surely it is one of the finest traits of religion, that it thus unites generations, linking in a bond of affection the living and the dead, and presenting the great bulk of mankind before the heavenly tribunal, as mutual suppliants for mercy for each other. Indeed it is a holy and an endearing communion.

8. *Theodoret* relates in c. 26, lib. iv, of his History, that when the relics of St. John Chrysostom, were borne to Constantinople in the year 434, by St. Proclus; the emperor Theodosius and his sister Pulcheria accompanied them, and they both besought God for the pardon and benefit of the souls of their deceased parents Arcadius and Eudoxia; this is related not as an extraordinary occurrence, but as one in the usual and well known order of things.

9. *St. Paulinus*, of Nola, was born in Bourdeaux, in Gaul, in the year 353; his father being prætorian prefect of that province, and at one time first magistrate of the western empire; his talents were of the first order, his masters of the most select description; the famous Ausonius was his teacher of rhetoric and poetry, and his acquirements were of the most extensive range: he was consul before the twenty-fifth year of his age. About the year 390, he and his wife having determined upon leading lives of retirement, he sold his vast possessions, the produce of which he bestowed in alms, and having resigned his seat in the Senate, and his other offices, entered a monastery: he was soon afterwards ordained priest, at the request of the people of Barcelona, in 393. His great devotion towards St. Felix, led him to a little sequestered spot in Italy, near the tomb of this holy priest, his desire being to serve in the most humble capacity, to decorate his soul with virtues, as it was enriched with learning. In the year 409, he was called from his retreat to fill the see of Nola: he died in the year 431. A virtuous lady named Flora having buried her son Cynægius in the Church of St. Felix, asked Paulinus what benefit was derived therefrom, and at the request of Paulinus, Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, as an explanation, wrote his book *De Cura Mortuorum*, "Of the Care of the Deceased." Writing to Pammachus after the death of his wife, he comforts him with the assurance that he had satisfied her body with the tears which he shed, and her soul with alms which he bestowed on her account.* In his Ep. V to the Bishop Delphinus, concerning the death of his own brother, he recommends his soul to his prayers, and amongst others, has the following passage:

"Obtain by your prayers pardon for him, and that a drop flowing from the least finger of your holiness might sprinkle his soul with refreshment."†

Writing upon the same subject in his first letter to Amandus, he has the following:

"Wherefore we earnestly entreat you as a brother to unite in our labors of prayer: that the merciful God would vouchsafe to refresh his soul with drops of compassion by your prayers."‡

* See Appendix, Note AH. † Ib. AI. ‡ Ib. AJ.

* See Appendix, Note AK. † Ib. AL. ‡ Ib. AM.

10. *St. Augustine* has so much upon the subject that the difficulty consists not in the discovery but in the selection. In his book "Of the Care of the Departed," the occasion of which I have just shown, we have the following passage, chap. 1:

"We read in the book of the Macchabees, that sacrifice was offered for the dead; but, if this never had been read in the old Scriptures, the authority of the universal Church, which upon this subject is glaringly evident, is not small; where in the prayers of the priest which are poured out at the high altar to the Lord our God, their commendation of the departed has its proper place."*

In this passage we have from St. Augustine evidence that the custom was glaring, general and authoritative, and that in the liturgy there was a proper place for such prayers. The next passage not only shows the doctrine of the Church in this day to be that those prayers of the faithful on earth were useful, but that the faithful also besought the saints in heaven to pray for their deceased friends, and that this was an additional benefit: it is found in chap. 4, oft he same book.

"When, therefore, the mind recollects where the body of its beloved friend is interred, and there is brought to the memory the place venerable by the name of the martyr, the affection of the person who recollects and prays commends the beloved soul to the same martyr; which custom, when adhered to by the faithful, is, beyond doubt, most beneficial to the departed."†

The following beautiful passage from the same chapter is not only a clear testimony of the doctrine and custom of the Church at that period, but moreover exhibits the charitable affection of the Church, and the excellence of the communion of saints.

"We must not pass over the supplications for the souls of the departed, which the Church regulates to be made in a general commemoration for all those who die in the Christian and Catholic society, even though she does not mention all the names; that their one pious, common mother, the Church, might for this end supply the deficiency for those who left no parents, or children, or relations, or friends."‡

The same doctrine is found in an hundred other places of his works, and in his book "Of Heresies," he mentions that the heresy of Aerius consisted in denying the utility and propriety of offering sacrifice for the dead.§

11. *St. John Chrysostom* was born at Antioch, about the year 344; his father Secundus, was master of the horse, or commander in chief of the imperial troops at Syria, his mother was left at the age of twenty a widow, with ample means, and a daughter and son, for whom she provided the best teachers. John's master of eloquence was the famous Libanius, who declared this pupil of his to be a treasure to the empire: in the study of philosophy under Andragatius he made astonishing progress: in early youth he paid great attention to the truths of religion; at the age of twenty, he pleaded for some time at the bar; the first dignities of the empire lay open before him; but upon mature reflection he embraced a life of retirement; he was ordained deacon by St. Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, in the year 381, and priest by Flavian, the successor of this holy bishop in 386: twelve years afterwards, he was raised to the see of Constantinople: and after a variety of trials and persecutions, he died a prisoner and in exile in Cappadocia on the 14th of September, 407. The extraordinary eloquence with which he was gifted, caused him to receive the appellation of Chrysostom or *Golden mouth*, and his erudition and virtue were conspicuous. In his 41st Homily on the first Epistle to the Corinthians, we find the following passages:

"1. The deceased is aided not by tears, but by prayers, by supplications, and by alms deeds.

"2. Let us not be weary of giving aid to the departed by offering up prayers for them."*

Those passages from amongst several others clearly exhibit his doctrine, which was that of the whole Church that was in his communion. The next extract from the 69th of his homilies to the people of Antioch shows not only that it was his doctrine and that of the Church, but that moreover it was a doctrine delivered by the Apostles, or else we must say that neither he nor his auditors knew what was the history of their doctrine in the three centuries that intervened.

"Those things were not rashly enacted by the Apostles, that in the tremendous mysteries there should be commemorations made of the departed; for they knew that great profit arises to them therefrom. A mighty benefit."†

12. *St. Jerome* testifies the doctrine in many places; amongst others, in his Epistle to Pammachus, on the death of his wife Paulina.

"Other husbands scatter violets, roses, lilies, and purple flowers on the tombs of their consorts, our Pammachus moistens the holy remains, the venerated bones, with the balsam of alms; he cherishes the resting ashes with those ointments and odors, knowing that it is written, as water extinguishes life, so do alms deeds sin."‡

* See Appendix, Note AN. † Ib. AO. ‡ Ib. AP. § Ib. AQ.

* See Appendix, Note AR. † Ib. AS. ‡ Ib. AT.

13. *St. Epiphanius* was born about the year 310, at Eleutheropolis, a city of Judea: he was master of the Hebrew, Greek, Egyptian, Syrian and Latin languages, and very intimate with St. Hilarion, and other eminent anchorets and holy men. Having spent some time in retirement in Egypt, he returned to Palestine and built a monastery in the year 333, and devoted himself with great assiduity to prayer and study. He was looked upon as the oracle of religious information in Palestine; in the year 367 he was chosen Bishop of Salamis, or Constantia, in the island of Cyprus, and was intimate with most of the great men who decorated the Church during the latter period of his life; he died on his way from Constantinople to Salamis, in the year 403. Amongst his works is one on heresies, in which he enumerates twenty before Christ, and eighty in the first four centuries of Christianity: the seveny-fifth of which is that of Aerius who denied the utility and efficacy of prayer for the dead, and the utility and efficacy of which Epiphanius mentions as doctrines of the Church of Christ.*

14. *St. Ambrose* in his book ii, epist. 8, to Faustinus, concerning the death of his sister:

"Wherefore, I think, that she is not so much to be wept for, as followed by prayers, nor is her soul to be made sorrowful by your tears, but rather recommended to God by oblations."†

In his orations on the death of Theodosius, of Valentinian, and of his brother Satyrus, he prays for the repose of their souls, and promises that he will offer the sacrifice for this object.‡

15. *St. Gregory, Nazianzen*, was born at Arianzum, an obscure village in the territory of Nazianzum, a station or town of Cappadocia, of which his father was made bishop about the year 330, when Gregory was about five or six years of age: at a proper age, Gregory, after having learned in the schools of Cappadocia, went to Cæsarea, in Palestine, where existed a famous school of eloquence, thence to Alexandria, in Egypt, and subsequently to Athens, to become perfect in his studies. During this period, he became intimate with St. Basil, and in Athens they had Julian, the apostate, as a fellow student, in the year 55. Gregory at this time foretold his future misconduct, from his deportment. Leaving Athens, he went to Constantinople, where he met his brother Cæsarius, who had studied medicine, and was become chief physician to the Emperor Constantius. Many efforts were used to induce Gregory to plead at the bar, or to teach rhetoric; but he had made up his mind for religious retirement, and returned to Nazianzum, where in religious solitude he continued to pray and study. In 361, he was ordained priest, and was consecrated Bishop of Sasima, by St. Basil, then Bishop of Cæsarea, in 372. He was never able to get possession of his see, owing to the opposition of schismatics, and his peaceable disposition. In 378, he was [prevailed on] to accept the see of Constantinople, long harassed by heresy, schism and intrigue, [from which] after having endured great opposition, and many insults, and having done incalculable good to religion, he retired for the sake of peace. In 381, after his resignation, he withdrew to Nazianzum, and having procured the consecration of Eulalias, for that see, he spent the remainder of his days in prayer and meditation, dying at a private retreat, near Nazianzum, in 389, or 391. Gregory is then an excellent witness of the doctrine of his day. In his oration on the death of his brother Cæsarius, he prays for the departed faithful, as well as for the living.

"Let us recommend to mercy, both our own souls, and those of the persons who being, as it were, more forward on their journey, have come before us to the resting place.*

And in the conclusion, he prays for the rest of the soul of his brother Cæsarius.

16. *St. Cyril*, Archbishop of Jerusalem, was born in or near that city in the year 315. No one of the ancients studied more closely the holy Scriptures, the previous Christian writers, and the pagan philosophers. He was ordained priest, by Maximus, Archbishop of Jerusalem, in 345, and was by him appointed catechist, to teach the doctrine to the catechumens, and preacher to expound it to the people—his Catechetical Sermons for the year 347 or 348, are preserved and are a most precious treasure—he succeeded Maximus in the episcopacy in the end of the year 350, and witnessed the disappointment of those who attempted to rebuild the Jewish Temple, thus to disprove the divinity of the Christian religion. After persecution and banishment from his see, he returned thereto in 361, and assisted at the second general council, 1st of Constantinople, in 381, and died in the year 386. The following are passages taken from his last Catechesis.

"1. We also pray for the deceased holy fathers, bishops, and in general all who are dead, believing that this will be a great succor to those souls for which prayer is offered, whilst the holy and tremendous victim lies present.

"2. If a king being offended at certain persons, banish them, and their friends offer a rich garland for them, will he not be moved to remit their punishment? In like manner we offering

* See Appendix, Note AU. † Ib. AV. ‡ Ib. AW.

* See Appendix, Note AX.

up prayers to God for the dead, though they be sinners, do not make a garland, but we offer Christ sacrificed for our sins, striving to propitiate and make our merciful God beneficent to them and to ourselves."*

17. *St. Basil* compiled a liturgy still used in several Greek Churches, and which contains prayers for the commemoration of the dead, to obtain their repose.

18. *Ephrem* of Edessa, one of the most illustrious and learned teachers of the Syriac Church, was born in the district of Nisibis, in Mygdonia, a division of Mesopotamia, before the year 290, his parents were poor but very industrious country people—he attained the age of eighteen years before he was baptized, and soon after his baptism he retired to a monastery, in which he had hard labor, much prayer, and considerable study. About the year 340, he went to Edessa, and was ordained deacon of that Church. He was not deeply versed in the philosophy of the schools, but was powerful in that given by nature; he had an excellent turn for poetry, and composed many pieces calculated to convey the truths of the Gospel, and the principles of morality to the mind of the hearer: he wrote his native language, Syriac, with facility and elegance, was quite familiar with the holy Scriptures, and deeply learned in the doctrines of Christianity: he was also gifted with splendid eloquence. He made great numbers of converts; but never could be induced, because of humility, to receive the order of priesthood. He died about the year 878. His testament, or will commences,

"I, Ephrem die. Be it known unto you all, that I write this testament to intreat of you that you would assiduously remember me in your prayers after my decease: for I have spent my life in vanity and in iniquity."†

He particularly requests to have alms, oblations, (masses,) and prayers made on the thirtieth day from his decease.‡

19. *St. Athanasius*, the great Patriarch of Alexandria, was born about the year 296, and died on Thursday, May 2, in the year 373. This great luminary of the Church certainly was well acquainted with her doctrines. In his work, *ad Antioch*, ix, 34, he asks, whether departed souls benefit by the prayers of the living: to which he gives the answer that unquestionably they do.§

20. *Eusebius*, Archbishop of Cæsarea, the historian; one of the most learned of the ancient prelates, died in 339, fifteen years after his appointment; in his fourth book "Of the Life of the Emperor Constantine," he states that the Emperor desired to be buried in a splendid Church, that his soul might have the benefit of a multitude of prayers.*

21. *St. Cyprian*, book i, epist. 9, has the following passage:

"The Bishops, our predecessors, enacted that no one dying should nominate any of the brotherhood of the clergy to be the executor or guardian of his effects, and that if any person would do so, there should be no offering made for him, nor sacrifice offered for his repose."

He farther on applies the principle of this statute to a special case.

"And therefore since Victor has dared to appoint Geminius Faustinus, a Priest, his executor, contrary to the law lately made by the Prelates in their council, no oblation can be made by you for his rest, nor any prayer on his behalf."†

In this case we see that before the year 250, the refusal to offer up prayers or mass for the repose of the departed, was considered to be a severe punishment.

22. *Tertullian*, in his book "Of the Soldier's Crown," places amongst the traditions of the Apostles the suffrages and prayers for the dead: and in his book "On Monagamy," is the following passage regarding the conduct of a Christian wife towards her deceased husband.

"Let her pray for him, and demand earnestly refreshment for his soul, and fellowship in the first or early resurrection: and let her have sacrifice offered on the anniversaries of his death, for if she do not this she has repudiated him as far as lies in her power."‡

In other places the same doctrine is to be found.

23. The ancient work attributed to *St. Denis the Areopagite*, "On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy," is by many and judicious writers attributed to this convert of St. Paul the Apostle, whilst a greater number of others equally if not more erudite, state that there is not sufficient proof of the assertion. But both parties are fully agreed that the work is most ancient and orthodox, and if not written in the first century, that it at all events contains the doctrine of that age. Chap. vii, part 3, has the following passage:

"The venerable Prelate then drawing near repeats the holy prayer over the dead person: in that prayer he beseeches the divine clemency to remit to the deceased all sins committed by human infirmity, and, that it might place him in light and in the region of those who live."§

* See Appendix, Note AY. † Ib. AZ.
‡ Ib. BA. § Ib. BB.

* See Appendix, Note BC. † Ib. BD.
‡ Ib. BE. § Ib. BF.

Those are the very expressions which the Church this day uses at interments, and which she preserves as those which the Apostles first used on similar occasions.

24. *St. Clement* was of Jewish extraction and converted to Christianity in the year 62, if not previously, as we find him in that year a companion and fellow sufferer of St. Paul at Philippi: he accompanied the Apostle to Rome, was consecrated Bishop by St. Peter, whom he survived, as he did also his two immediate successors, Linus and Cletus, when in the year 89 or 90, he succeeded to the Papacy, which he filled in the year 100. Many writings are attributed to him, with little foundation. But the liturgy is admitted by all good critics to be his; or if not, to be so ancient, and so authentic as to be a copy or imitation of what he used and appointed; and in this liturgy we find the description of a long prayer for the repose of the deceased.

I have thus adduced evidence to prove that it was the custom of the Catholic Church at all times to pray for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed. In my next I shall adduce other evidence respecting the topics connected with the doctrine of Purgatory. Yours, &c.,

B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 3, 1827,

LETTER XLI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—In following up the evidence for the existence of a Purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, it might not be amiss to remind you that all which is necessary for me to prove, in order to refute White is, that the belief in this doctrine existed before the abandonment of the ancient discipline of canonical penances: and that period might be properly fixed about the close of the tenth century. I believe that I have more than done this; yet as I am upon the subject, permit me to go farther into its examination. I have laid before you the testimony of ecclesiastical writers. I shall now give you the testimony of public documents and monuments. The former will consist in the declarations of public bodies, the latter will be a collection of facts, customs, and memorials.

I shall not here adduce the declarations of the Councils of Trent, of Florence, and of Lateran, nor shall I enumerate more than a few of the earlier synods held in different places, from which it will be seen that ours was not a doctrine confined to a single nation or to a few spots, but was that of the universal Church.

In the year 868, a National Council was held at Worms on the Rhine, then a suffragan see of Mayence, in which a question was raised as to the propriety of praying and offering the mass for the repose of the souls of those persons who had been hanged upon the gallows, after conviction in a criminal court, and it was determined that they were equally entitled to the mercies of Christ as other sinners, and therefore not to be deprived of the ordinary aid of religion, and [that] they were to be prayed for after death.

In the year 813, the second provincial council of Chalons on the Saone, was held at the request of the Emperor Charlemagne: the thirty-ninth canon requires that in every mass that is celebrated, there should be prayers offered for the repose of the souls of the departed faithful. We shall see that special masses for their repose had been usual from the very origin of Christianity, but though the liturgies had desired this commemoration of the dead in the holy sacrifice, still in several places neglect and omission had to be corrected by provincial councils.

Spelman gives us the following form of a prayer for the dead, found in the twenty-seventh canon of the Synod of Cloveshoo, in Kent, in 747:

"O Lord, we beseech thee, grant that the soul of such a person may be secured in a state of repose, and admitted with the rest of thy saints into the regions of light and bliss."

I could produce several others more full than this, but Rapin, who would, if he could, have made a different statement, adduces this to show the notoriety of the fact, that prayer for the dead was then common in the English Church, a testimony which White appears to have overlooked.

The first Council of Braga, in Portugal, then a part of Spain, was held in the year 563, on the first of May, under the reign of King Theodomirus: the Archbishop Lucretius presided; a number of canons were made against the Priscillianists, others for discipline.

The sixteenth canon prohibits the prayers of the Church to be offered for the repose of the souls of those guilty of suicide, forbids commemoration to be made of them in the mass, and commands that no funeral service shall be performed for them nor for criminals who shall have been executed pursuant to the law. The twenty-first canon regulates that the alms and offerings made by the faithful on behalf of the dead, shall be equally divided twice in the year amongst the clergy who are to pray for their repose.

Regulations regarding prayers for the dead are to be found in the canons of the second Council of Orleans, which assembled on the

23d of June, 533, in which were twenty-six Bishops of the province of Lyons and Aquitain; its canons were but the renewal of more ancient laws.

The Council which is generally called the Fourth of Carthage, in Africa, was held in the consulship of Eutychianus and Honorius in the year 398, and gave the most full code of discipline which we find about that period. Amongst other regulations, its seventy-ninth canon enacts, that persons subjected to public penance, who having done, as far as they were able, the several works imposed, but who die at sea without having received the communion or having been formally reconciled, shall nevertheless have their share in the prayers and oblations for the faithful deceased, and commands that they shall be prayed for and commemorated after their decease.

Upon this document I shall only remark, that St. Augustin, Bishop of Hippo, was a member of this council, and that White's position, that it was upon "the cessation of penitential discipline, tradition brought purgatory to light," is altogether destroyed by this single case, for it exhibits both as fully co-existing, long before the cessation or decline of the discipline. I can scarcely believe that Bishop Kemp and his associates are so little acquainted with canon law, as not to have known this enactment, and am therefore at a loss to know how they could have so little respect for their own characters, as scholars, as to have recommended White's book.

A council had been held in the same city in the previous year, during the consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus, 397, the twenty-ninth canon of which directs that mass shall not be celebrated by any but persons who are fasting, except on the Thursday before Easter, and to remedy a contrary abuse which had been creeping in, of priests celebrating the mass after having broken fast, to aid the souls of persons who had died that day, at a late hour; it directs that if prayers are to be offered in such a case for Bishops or any other of the faithful departed, in the afternoon, prayers only shall be offered, but not the sacrifice, on that day, nor by a person who has broken his fast.

In the Arabic copy of the acts of the Council of Nice, held in the year 325, the sixty-fifth canon directs that upon the demise of a Bishop, notice should be given of his death to all the Churches and Monasteries which were within his jurisdiction, that prayers might be offered for the repose of his soul.

St. Epiphanius, the learned Archbishop of Salamis, who lived from 310 to 403, in his famous work "On Heresies," gives the seventy-fifth place to Aerius, the Constantinopolitan monk, who, displeased and disappointed at the elevation of his friend Eustathius to the government of that see, through opposition denied the superiority of the order of Bishop to that of Priest, and appears also to have been the first who denied the efficacy of prayers for the dead: this heresiarch was a cotemporary of Epiphanius, and his doctrine was by all Christians declared to be a novelty, which contradicted that which had been received from the Apostles. St. Augustine gives it the fifty-third place in his catalogue of heresies. It soon became extinct, and so continued for some centuries, until the Waldenses revived it.

I come now to another series of documents: the liturgies of the early Church, in all of which we find prayers for the departed faithful, that they may be delivered from suffering and brought to the enjoyment of eternal glory. Surely Bishop Kemp will not venture to assert that the liturgies of St. James, of St. Basil, of St. Chrysostom, or of St. Ambrose, were not in existence before "the cessation of penitential discipline." I shall make a general remark, applicable to all the liturgies, before I come to their special enumeration. In the first ages of the Church, it was not usual to have written copies of the liturgy, but the clergy learned from each other, and repeated from memory; the faithful also who were admitted cautiously to the *holy mysteries*, were charged to be extremely careful not to speak of them before strangers, who were admitted only to the mass of the catechumens, and the sermon. The Church of England, after separating from the Catholic Church, by way of following the ancient practice, dismisses the congregation after morning prayer and sermon, and retains only those who are to receive during the communion service. Both in the early Greek and Latin Churches, the betraying of the mystery, or of the sacred books, was looked upon as equivalent to apostacy. Thus the liturgies were not written until towards the close of the fourth century, and the first complaint which we hear of any attempt to change them, is against Nestorius in the beginning of the fifth age. Previously to their separation, it is believed that the Apostles, who had during many years celebrated together, had agreed upon an outline or general form, from which there was to be no departure; and when, after several ages, the office was examined in the several places in which they had been, the general coincidence is perfect proof of a common origin and a faithful observance of the original institution.

The liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem is that which is generally known by the appellation of the liturgy of St. James, who was

first Bishop of that see. St. Cyril, one of his successors, explaining its order to the neophytes in his Catechetical Discourses, in the year 349, says:

"We then pray for the holy Fathers, and Bishops, and lastly, for all those who have quitted this world in our communion, believing that their souls receive very great relief from the prayers which are offered for them in this holy and tremendous sacrifice which lies upon the altar."

The liturgy of St. James, which, from the earliest period, has been used in the Church of Jerusalem, contains the following:

"*The Memento for the Dead.*

"*The deacon says:* Remember, O Lord, our God; *and the priest bowing down says:* Remember, O Lord, our God, the souls of all those whom we have commemorated, and of such as we have not mentioned; remember those who have departed, in the true faith, from the time of the just Abel down to this day: make them rest in the land of the living, in thy kingdom, in the delights of paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, our holy fathers; where there is no sorrow, grief, nor lamentation, where the light of thy countenance beams on all sides and diffuses its brilliancy in every manner."

The fathers of the Council of Trullo, in Constantinople, in 692, quote this liturgy of St. James to refute the errors of the Armenians: in the ninth century, Charles the Bald, King of France, desired to see the mass celebrated according to this liturgy of that venerable Apostle. The *Agios O Theos* was first sung in Constantinople in 446, and this, together with an addition of Peter Fullo, the chief of the Theopaschites in 463, was joined to this formulary, [and] the circumstance of those additions has caused some hypercritics, who wished to destroy the evidence of doctrine contained in the document, to endeavor to show that no part of it could have come from St. James; the contrary, however, is now too fully proved. The Patriarchs of Constantinople have generally succeeded in procuring the substitution of the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, even in many parts of Syria, for that of St. James.

The liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is so called rather from having been revised than compiled by him, and it has always been the principal one in use at Constantinople and the Churches which adhered to that See in its schism, as well as amongst the Catholic Greeks in Russia and Italy, [and] in the Turkish empire. It has a commemoration of the living and of the dead, whether the latter be saints in heaven or suffering in purgatory. They are blended together for the purpose, as Casibalas says, of exhibiting the perfect communion of all portions of the Church. Le Brun, the erudite and indefatigable collector of liturgies, makes the same remark. Having so done, the office then separates each portion, praying for the living and for the suffering dead, and celebrating the memory and seeking the prayers of the saints in heaven.

"*The commemoration of the living and the dead.*

"*We offer*, moreover, this reasonable worship *for those who are departed from us in the faith*, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, chaste persons, and all others perfected in faith: *with a loud voice:* especially for the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all, and most glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.

"*The choir sing the praises of the blessed Virgin: the deacon incenses the altar, takes the dyptics or registers, and makes a commemoration of the living and the dead.*

"*The priest says in a low voice:* Saint John the Baptist, the prophet and precursor of our Redeemer, the holy and glorious Apostles, Saint N. whose memory we celebrate and all other saints, for the sake of whose prayers, grant us, O Lord, thy protection, and remember those who died in the hope of a resurrection to eternal life.

"*The priest prays for some living persons, in particular, and says:* for the health, and protection and remission of the sins of N. the servant of God. *For the dead he says:*

"For the rest and deliverance of the soul of thy servant N. that it may rest in a place of light, where there is no sorrow nor mourning, but where it may rejoice, O Lord God, in the light of thy countenance.

"*The priest turns to the door, and blessing, with a loud voice, says:* may the mercy of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, be with you all: *the choir:* and with thy spirit.

"*The deacon.* Celebrating the memory of all the Saints, let us again pray to the Lord, on account of the precious gifts now offered, that our merciful God, who hath received them on his heavenly and intellectual altar, may send down upon us his divine grace, the gift of the Holy Ghost: *the choir:* Lord have mercy on us. *The priest prays in a low voice, that the heavenly gifts may draw down on us all spiritual graces, and turn not to our condemnation.*"

The liturgy of St. Basil is a very ancient document, and in extensive use, particularly in the Egyptian and some Eastern Churches. The father, whose name it bears, died in 379, but he only regulated in a more definite form what had come down to him from the Apostles. The anaphora or canon of offering or oblation of this, is preserved by the Coptic Churches, together with the ancient prayers of the office used by St. Mark the Evangelist, who was the first Bishop of Alexandria;

and indeed St. Basil's Anaphora does not differ much in form, and by no means in doctrine, from the ancient Alexandrian or Coptic, which is called that of St. Mark. I shall here give two extracts.

The first commendation of the dead:

"Remember, also, O Lord, all those of the priestly order, and those of the laity, who have slept and are already at rest; *vouchsafe, O Lord, to grant rest to their souls*, in the bosom of holy Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; lead them into verdant pastures, upon the waters of refreshment, and to a paradise of delights, remote from grief of heart, sorrow and mourning, to the glorious light of thy Saints."

"*The deacon says the Dyptics* and recites the names of the dead.*

"*After the dyptics the priest says:* Grant, O Lord, that those, whose souls thou hast received, may rest in thy heavenly kingdom; but for us, who sojourn upon earth, preserve us in thy faith, and give us always thy peace. *People.* As it was, &c. *Priest.* Direct us to thy kingdom, that in this as well as in all other things, thy holy, glorious and blessed name may be hallowed, glorified, praised and sanctified, together with thy dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost."

In a subsequent commemoration of the living and the dead, is the following passage:

"Preserve the living by the angel of peace, and grant, O Lord, that the souls of the departed may rest in the bosom of our holy fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in a paradise of pleasure," &c.

The liturgy of St. Clement though probably not written by him, was, if not received from him, conformable to his doctrine, and is a very old document. In this, after commemorating the Martyrs, prayers are offered up for those who have died in the faith.

The Ambrosian liturgy was probably in use in the Church of Milan, long before the time of St. Ambrose who became Bishop in the middle of the fourth century, but having been probably revised by him it bears his name; in it is a long prayer for the repose of the faithful departed.

The Roman Missal which has been preserved with the greatest care, and whose canon is of high antiquity has the following:

"Be mindful also, O Lord, of thy servants, men and women, N. and N. who are gone before us with the sign of faith and rest in the sleep of peace. *He joins his hands, and prays a little while for those departed, whom he intends to pray for; then stretching out his hands he proceeds:* to these, O Lord, and to all who sleep in Christ, grant we beseech thee, a place of refreshment, light and peace. *He joins his hands and bows his head.* Through the same Christ. our Lord. Amen."

The Mozarabic liturgy, is that which was used in Spain during a long period: its name is an abbreviation of Moorish and Arabic, which is explained by its history.

F. Le Brun has shown, that during the first four centuries the Roman order was followed in Spain; in the fifth the Goths took possession of that country. But the Goths, before they fell into Arianism, received from the East, and especially from Constantinople, the Christian faith, and consequently the Greek *liturgy*. Martin, Archbishop of Braga; John, Bishop of Gironna; S. Leander, Archbishop of Seville; all of whom contributed to the conversion of the Goths about the close of the sixth century, were educated in the East. They were, therefore, induced to preserve the Gothic *liturgy*, which came from that part, and which was conformable to the Gallican, followed in Narbonic Gaul, where the Goths ruled as well as in Spain.

Hence it follows, that S. Leander and S. Isidore of Seville, his brother, in drawing up the liturgy of Spain, did not alter the substance, which existed before them; they merely added some prayers, collects, and prefaces relating to the Gospels and to the different days of the year. But the sense of the prayers, the essential rites, the oblation, consecration, adoration of the Eucharist, the communion, &c. are the same. The consequences resulting from them are not different. The Gothic liturgy was retained in Spain by the Christians, who maintained their independence, after the invasion of the Moors or Arabs, until the year 1080, and it is from the intermixture of the Christians with the Moors, that the former were called *Mozarabes*. The Popes were obliged to exert themselves for more than thirty years, in succession, to get the Roman liturgy re-established in Spain.

The following is an extract from this old Spanish office:

"We offer thee, O Sovereign Father, this immaculate victim for thy holy Church, as the expiation for a prevaricating generation, for the purification of our souls, for the health of the infirm, for the indulgence and repose of the faithful departed, so that changing their abodes of sorrowful detention, they may enjoy the happy society of the just."

The Syrian Catholics retain the general features of the liturgy of St. James, but in place of that passage of it which we have before given, their office contains the following:

* Registers containing the names of the living and the dead; the names were written on tables called *dyptics*, because they folded in two.

"We again make commemoration for all the departed who have died in the true faith, whether they have been members of the Church of this country, or from what other region soever they might have come before thee, our God, who art the Lord and master of all spirits and of all flesh. We pray, implore and supplicate the Christ our God, who hath received their souls, to make them by his mercy worthy of the pardon of their sins, and to bring them together with ourselves to his kingdom, and therefore we thrice say Kyrie eleison. *The priest bows down, prays for the dead, and then elevating his voice.* O God, the Lord of all spirits, and of all flesh, remember those whom we commemorate, and who have departed from this world in the true faith: give repose to their souls—making them worthy of that happiness which is tasted in the bosom of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, where the light of thy countenance shineth, and whence are banished grief, pains and lamentation. Enter not into judgment with thy servants, for no man can be justified in thy sight; since there is no one of those who dwelt upon the earth free from all sin and stain, unless it be Jesus Christ our Lord, thy only Son, through whom we hope for them and for ourselves mercy, and the remission of sins, through his merits."

When in the year 451 Eutyches was condemned in the Council of Chalcedon, he made many adherents in Syria and Egypt; vast numbers then separated themselves from the Catholic Church; and they who remained faithful were by the seceders called *Melchites;* from *Melchi*, the Hebrew and Syriac expression for a king or emperor, because they adhered to the imperial decree which commanded submission to the determination of the council. Previously to this they all used the same liturgy which they had received from what was to them even then remote antiquity. Since then the opposition between them is as great as that between the Catholics and any of the Protestant divisions of the west. Yet the heretical Syrians retain this same liturgy which is used by the Catholics, and testify that their fathers had it down from the apostolic days. So also do the Egyptians who are generally Eutychians, retain the liturgy of St. James, testifying that it came from Mark, James and Basil. In like manner the heretical Greeks subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople retain that of St. John Chrysostom and that of St. Basil, testifying to their great antiquity.

Thus we have full evidence of the high antiquity of those several public documents; and no evidence can better testify the religious belief of a people than their liturgy: I shall at present add but little more, though I might extend my remarks to considerable length. I shall give a few passages from the Armenian liturgy:

"Remember, O Lord, and be merciful and propitious to the departed souls, and in particular to those for whom we offer this sacrifice."

"*Another Prayer.*

"We ask that mention might be made in this sacrifice of all the faithful in general, men and women, young and old, who have died with the faith in Christ Jesus. *The Choir answers*, Remember them, O Lord, and have compassion upon them. *The Priest:* Grant them repose, light, and a place amidst thy saints in thy heavenly kingdom, and make them worthy of thy mercy. Remember, O Lord, and have compassion on the soul of thy servant N. according to thy great mercy. Remember also, O Lord, those who are recommended to our prayers whether they be living or dead, grant to them true goods in return, goods which shall not be fleeting."

Thus we see the firm and uniform belief of the persons of all nations and of the earliest ages who used those liturgies to be, 1st. That there is a Purgatory; and 2d. That the souls therein detained, are helped by the prayers and suffrages of the faithful.

I leave to any person of ordinary observation to draw the inference, whence this doctrine came.—We see Aerius who attempts to deny the efficacy of such prayers immediately ranked amongst the heretics. We do not find him quote a single document or authority of the preceding three centuries to give even a plausible appearance of truth to the assertion that his was the doctrine of the Apostles; and upon what shall we found this early, this universal, this continued and uninterrupted custom? Shall we not take up the maxim of St. Augustin? What is taught every where by all persons, at all times, and not instituted by any council, must have been derived from the Apostles and through them from Christ. I shall not now insist upon the application of this principle. But I have destroyed that position of White's which Bishop Kemp and his associates undertook to defend, "That TRADITION brought Purgatory to light about the time of the cessation of penitential discipline." I shall continue the examination of this subject.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 24, 1827.

LETTER XLII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—I proceed to show from documents of others than Catholics, that the doctrine of the earliest ages of the Church was, 1. That there is a Purgatory: 2. That the souls therein detained may be aided by the prayers and suffrages of the faithful. Before I proceed it will be proper for me to lay down a few principles upon the applica-

tion of which to the facts which I shall adduce, the conclusions will be properly drawn. First: when any number of persons separate from the Church, because of a difference in doctrine, and form a new society of their own, opposed to that from which they came out, neither division is disposed to adopt a new doctrine, or custom, for the purpose of gratifying the other: but each will be ready to proclaim aloud any innovation made by its opponent, and to reproach it with this new deviation from the ancient doctrine or practice delivered by Christ and his Apostles. Hence the silence of such parties where their opposition continues, and the opportunity of observation exists, together with the power of proclaiming the change, is strong presumptive evidence that no such change occurred: this will extend to observances apparently trifling and of no moment, and much more so to those which are important and essential; thus the Greek separatists amongst other things objected to the Latin Priests and Bishops even the circumstance that they deviated from the Apostolic custom of wearing their beards.

Second: When the separatists who profess to cast off the errors of those from whom they departed, preserve any of the liturgy of the original body, and continue its use, and hold it in high esteem, they profess thereby that this portion of the liturgy is free from the alleged errors of the body from which the separation was made; and in like manner when they continue the observance of an ancient custom, it is a declaration that this custom is not founded upon error. Thus when the Methodists retain in Great Britain a portion of the articles and liturgy of the Established Church, and reject another portion, it is on their part, a testimony that the portion which they retain is in their opinion free from error.

Third: When at the period of separation, each division is zealous in the condemnation of the other, and both are agreed that a common doctrine or doctrinal custom has come to them from the proper source, which is Christ and his Apostles; they must be correct in their conclusion, or not sufficiently informed upon the subject: because the person who could show that the division to which he was zealously opposed held an erroneous doctrine as truth, would immediately proclaim the fact for the injury of those to injure whose system his zeal was burning. Hence the full agreement of both argues either the truth of the doctrine, or the ignorance of the believers.

Fourth: All the Churches of the East and West, Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, &c., could not have been so completely ignorant of the history of their Churches, of the testimony of their founders, of the doctrine of the Apostles, and of the meaning of the Gospel as to have in their liturgies, on their most solemn occasions, used prayers for the dead as an apostolic usage founded upon the doctrine of Christ; if such usage was not apostolic and founded upon that doctrine: because though we might suppose ignorance or corruption to have predominated in one or two of those divisions; yet common sense will forbid us to suppose it could have been spread so generally through them all as to involve them all in so gross and so general a delusion.

Fifth: The force of these principles will appear much more powerful and efficacious, when we multiply the obstacles to a collusion in error, by multiplying the divisions of Christians who having separated from the original Church were not only opposed to her, but also to each other: and in such a case the union of their testimony in favor of the truth and apostolic origin or sanction of any one of her doctrines or doctrinal customs, must be the very strongest species of evidence in favor of her fidelity in preserving unchanged that which had been entrusted to her care.

Sixth: Allow me to add to these, the total inability of those persons who charge the Church with having introduced the doctrine at an intermediate period, to name the person by whom, the period when, or the place in which the introduction was made.

I shall now adduce some facts, which I leave to you as applicable to the principles just enumerated. I shall commence with the Church of England.

When Henry VIII separated that Church from the Catholic world, neither he nor his parliament nor his clergy, made any change in the doctrine or practice on this head. In the first edition of the Common Prayer, which was put forth under the reign of King Edward VI, after some change of doctrine, still the following was retained in the Burial service:

"*Then the Priest casting earth upon the corpse, shall say,* I commend this soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground, &c."

But as this commending of the soul was not suited to the new doctrine which was gradually introduced, that prayers for the dead were of no avail, so it was after a time disused, and the form now in use substituted.

"*Then while earth shall be cast upon the body by some standing by, the Priest shall say:* Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God,

of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground, Earth to Earth, &c."

Here we perceive the change of liturgy with the change of doctrine, but in order to accustom the people gradually to the change, the whole was not made at once, and therefore in the first book of Edward VI, we also find the following two prayers which were subsequently omitted, and were not in the amended Common Prayer:

"*Let us pray.*

"We commend into thy hands of mercy, (most merciful Father) the soul of this our brother departed, N. And his body we commit to the earth, beseeching thine infinite goodness to give us grace to live in thy fear and love, and to die in thy favor; that when the judgment shall come which thou hast committed to thy well beloved Son, both this our brother, and we, may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receiving that blessing which thy well beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear thee, saying, Come ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you before the beginning of the world. Grant this merciful Father, for the honor of Jesus Christ our only Saviour, Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

"*This prayer shall also be added.*

"Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks for this thy servant, whom thou hast delivered from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation: and as we trust, hast brought his soul, which he committed into thy hands, into sure consolation and rest: grant, we beseech thee, that at the day of judgment his soul, and all the souls of the elect departed out of this life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive the promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord."

And after the lesson from 1 Cor. chap. xv, and the Lord's Prayer, the same book contained the following which the Common Prayer omitted:

"*Priest.* Enter not, O Lord, into judgment with thy servant.

"*Answer.* For in thy sight no living creature shall be justified.

"*Priest.* From the gates of hell.

"*Answer.* Deliver their souls, O Lord.

"*Priest.* I believe to see the goodness of the Lord.

"*Answer.* In the land of the living.

"*Priest.* O Lord, graciously hear my prayer.

"*Answer.* And let my cry come unto thee.

"*Let us pray.*

"O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burthen of the flesh, be in joy and felicity; grant unto this servant, that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he escaping the gates of hell, and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light with *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow nor heaviness, and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible; set him on the right hand of thy Son Jesus Christ, among thy holy and elect, that then he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words, Come ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which had been prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer. *Amen.*"

The same first book of Edward VI contained also a celebration of the holy eucharist, or holy communion, when there is a burial of the dead; that the people might be gradually weaned from the Mass for the repose of the soul of the deceased. But though under Elizabeth the liturgy was changed, yet the clergy during her reign still took the Oblations and Doles or alms on behalf of the deceased, and L'Estrange tells us, that they used to receive the money in the reign of Charles I. I cannot say whether they do at present, but mortuary money is still by law a due to the Protestant Clergy of England.

In the second year of Elizabeth, the anniversary services for the repose of the souls of the benefactors of Eton and Winchester Colleges were converted into services of thanksgiving to God for their endowment.

The only additional change I believe, made by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in the case, is the substitution of one Psalm for two.

Thus we perceive that a change of liturgy and a change of doctrine, as I have above expressed, go hand in hand. Thus when Henry VIII denied the Pope's supremacy, Bishop Burnet informs us regarding the Mass-Book, that the alterations were so small that there was no need of reprinting it; a few erasures of those collects in which the Pope was prayed for, the office of St. Thomas of Canterbury, (Becket) and of a few other saints with whom Henry was displeased, sufficed.

I now proceed to unchanged liturgies, and consequently to unaltered doctrines.

The Greeks who are separated from the universal communion have made their decisive separation at the time of Photius, in 867, although several attempts at reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church have been occasionally made since that time. They

generally acknowledge the Patriarch of Constantinople to be the head of their Church; though the Dukes and Czars of Muscovy, and Emperors of Russia, have succeeded latterly, in making the Russian portion of that body a separate Church, dependent upon themselves, still they use the same liturgy and follow generally the same practices, as their belief is the same.

The two principal liturgies used by the Greeks, who are subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, are those of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom. There can be no doubt but St. Basil was the real author or the digester of the former; as to the second, it was ascribed to St. Chrysostom, only three hundred years after his death. It appears, that it is the ancient liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, which was called the "Liturgy of the Apostles" till the sixth century. The latter is used throughout the year, and contains the whole order of the Mass; the other, the prayers of which are longer, is used only on some particular days. There is a third, which is called the "Mass of the Presanctified," because there is no consecration, as with us, on Good Friday; the priest does not consecrate, but communicates with the sacrament consecrated on Holy Thursday. The prayers of that Mass appear less ancient than those of the foregoing.

F. Le Brun has given the prayers and the order of the ceremonies of St. John Chrysostom's liturgy. It is used in all the Greek Churches of the Ottoman Empire, which are subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and in those of Poland and Russia. As to the Greeks, who have Churches in Italy, they have made some alterations in that liturgy. The Patriarchs of Constantinople have even succeeded in getting it adopted in the patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, by the Christian Melchites, who in the fifth century, rejected the Eutychian heresy. Although in all those countries the Greek language is not understood, yet the Greek liturgy is universally followed; but on account of the few clergymen who are able to read it, they are often obliged to celebrate Mass in the Arabic language.

I have in my last letter shown that prayer for the dead is found in both those offices. I am aware that attempts have been made to persuade persons that the Greeks did not believe in the existence of Purgatory; and although I have before explained the difference between them and the Latins on this subject, I shall take this occasion of again doing it explicitly. The Greeks have no distinct idea of what state of suffering the soul undergoes, and some amongst them believe, that no soul goes to heaven before the period of the general resurrection: but they do believe that such souls as owe any thing to divine justice must have it expiated by suffering before the day of judgment, and they believe that prayers and suffrages will tend to this expiation, and therefore they do offer them for the relief of the deceased. In this they fully accord with the decision of the Council of Trent. "1. That there is a Purgatory." And "2. That the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful." This is all which we are required to believe for faith: and this they firmly believe, and therefore preserve unchanged that service which they assert, as we agree, has come down to them from the Apostles. But some of the Latins are of opinion that Purgatory is a special and definite place, and that the purgation is by fire. The Greeks say that this opinion is not well founded, and in saying this there is a difference of opinion, but no difference of faith between the Greek and Latin. Thus whilst the Greeks reproached the Latins with shaving their beards, refusing to ordain married men, consecrating in unleavened bread, fasting on Saturdays, eating milkmeats in the first week of Lent, adding the particle *Filioque* to the creed, &c., they never charged them with error in praying for the dead, but they continue the prayer and the masses for the benefit of the deceased of their communion, and assert that in so doing, they only follow the maxims of the Gospel, and the injunctions of the Apostles.

The Eutychians were separated from the Church at the Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451, and a vast portion of Syria and Egypt embraced the errors of Eutyches. The ancient Egyptians had the liturgy in their own language, chiefly compiled from the offices of St. Mark, St. James and St. Cyril of Alexandria; this language is now known as the Coptic. The Syrians had that of St. James. The Eutychians in Syria and Egypt still use those same liturgies, unchanged in all that regards prayer for the dead; which they and the Catholics agree was found in the books, and used by their predecessors before the Council of Chalcedon, and which their fathers received as having come from the Apostles. Thus, although separated from the Church nearly fourteen centuries, they testify its belief upon this point at the day of their unfortunate secession.

The Armenians were drawn into the Eutychian heresy in the year 525, by James Baradœus, or Zanzales, [but] a great portion of them have returned to the Catholic communion: their liturgy was given to them by St. Gregory the Illuminator, in the 4th cen-

tury, and both Catholics and Jacobites retain in it the prayers for the dead.

The Malabar Christians, or as they are sometimes called, "of St. Thomas," were discovered by the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and are a branch of the Nestorians. The following are extracts from their liturgy, which must correspond with that of the Chaldean Nestorians, subject to the Patriarch of Babylon, whom the Christians of St. Thomas looked upon as their head.

"*Prayers for the Dead.*

"Let us remember the faithful, our fathers and brethren, who departed from this world in the orthodox faith; let us, I say, beseech the Lord to absolve and forgive them their sins and transgressions, and make them worthy to rejoice, for ever, with the just and upright, who obeyed the will of God."

"*The Blessing at Masses for the dead.*

"Hear, O my Lord, the voice of my prayer, let our supplications come in before thee and receive our sacrifice and oblations, and be merciful to the sins of our brethren departed."

Nestorius was condemned in the Council of Ephesus in 431, and a large portion of the East, particularly Mesopotamia, and Persia embraced his errors.

The Syrian liturgy of St. James, is that which is in general use amongst them, and they have always retained the prayers for the dead, and continue to use them.

Let us then look to this body of Christians separated during fourteen centuries from the Catholic Church, hating the Eutychians and hated by them, separated from the Greek Church, which they anathematize, and from the Latin Church, whose language they do not understand, from whose ceremonial they differ, and which they still proclaim as their unjust condemner: what but the strong evidence of well established truth can teach them an union of testimony. They produce their ancient records; they show a custom in which they were united before their differences originated; when their fathers held the doctrine delivered to them by the Apostles. Latin, Greek, Egyptian, Armenian, Syrian, Chaldean, Persian, Muscovite and Indian, Nestorian, Eutychian, Greek Catholic, schismatic and heretic, proclaim that the original liturgies which have been received from the Apostles, contain those prayers and suffrages which they desired should be offered for the benefit of the suffering dead: and with such a host of evidence as this before him, the Rev. Joseph Blanco White tells us that "Purgatory was brought to light by Tradition upon the cessation of canonical penance," and Bishop Kemp of Maryland, with a collection of every description of clergymen in his rear, proclaims to the Protestants of the United States, that they may rely upon the testimony of Blanco White!!!

My friends, I have dwelt long upon this topic, but I must pursue it still farther, because I desire at least, upon one subject of doctrine, to afford our Right Rev. and Rev. opponents a fair opportunity of defending White, if they can, and I have intentionally selected as a point for their assault, that which they generally proclaim to be the most foolish and absurd in our system, as they are pleased to call it. I shall therefore have to keep them to Purgatory for some time yet.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 1, 1827.

LETTER XLIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—It is conceded by the most learned of our opponents, that the custom of praying for the dead is certainly as old as the second century of the Church, and the belief in the existence of purgatory is acknowledged by all persons to have been pretty general in the fourth century. I shall now proceed to show that our doctrine is that of the New Testament. An ancient Christian writer stated, that to quote texts of Scripture for the purpose of proving any doctrine against heretics was, to say the least, useless, if not mischievous: for, added he, if they cannot by some ingenuity make the text by which they are condemned lose its force, they will deny its right to a place in the book, and, if necessary, will even deny the book which contains it to be canonical. When I state, then, that I will prove the doctrine of purgatory to be contained in the New Testament, I am very far from asserting that our adversaries will admit my proofs to be good: it would be unreasonable to expect this from persons who seriously assure us that the words "this is my body," mean "this is not my body," and that "the gates of hell shall never prevail against it," mean, "the gates of hell shall prevail against it," or who calmly assert that "whosesoever sins you shall remit are remitted to them," mean "whosesoever sins you shall remit, are not remitted to them." Thus I do not intend to create in you the hope that such persons will acknowledge the doctrine of purgatory to be contained in the New Testament: yet I assert that it is found in this divine book.

But why, it will be asked, will not their opinion, as to the meaning of a text, be of equal authority with mine? I admit the opinion of any one of them to be entitled to as much weight as is mine: but the question is

not to be decided by either their opinion or by mine. The words of the sacred text have a precise and a determined meaning, intended by the Holy Ghost, and neither they nor I can make that meaning different from what it really is: and it is now the same that it was from the beginning, for the sense of the Holy Ghost continues unaltered and unalterable. This true meaning is the true doctrine or word of God, and it is what he designed to teach to man, and is frequently very different from that similitude of meaning which opponents can force upon words. St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, informs us how this true meaning is to be ascertained. This great man was born about the year 120, and was educated in the Christian doctrine by St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, and was the senior of Irenæus by about 40 years. Irenæus also learned from Papias and other companions of the Apostles, and was himself styled by Tertullian "the most diligent searcher of all doctrines." In his works, lib. iv, chapter 63, we read:

"This recognition is the true doctrine of the Apostles, and the ancient state of the Church in the whole world, and the character of the body of Christ, according to the succession of the Bishops, to whom they delivered that Church which is in every place; which has come down unto us, preserved without fiction, by the most full examination of the Scriptures, neither receiving addition nor diminution, and a reading without corruption, and a lawful and diligent exposition according to the Scriptures, both without danger and without blasphemy, and the chief gift of charity, which is more precious than the recognition, more glorious than prophecy, super-eminent above all gifts."*

The true knowledge of the meaning of the sacred text is, according to this, to be found by the full explanation of the writing according to that ancient doctrine of the Apostles, recognised by the testimony of the general body of the successors of the Apostles in every place. One or two, a few might err; or they might give arbitrary and novel explanations, but the true meaning is recognised by the testimony of the whole body to whose care the text and its meaning were entrusted by the Apostles.

Theodoret, in his Dialogue 1, gives us the same principle:

"Those men were the successors of the Apostles, and some amongst them were accustomed to the enjoyment of their sacred and admirable presence, many of them have been adorned with the crowns of martyrdom. Does it then appear lawful for you to brandish your blasphemous and evil tongue against them."†

* See Appendix, Note BG. † Ibid. BH.

I shall then, in explaining the passages of Scripture which I shall adduce, not give my own opinion, but the testimony of such men as those, to show the meaning; and hence it will not be the opinion of B. C. opposed to the opinion of any modern separatist, as to the true meaning of the text, but it will be the testimony of those ancient and venerable witnesses, from and through whom we have received the Scriptures themselves, as to the meaning of that sacred book of whose integrity and contents they are made the witnesses to us: and thus we do not interpret this venerable document by our own private judgment, but by the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and we do not give our own private opinions, but the ancient, public testimony of the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles.

The first text is found in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chap. xii, 31, 32:

"Therefore I say to you: Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men; but the blasphemy of the Spirit shall not be forgiven. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him: but he that shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come."

The early doctors and pastors of the Church, explaining this expression of our Saviour, repeatedly declare that its distinct meaning is, that the sin which he so emphatically condemns, is one whose guilt and punishment will remain to eternity, and not be forgiven, either during man's mortal term, or after his death, in that new state of existence upon which he will enter, and in which many other sins of less heinous character are forgiven by the mercy of God, and by means of the prayers and suffrages of the Church and of her children. Amongst them are St. Augustine in his xxist book "Of the City of God," chapter 24, and in his book vi against Julian, chap. 5; St. Gregory in his book iv of Dialogues, chap. 39; Venerable Bede on chap. iii of Mark. And when in the twelfth century the Petrobrussians denied the doctrine of purgatory and the use of praying for the dead, St. Bernard, in his homily lxvi, on the Canticles, quoted this text as having been always an evidence of the doctrine, as did also Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluny, in his Epistle against them.

Another testimony of the New Testament is found in Matthew, chapter v, 25, 26, and Luke, chapter xii, 58, 59.

"And when thou goest with thy adversary to the prince, whilst thou art in the way endeavor to be delivered from him: lest perhaps he draw thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the exactor, and the exactor cast thee into pri-

son. I say to thee, thou shalt not go out thence until thou pay the very last mite."

In the first of those places it is related that our Saviour used the expression in reference to the persons whom he charged to be reconciled with their enemies before they laid their gifts on the altar: in the second, he gives it as a sequel, to the admonition concerning the judgment which he must undergo, before the tribunal of God. Several of the earliest fathers testify to us that it was understood regarding purgatory, from which the soul accused by the law of God, of venial sins or of incomplete satisfaction, would not come out before the divine justice had been satisfied. Amongst those are Tertullian, in his book "Of the Soul," chap. xvii; St. Cyprian, Book iv, Ep. 2; Origen, Homily 35, on Luke; Eusebius, of Emessa, Homily 3, "On Epiphany;" St. Ambrose in his Comment on this paragraph in Luke xii; St. Jerom in chapter v, on Matthew.

In the fifth chapter of Matthew we also read the following passage:

"21. You have heard that it was said to them of old: Thou shalt not kill, and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgment. 22. But I say to you, that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of the judgment. And whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council. And whosoever shall say, thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire."

Amongst other commentators, St. Augustine, book i, chap. 19, "On the Sermon on the Mountain," explains this passage as denoting three grades of punishment for sin after death, of which only the last was eternal, the other two temporary, or purgatory.

In the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke, v. 9, we read:

"And I say unto you: Make unto you friends of the mammon of iniquity; that when you shall fail, they may receive you into everlasting dwellings."

The ancient writers, in this passage, understood that by the expression of the Saviour, "when you shall fail," he meant, "when you shall die," and by the words "friends" he meant the "saints," who themselves dwelt in the sacred abodes. Hence St. Ambrose, in his comment upon this passage, and St. Augustine, in his book xxi, "Of the City of God," chapter 27, states the doctrine herein taught to be, that alms given to those who are holy, will be extremely profitable to the donor, as they being saints in heaven, will, after his death, aid him by their prayers: and from this very passage, St. Augustine takes occasion to state, that of those who die, some are very holy, and are immediately after death received into heaven, and can there by their prayers aid others; whilst some are so wicked, that after their death, they neither can aid or be aided; but are eternally lost: and finally that some are in that middle state, who, at the time of death, are not found deserving eternal punishment, nor sufficiently prepared for immediate admittance into heaven; and they are received into everlasting dwellings through the prayers of their friends.

In the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, v. 24, St. Peter says of our blessed Saviour.

"Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the sorrows of hell, as it was impossible that he should be holden by it."

I would not have quoted this passage were it not for the purpose of making a remark upon the difference of reading, and of the versions. I have quoted according to the Vulgate. The Greek copies have given occasion to a very curious exhibition of this verse, "having loosed from the sorrows of death." It is clear the Saviour was not loosed therefrom, because he died upon the cross: and in the state subsequent to the pangs of death we know of no sorrow save that of hell, whether this expression means the place of eternal torments, or only a place of temporary pain. The body which lies in the grave feels no pain, has no sorrow. The ancient fathers, particularly Epiphanius and Augustine, who gave it, "loosed from the sorrows of hell," state that the pains of purgatory are meant, and not only that Christ was himself free from their pain, as it was impossible he should be detained by it, but that on this occasion having gone as St. Peter stated in his Epistle, to preach to the spirits in prison, he released several who were enduring those pains. The Syriac copy corresponds with the Vulgate, and St. Polycarp and other very ancient authors use the same expressions, with us: the Greek is of very little, if any authority as an original, for it has not been preserved with sufficient care, or by sufficient witnesses: but this is not the place to enter upon such a question.

In the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chapter iii, we read the following passage commencing at the close of v. 9, and ending at the close of v. 15.

"You are God's building. According to the grace of God, that is given to me, as a wise architect, I have laid the foundation: and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon. For other foundation no man can lay but that which is laid: which is Christ Jesus. Now, if any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble: every man's work shall be manifest, for the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in fire: and

the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire."

The context, as well as the great body of ancient commentators, shows us the general sense of the passage to refer to the preachers and teachers of Corinth, where St. Paul laid the doctrine of Christ as the foundation for their labors: some of them, in pure sincerity of heart, raised a valuable superstructure by their exertions upon this foundation, and in the day of their appearing for judgment before the Lord, not only would their labors stand the scrutinizing fire of his judgment; but they should be rewarded. Some others, who continued indeed, faithful to the doctrine of truth, not leaving the foundation, raised upon it a superstructure in which there was much of vanity, the pride of human learning, vain philosophy, and other imperfections of our weak nature which could not endure the searching fire of God's judgment. They should, therefore, suffer loss of their labor, and would, as persons in a house which the fire was consuming, endeavor to escape; in this they should succeed, because they had not grievous offences to condemn them; they would be saved, but like persons escaping from a fire, having suffered loss and endured pain and affliction, which their more virtuous fellow ministers had escaped. That this endurance of theirs would be in the other world, after the judgment which succeeded their death, in the day of the Lord, when their works would be tried, that it would also be temporary, and succeeded by salvation, which is our doctrine of purgatory, is then the meaning of the Holy Ghost in this passage of St. Paul: such was the belief of the Church in her earliest days, as is testified by St. Cyprian in an allusion which he makes to the text in book iv, Ep. 2 to Antonianus; by St. Ambrose in his commentary upon this text, and in his Sermon 20, on Ps. cxviii; St. Jerom on chap. iv, of the prophet Amos; St. Augustine in his Explication of Ps. xxxvii, and in a remark upon the text itself, and several others.

In the same epistle, chapter xv, 29, we read:

"Otherwise, what shall they do that are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not again at all? Why are they then baptized for them?"

Respecting this text, there is considerable difference concerning what is meant by the Apostle in these words "baptized for the dead." There was, about a century after his death, a custom of some Montanists, Marcionites, and Cerinthians, which was occasioned by the common usage of the Church, which they witnessed but turned to bad account. The orthodox friends of the deceased, prayed and made suffrages and alms on his account; frequently they placed those alms upon the grave, that the poor who there found relief might pray for the repose of his soul. The heretics above mentioned, not only did all this, but if the deceased died without baptism, they procured another to be baptized for him, and in his name, that he might obtain the benefit of the sacrament. But this error did not exist in the time of St. Paul, and therefore the allusion is not made thereto: besides, the Apostle writes in approbation of what he alludes to, and he would not approve of this error. The great body of commentators leads us to behold in the baptism which is here mentioned, one of those which St. Paul alludes to in the sixth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews, where he says:

"Wherefore leaving the word of the beginning of Christ, let us go on to things more perfect, not laying again the foundation of penance from dead works, and of faith towards God, of the doctrine of *baptisms*, and imposition of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment."

In this place he speaks of baptisms in the plural number, whereas in his Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. iv, 5, he tells us "One Lord, one faith, *one baptism*." In this latter place he speaks of the sacrament which began then to be called *baptism* by excellence, and to which alone the name was soon applied, in such manner as that it is seldom given to any thing else. There were, however, several baptisms or purifications amongst the Jews; and there was the baptism of John the precursor of Christ, which was generally known as the baptism of penance, as being accompanied with those penitential exercises that were joined to repentance for sins in the Jewish nation: it is so called by St Paul at Antioch, (Acts xiii, 24,) and at Ephesus (xix, 4.) Our blessed Saviour speaks of another sort of baptism, one of suffering, in Mark x, 38, 39:

"Can you drink of the chalice that I drink of, or be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am baptized? But they said to him: we can. And Jesus saith to them: you shall indeed drink of the chalice that I drink of: and with the baptism wherewith I am baptized, you shall be baptized."

And in Luke xii, 50:

"And I have a baptism wherewith I am to be baptized: and how am I straitened until it be accomplished!

Thus we find three descriptions of baptism: that of washing; that of penance, to which the name was applicable whether it

was accompanied with the purification or ablution with which the Jews generally accompanied and always concluded their penitential exercises [or not]; and that of suffering, which the Saviour came to undergo, and in which, several of his martyrs followed. Upon this view, "Baptism for the dead" means doing works of penance and prayer, to entreat mercy and pardon for the departed faithful. And the argument of St. Paul, is a proof of the belief in the resurrection exhibited by those who pray and do penance for the relief of the dead, which custom of penitential prayer for the dead, was common in the days of the Apostles, and as I shall hereafter show, in the days of our Saviour, and in the true Church before the coming of Christ. In this point of view, we have full evidence of the doctrine being contained in those passages which I have quoted, as it is in several others in the New Testament which I have omitted. I shall therefore in my next pass on to show that the evidence of this doctrine is contained in the Old Testament, and that it was one of the articles of true religion before the coming of the Saviour. Hence so far from having been brought to light by tradition at the time of the disuse of canonical penances, which was about seven, or eight, or ten centuries after the birth of our Saviour; I shall show that it was believed by the faithful, seven or eight or ten centuries before that period, and thence to the present day, as I have shown it to have been recognized, and alluded to by our blessed Lord and his Apostles; but it was no more necessary for the founder of the Christian law to have given a new revelation upon the subject, than to have given it upon the spirituality and immortality of the human soul, which like the doctrine of purgatory, were known and believed during previous centuries.

I remain, yours, &c.,

B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 8, 1827.

LETTER XLIV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—My first object in this letter is to show you that the doctrine of Purgatory is older than Christianity, and therefore, when the Rev. Joseph Blanco White asserted that "on the cessation of penitential discipline, tradition having about the same time brought purgatory to light, offered an ample scope to the power of the Roman keys," if he meant that it was then a new doctrine, his assertion was grossly erroneous; next, I desire to show that this was the doctrine of the true believers previous to the coming of the Redeemer, and therefore, if it was then true, it must continue still to be a sound doctrine, except there exists some sufficient evidence of its having been changed by an alteration in the mode of God's proceedings towards those who are placed in judgment before him. This evidence ought to be produced by those who would make the assertion, for, until then, it is fairly supposed not to exist.

The Jewish people at present use the following, amongst other prayers, at the interment of their deceased friends:

"*At the interment of a man.*

1st.

"Omnipotent God of life! we pray thee have mercy over him, thou King of the universe; for with thee is the centre of life: O may he continually be led in the land of the living: And may his soul receive rest in the bundle of life.

2d.

"O may the Gracious, in his many mercies, forgive his sins: and may his good works be present in his sight, and may be placed in his view, together with all his faithful ones, and may he be led in his presence in the land of the living.

3d.

"O may he have a good memorial before his rock, that he may inherit of the riches of him who formed him, that he may approach to his light, to remain in his vision, and in the vision of his word: since my covenant of life and peace was with him, therefore let his soul receive rest in the bundle of life.

4th.

"O mayest thou find the gates of heaven open, and mayest thou behold the city of Peace, and the dwelling place of the trusty, and may the angels of peace approach thee joyful, and the High Priest standing ready to receive thee; and mayest thou go to thy end and receive thy firm stand and rest.

5th.

"May thy soul go to the cave of Machpela, and thence to the cherubim where God will guide it; and there Pinkas will receive thee into the Garden of Eden, its desired path, and there wilt thou behold the pillar drawn from above, and wilt thou be highly exalted and not remain without: and mayest thou go to thy end, and receive thy firm stand and rest.

6th.

"Michael shall open the gates of the sanctuary and offer thy soul as an offering before God; and there will be joined with thee the redeeming angel, until the gates of the pleasant place where Israel is. In this pleasant place mayest thou merit to stand, and mayest thou go to thy end and receive thy firm stand and rest.

7th.

"O may thy soul be bound in the bundle of life, together with the heads of the colleges and captivity, with the Israelites, Priests and Levites, and with the seven companions of the just and perfected, and in the garden of Eden may-

est thou receive thy firm stand and delight, and thou go to thy end, and thou wilt receive thy firm stand and rest."

In this part of the service, we find that God is besought to have mercy on the soul of a person who has been already judged; and the object of the prayer is to obtain for that soul rest in the bundle of life, that is amongst the congregated saints in the rest of life, amongst those who are not afflicted by any thing which could disturb their repose. Next God is besought to forgive sins which might be as yet against this judged man and obstacles to his entering into the land of the living amongst the faithful, or in the bundle of life: next, the petition is for his being brought to an approach to light, which presupposes existence in darkness: the petition is also to have this person go to the end, and not be stayed in the passage, and that he may receive a firm stand, and not an unstable and transitory habitation; the special places mentioned in the next passage shew the belief of such an intermediate place through which persons pass before they arrive at this firm stand and rest.

For an eminent person there is a special prayer, in which the same principle is found, as may be seen by the following extract:

"An established repose, in the celestial abode, under the wings of the divine presence, according to the degree of the holy and pure, who shine as the refulgent splendor of the firmament: a renewal of strength; expiation of trespasses; removal of transgression; and approach of salvation, compassion and favor, from the presence of him who dwelleth on high: may it be granted, that in the goodly part of the future state, there may be the portion and tranquil abode of the soul of the good person named, A. B. May the spirit of God lead him into Paradise, being now departed from this world according to the will of God, the Eternal Self-Existent of heaven and earth. May the supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercy, have mercy on him, pity and compassionate him. May the supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercy hide him under the shadow of his wings, and in the sacred place of his tabernacle; to behold the beauty of the Eternal Self-Existent, and to inquire in his temple: may he raise him at the end of days: and cause him to drink of the brook of his dainties. May he cause his soul to be bound up in the bundle of life; and his rest to be glorious. May the Eternal Self-Existent be his inheritance; and grant him peace: and may his repose be in peace: as it is written, he shall come in peace: they shall rest in their beds: every one walking in his uprightness. May he, and all his people of Israel, who lay in the dust, be included in mercy and forgiveness. And may it thus be acceptable, and let us say, *Amen*."

The whole tenor of this prayer manifests the doctrine of "expiation of trespasses," "removal of transgression," and "approach to salvation," and prayer offered by the living to obtain those blessings, together with the repose, in peace, and life for the persons who are dead.

The following, which contains the same principle, is said for women:

"O most merciful! to whom mercy appertaineth; and by whose fiat the worlds were created: both this and the future one; in which are deposited the souls of the righteous and pious women, who performed his will. May he, by his word, glory and power, command the ascension of the memorial of the worthy, modest, and virtuous woman, A. B., into his presence; may the spirit of God lead her into paradise, being now departed from this world, according to the will of God, the Lord of heaven and earth. May the Supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercy, pity and compassionate her, and grant her peace; and may her repose be in peace; as it is written, he shall come in peace: they shall rest in their beds: every one walking in his uprightness. May she and all the daughters of Israel, who sleep in the dust with her, be included in mercy and forgiveness. And may it thus be acceptable, and let us say, *Amen*."

Whoever reads those prayers attentively must see that they are not only for the comfort of the survivors, but for the benefit of the deceased.

I shall now add a few observations, to make it more manifest, if possible, that the doctrine upon which those prayers and other Jewish observances is founded, is similar to ours.

During the seven days subsequent to the death of any member, a number of the nation, at least ten, assemble morning and evening, with the mourning family, to pray; and on each occasion of prayer, the prayer for the dead is repeated, beseeching of God to grant repose and peace to the departed soul.

After the seven days of retirement and affliction are passed away, the days are counted to the number of thirty from the decease, which are days also of mourning, and of devotion for the family, though the regular prayer has ceased at the end of the seventh.

The son of the deceased, or one substituted for him by adoption, attends the synagogue with more than usual punctuality until the anniversary, and there is a special prayer, which he says, more indeed of acknowledgment of God's justice, than to beseech mercy for the deceased.

I should therefore say, that the Jewish nation did not take up the custom of praying for the repose of the souls of their deceased friends from the Christians, but that they received it, together with their other customs.

from their ancestors; that those ancestors had the custom long before the Christian era; and that the doctrine of the utility of such prayer, existed in the ancient Jewish Church, which was the true Church of God; and not being a portion of the ritual or political code, but a doctrine of permanent truth, revealed by heaven, was always to be retained; and thus the Christian finding it not condemned or revealed by the Saviour, but alluded to and recognised by him, as I have shown in a former letter, caused no interruption to the practice, and not only observed the day of the interment, but, the third, the seventh, the thirtieth, and the anniversary days, and therefore those are not papistical observances, but some of the most ancient and venerable and consoling and beneficial practices of true Jewish religion.

I now come to two other practices of the modern Jews, which have also been derived from their progenitors, viz. prayers made for the repose of their deceased friends in the synagogue on the day of atonement, at the request of the persons who make offerings for that purpose. On this occasion, the person who makes the offering, has it made to obtain from God a blessing on his living friends, and repose for those who are deceased, and the suffrages are made for persons who have been dead during many years, as well as for those who have died within the preceding year. Surely neither Bishop Kemp nor Blanco White, will say that it was in compliment to the Roman Catholic Church, nor in imitation of it, the Jew introduced this custom; especially when the whole Israelitic nation will testify that it is as ancient as is any other part of their observances.

The other is a similar custom, but upon a less solemn occasion. It is usual to call upon different members of the synagogue to attend the reader during the several portions of the Pentateuch being read weekly, and on those occasions the member so called upon, frequently makes an offering, to have part of the service specially applied to the benefit of his intention and the aid of his friends whether living or dead; and very often such special application is made for persons who have been a long time deceased: the alms thus given are believed to be useful, and the service thus applied is believed to do them a benefit. This custom the nation testifies to be much older than the Christian era, and to have been derived from the best days of their pure and true Church: consequently no introduction of Popery. No person would make himself so ridiculous as to assert that it was received by the Jews from our Church.

Having thus seen the practice of the modern Jews, I shall look to that of their ancestors before the Christian era. The fact which I shall here place before you, occurred about 250 years before the birth of the Redeemer. Of course we consider the books of the Machabees to be canonical Scripture, and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but let us for the present suppose them to be only what our opponents will admit, viz. a true history of facts. I shall quote from them the following statement:—2 *Machab.* xii.

"So Judas having gathered together his army, came into the city Odollam: and when the seventh day came, they purified themselves according to the custom, and kept the Sabbath in the same place. And the day following Judas came with his company to take away the bodies of them that were slain, and to bury them with their kinsmen, in the sepulchres of their fathers. And they found under the coats of the slain some of the donaries of the idols of Jamnia, which the law forbiddeth to the Jews: so that all plainly saw, that for this cause they were slain. Then they all blessed the just judgment of the Lord, who had discovered the things that were hidden.

"And so betaking themselves to prayers, they besought him, that the sin which had been committed might be forgotten. But the most valiant Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forasmuch as they saw before their eyes what had happened, because of the sins of those that were slain. And making a gathering, he sent twelve thousand drachms of silver to Jerusalem for sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead, thinking well and religiously concerning the resurrection. (For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should rise again, it would have seemed superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.) And because he considered that they who had fallen asleep with godliness, had great grace laid up for them. It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from sins."

Let us compare this record of the nation concerning a fact which occurred more than two thousand years ago, with the facts which we ourselves now observe amongst the same people; their prayers and their offerings for the dead; and let Bishop Kemp and his associates answer whether prayers and suffrages for the dead were not previous to the days of the Apostles considered as useful to obtain pardon for their lesser transgressions. Nor can it be pretended that this was a corrupt usage which had crept into the Jewish Church, because Judas Machabeus was himself not only the protecting champion of his nation and of the true religion, but also the High Priest of the regular lineage of Aaron, who only did that which he knew to have been usual and lawful. I shall dwell a little upon the import of this passage: it contains the following conclusions: first, that it was

the belief of the then Jewish spiritual authority that lesser sins might be remitted after death; and since no person having any unremitted sin can enter heaven, it is a manifest corollary that the person who dies guilty of a sin which is subsequently remitted, suffers temporary exclusion from heaven, and is thus in a state of purgation until that remission takes place: secondly, that the prayers and suffrages of the living were useful to the dead who were not utterly rejected for grievous crimes which deserved the punishment of hell: thirdly, that all the penalty of sin was not remitted at the hour of death, even though the guilt might be blotted out and the punishment of hell remitted, for they still might be held in captivity for a temporary punishment, which would be substituted for the eternal, such as we find from many places in Scripture to be the usual mode of God's providential and merciful dispensation; and therefore a person might die with godliness and have great grace laid up for him, but not to be obtained until after the endurance of this temporary pain, or its remission upon intercession.

I believe it may now be safely stated that I have shown that the doctrine of the efficacy of prayer for the relief of the dead, was in the true Church of Judea, was known as such by the Saviour and his Apostles, was alluded to and admitted by them; was never reprobated, never undervalued, but as being a correct and true doctrine of heaven, formed as much a portion of the new law as did the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; and it was as unnecessary for our blessed Lord and his Apostles to make any new revelation upon the subject, as upon the subject of the existence of God himself and a future state of rewards and punishments. Hence we find it acted upon uniformly by the Jew and the Christian, save those of the latter, who, in the fourth century, adhered to Aerius, in the twelfth century to Peter de Bruis, and in the sixteenth century to Martin Luther and to John Calvin.

There was a custom amongst the Jews, which was also amongst the early Christians, as is testified amongst others by St. John Chrysostom, (Hom. xxii in Matt.) of inviting the poor, and the pious to a banquet upon the occasion of a death, that after having partaken of the bounty they might pray for the repose of the soul of the deceased: and in some places, the food was after the interment placed upon the grave, that the person who there found relief for his body, might pray for the relief of the soul of the individual for whose sake the benefaction was given. In many places we may yet observe much of the remains of those customs. But as we are not by our adversaries allowed to quote the book of Tobias as canonical, I shall adduce from it historical evidence of the custom which I have described.

In the advice which that holy man gives to his son as recorded in chap. iv is the following passage:—ver. 17, 18,

"Eat thy bread with the hungry and the needy; and with thy garments cover the naked. Lay out thy bread and thy wine upon the burial of a just man; and do not eat and drink thereof with the wicked."

In the 2 Kings, otherwise 2 Samuel—c. xii, ver. 16, &c. we distinctly find the objects of the fasting of King David.

"And David besought the Lord for the child: and David kept a fast, and going in by himself lay upon the ground. And the ancients of his house came to make him rise from the ground; but he would not: neither did he eat meat with them. And it came to pass on the seventh day that the child died: and the servants of David feared to tell him that the child was dead. For they said; Behold, when the child was yet alive, we spoke to him, and he would not hearken to our voice; how much more will he afflict himself, if we tell him that the child is dead? But when David saw his servants whispering, he understood that the child was dead: and he said to his servants: Is the child dead? They answered him: He is dead. Then David arose from the ground, and washed, and anointed himself: and when he had changed his apparel, he went into the house of the Lord, and worshiped: and then he came into his own house, and he called for bread, and ate. And his servants said to him: What thing is this that thou hast done? thou didst fast and weep for the child, while it was alive: but when the child was dead, thou didst rise up, and eat bread. And he said: While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept for him: for I said: Who knoweth whether the Lord may not give him to me, and the child may live. But now that he is dead, why should I fast; shall I be able to bring him back any more? I shall go to him rather: but he shall not return to me."

The King then did not fast through grief or affliction of regret, but by way of prayer, and for the purpose of impetration or obtaining favor: and his answer shows his estimate of the folly of fasting through grief or regret. Upon this principle the venerable Bede very properly explains other passages of the same divine records in conformity to what the whole of the preceding testimony assures us is their meaning. Thus in chap. iii of the same book, upon the occasion of the death of Abner; after David lamented and mourned for his death, he fasted to entreat mercy from God, for his soul: so too in the xxxi chapter of the preceding book, the brave men who buried Saul and Jonathan, fasted seven days, not in idle grief, but in profita-

ble intercession for their souls—and in chap. ii of book ii, it is recorded that David expressed his gratitude to those good men for their corporal and spiritual mercy to Saul.

Another custom of patriarchal times was founded upon the doctrine which I am at present exhibiting, for that doctrine was known in those days and gave to the venerable fathers of the faithful in ancient times equal consolation, as it did to the Christian of after ages, and as it does to the Catholic of to-day. There is a marked difference between Catholics and Protestants upon the subject of interments. The former always desire to be buried near their Church, or at least in the place common to the members of their communion. They are often said to be superstitiously fond of what is too often sneered at, consecrated ground. Whilst persons of other denominations are generally above this vulgar prejudice, and think their bodies just as well provided for in a corner of their plantation, or field, or any other place; the Catholic expects to have his soul benefited by the prayers offered on its behalf by those who seeing the spot where the body is buried, intercede for him: hence the origin of cemeteries about the Churches: the Catholic believes that when the Church solemnly prays for the repose of the souls of those persons whose bodies might be interred within the inclosure, he will be made partaker of the benefit of the prayer when his body is so interred: hence we value highly interment in ground so consecrated; strangers to our Church may, if they will, call this superstition; but it is one of a very ancient date. We find such superstition in Jacob as we read in *Genesis*, xlvii, v. 29, &c.

"And when he saw that the day of his death drew nigh, he called his son Joseph, and said to him: If I have found favor in thy sight, put thy hand under my thigh and thou shalt show me this kindness and truth, not to bury me in Egypt: But I will sleep with my fathers, and thou shalt take me away out of this land, and bury me in the burying place of my ancestors. And Joseph answered him: I will do what thou hast commanded. And he said: Swear then to me. And as he was swearing, Israel adored God, turning to the bed's head."

Also in chapter l, regarding Joseph, it is written, v. 23, &c.

"After which he told his brethren: God will visit you after my death, and will make you go up out of this land, to the land which he swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And he made them swear to him, saying: God will visit you, carry my bones with you out of this place: And he died, being a hundred and ten years old. And being embalmed, he was laid in a coffin in Egypt."

The testimony of the whole body of interpreters, as well as of other witnesses, has been uniformly given to inform us that the great object of the patriarchs was to have their bodies brought amongst their kindred to have the benefit of commemoration and participation in their sacrifices and suffrages, even after their death.

To these proofs I might add passages from the sacred writers of the old law, which the earliest Christians testified to have been always understood of purgatory. Thus Ps. xxxvii, (Prot. ver. xxxviii,)

"Rebuke me not, O Lord, in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath."

St. Augustine, Bede, and many others tell us that it means, "Do not, O Lord, punish me after death by the passing rebuke even of your (*lighter*) indignation: nor by the (*heavier*) wrath which endures for ever."

Origen, St. Ambrose and others, in like manner find the testimony of the doctrine in Psalm lxv, (Prot. ver. lxvi, 12,)

"We have passed through fire and water and thou hast brought us out into a refreshment."

Where the water is baptism, and the fire purgatory.

St. Augustine in his book xx of the City of God, c. 25, informs us that the prophet Isaias speaks of purgatory in the spiritual meaning of v. 4, c. iv.

"If the Lord shall wash away the filth of the daughters of Sion, and shall wash away the blood of Jerusalem out of the midst thereof, by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning."

St. Basil informs us that the doctrine was also exhibited by the same prophet, in his chapter ix—in the spiritual meaning of v. 18. St. John states that the doctrine was found also according to many persons in the spiritual meaning of Micheas, chap. vii, 8, 9.

"Rejoice not, thou my enemy, over me, because I am fallen: I shall arise, when I sit in darkness, the Lord is my light. I will bear the wrath of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he judge my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth into the light, I shall behold his justice."

St. Augustine and several other fathers explain the passage of the prophet Zacharias, c. ix, v. 11, of the release of souls from purgatory by the merits of the shedding of the blood of the New Testament, as well as the release of the fathers from limbo by the same blood.

"Thou also by the blood of thy testament hast sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit, wherein is no water."

I believe the doctrine to have been taught in those several passages: but my argument

does not rest upon the correctness of that assertion. I will suppose all those interpreters to have erred in their comments. This conclusion must still be unshaken. Those earliest lights of Christianity knew and taught that it was a doctrine of the pure Jewish Church, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are aided by the suffrages of the faithful; in this there could not have been a mistake on their parts: add this to my other documents, and it is manifest that this was a doctrine of true religion before the epoch of Christianity.

I remain, yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 29, 1827.

LETTER XLV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—Since writing my last letter, I have with feelings of pain and sorrow read the account of Bishop Kemp's unexpected and melancholy death. I deeply regret that my last letter contains a call upon him, and that call written at a time when he had paid the debt of nature, though I did not and could not have known it when I wrote. I regret it, because should any of his friends read that call after the interment of a respected and lamented friend, the feeling which it must create, will be to them unpleasant, and such as I would not desire to produce. I trust they will accept this explanation.

With the deceased prelate I had never the honor of an acquaintance, to him I bore no feeling of unkindness, I sympathize with his afflicted relatives; but from his own act he made it necessary for me in the course of my previous letters to address many of my observations to him, as the leader of an host by which my Church was, as I conceive, without foundation or necessity assailed, by the recommendation of White's libellous production, as an accurate portrait of Catholicism, to the perusal of the Protestants of America. I am bound in charity to believe that Bishop Kemp in doing what deeply wounded a large and respectable portion of his fellow-citizens, acted according to his knowledge and conviction, and sense of duty. And when I an humble individual knew that knowledge to be delusion, that conviction to be unfounded, and that sense of duty to be erroneous; I did appeal to him for the correction of my statements, if in his power, the subversion of my principles, if they were not tenable, and the disproving of my conclusions, if they could be destroyed. I did so with freedom, and I hope without disrespect; I did so plainly, because the position which he had volunteered to occupy was that of a direct and open assailant of the line in which I am marshalled, and upon a post which I feel bound to defend. But although in the haste of furnishing these generally unrevised and uncorrected letters for publication, many expressions have escaped me, which I would upon a review suppress, and some of those be more harsh than I should desire to use, still I trust that at no moment has there been in my heart one movement towards this lamented individual which was inconsistent with kind and charitable feeling. He has passed away; called before a just and merciful God, who I should hope regarded him with that compassion which each of us would desire for himself: of course his name shall no more appear in these letters. Dr. Wilmer too, whose signature first stood at the head of the list is no more; I shall therefore in any appeal which I might feel it proper henceforth to make, address the survivors as a body, rather than select an individual as their representative. I felt it, if not required, to be at least a relief to myself to make this explanation, and shall now resume my task.

I have shown that the doctrines of the existence of Purgatory and of the power of the living to aid the souls therein detained by their suffrages, were held by the true Church of the Jews. I proceed now to show that the existence of Purgatory was held by the Gentiles, and was one of the original doctrines of revelation. Previous to my entering upon this proof, I feel it necessary to lay down a few principles and to explain and exemplify them by facts.

My first principle is that since a true revealed religion existed before the art of writing was invented, revealed doctrines and their sufficient evidence might exist without having been committed to writing, and therefore we are not to reject a doctrine as not revealed upon the mere plea that it is not found testified in a written record. It is very evident that previous to the days of Moses there were a variety of doctrines revealed by heaven, and believed by religious men; amongst others that of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of rewards and punishments: Noe and his sons believed those doctrines, so did Abraham, so did Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and hundreds of others who never saw a book of Scripture.

I will next observe that those doctrines did not cease to be true, and revealed articles of faith, because at a subsequent period other truths were revealed and written, though these earlier articles should not have been written. I look upon this proposition to be so plain as to need no argument for its proof, because surely the truth of a fact or of a doctrine cannot depend upon the mere circum-

stance of its being written, otherwise none of the doctrines of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ would have been true until from seven to ten years after his death, when St. Matthew wrote his Gospel; and several others would not have been true for about fifty years more, as there are several in the Gospel of St. John which had not been previously committed to writing. The finding of a doctrine written upon a proper and sufficient record is good evidence of its truth, but it is not the only sort of good evidence, otherwise the doctrines of Christ were preached by the Apostles without good evidence, and the revealed doctrines which were believed before the days of Moses were received by the faithful of that day without good evidence; whereas we know distinctly that those men who never saw a book of the Scriptures had sound faith and believed the revelation of God upon sufficient evidence, both previous to the time of Moses and from the death of Christ to the writing of the Gospels.

I will also state that it was not from the Pentateuch the Jewish people derived the knowledge of the immortality of the soul and of the rewards and punishments of a future state, and of a variety of the other essential and fundamental doctrines of religion, which had been revealed ages before the days of Moses, and believed by the people of Israel before his birth. He who would seek to find all those in the Pentateuch would return disappointed, for they had been revealed and believed before it was written, and therefore were doctrines of early faith, and several of them were not written in that book, but did not cease therefore to be true, and to be a portion of revelation: but they were preserved in evidence, though not on the book, yet in the same manner that the evidence was preserved that the contents of the book were originally true and had been preserved unchanged.

I again assert that the great features of revealed religion, as it existed previous to the dispersion of Babel are to be found in all the various systems of Paganism to the coming of Christ. The Patriarchal race and others who were true and pure worshippers of God preserved them unaltered; the heathens only disfigured the doctrines, corrupted the practice of morality, and misapplied the ceremonial of worship, to which also they added much superstition. What I mean by the great features of revealed religion, are the existence of a Supreme Providential Being who ought to receive our homage, and who views our conduct, and will in a future state reward or punish us according to our deserts. The Heathen multiplied deities, and worshipped devils and not God: he assimilated the punishments of that future state and its rewards to what he found painful or pleasing here below: his principle that God ought to be worshiped by sacrifice, &c., was correct; but in applying the principle he erred. As regarded offences, they did not blend all transgressors into one heap for promiscuous damnation, but they made a classification of crimes, and of criminals, and according to this distinction, they as well as the Jew believed that there was to be eternal punishment for great delinquents, and only a temporary purgation for others. We find this distinction held by the Gentile world as far up as we can trace any satisfactory evidence upon the subject. I shall if required state many particulars of that evidence: at present, I merely exhibit the principle of the argument, and from a book lying before me I refer for the Greeks to Plato, *in Phædo*, and *Gorgias*, where he gives the description of those who having lived in piety and justice, are immediately after death transported to the islands of the blessed; of those who having committed expiable offences are held in punishment until the guilt is cleared away; and of those whose crimes are incurable and who are cast into Tartarus to be punished for ever, but whose affliction profits nothing to themselves; but they are examples to others: and for the Romans to Cicero, *Som. Scipionis, in fine*, where he mentions a place of purgation. Claudian too gives us Purgatory.

Quos ubi per varios amnes per mille figuras,
Egit Lethæo purgatos flumine.
In Ruffin. lib. ii, v. 491.

In the sixth book of the Æneid* we have very fine descriptions by Virgil of the thre states, and corresponding pretty accurately with the doctrine of Plato. I shall merely give a short passage respecting each.

HELL.

"Dux inclyte Teucrum,
Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen;
Sed me, cum lucis Hecate præfecit Avernis,
Ipsa Deum pœnas docuit, perque omnia duxit.
Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque, audiitque dolos: subigitque fateri
Quæ quis apud superos, furto lætatus inani,
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
Continuo sontes ultrix accinta flagello
Tisiphone quatit insultans: torvosque sinistra
Intentans angues, vocat agmina sæva sororum.
* * * * * *
Ne quære doceri
Quam pœnam; aut quæ forma viros fortunave mersit.
Saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisve rotarum
Districti pendent; sedet, æternumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras:
'Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere Divos.'"

DRYDEN'S TRANSLATION.

The chaste, the holy race
Are all forbidden this polluted place,
But Hecate, when she gave to rule the woods,
Then led me trembling through the dire abodes,

* See an Essay on this Book, in Part IV.

And taught the tortures of the avenging Gods.
These are the realms of unrelenting fate;
And awful Rhadamanthus rules the State:
He hears and judges each committed crime;
Inquires into the manner, place, and time.
The conscious wretch must all his acts reveal:
Loth to confess, unable to conceal:
From the first moment of his vital breath,
To his last hour of unrepenting death.
Straight, o'er the guilty ghost, the fury shakes
The sounding whip, and brandishes her snakes;
And the pale sinner with her sisters takes.
* * * * * *

PITT'S TRANSLATION.

But what their torments, seek not thou to know,
Or the dire sentence of their endless woe.
Some roll a stone, rebounding down the hill,
Some hang suspended on the whirling wheel;
There Theseus groans in pains that ne'er expire,
Chained down for ever in a chair of fire;
There Phlegyas feels unutterable woe,
And roars incessant through the shades below:
Be just; ye mortals! by these torments awed,
These dreadful torments, not to scorn a God.

HEAVEN.

His demum exactis perfecto munere divæ,
Devenere locos lætos, et amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas.
Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
Purpureo; Solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.
* * * * * *
Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
Quique pii vates, et Phœbo digna locuti,
Inventas ant qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo:
Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.

PITT'S TRANSLATION.

These rites complete, they reach the flowery plains,
The verdant groves where endles pleasure reigns.
Here growing ether shoots a purple ray,
And o'er the region pours a double day,
From sky to sky the unwearied splendor runs,
And nobler planets roll round brighter suns.
* * * * * *

DRYDEN'S TRANSLATION.

Here patriots live, who for their country's good,
In fighting fields were prodigal of blood;
Priests of unblemish'd lives here made abode,
And poets worthy their inspiring God:
And searching wits, of more mechanic parts,
Who grac'd their age with new invented arts,
Those who to worth their bounty did extend;
And those who knew that bounty to commend.
The heads of these with holy fillets bound
And all their temples were with garlands crown'd.

PURGATORY.

Igneus est illis vigor et cœlestis origo
Quantum non noxia corpora tardant,
Terrenique hebetant artus, moribundaque membra.
Hinc metuunt cupiuntque; dolent gaudentque; neque [auras
Dispiciunt, clausæ tenebris et carcere cæco.
Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit:
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.
Quisque suos patimur manes. Exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium, et pauci læta arva tenemus:
Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem purumque reliquit
Æthereum sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem.

PITT'S TRANSLATION.

Their souls at first from high Olympus came;
And, if not blunted by the mortal frame,
Th' ethereal fires would ever burn the same!
But while on Earth; by Earth-born passions tost,
The heavenly spirits lie extinct and lost;
Nor steal one glance before their bodies die,
From those dark dungeons to their native sky.
Ev'n when those bodies are to death resign'd,
Some old inherent spots are left behind;
A sullying tincture of corporeal stains
Deep in the substance of the soul remains.
Thus are her splendors dimm'd, and crusted o'er
With those dark vices, that she knew before.
For this the souls a various penance pay,
To purge the taint of former crimes away:
Some in the sweeping breezes are refin'd,
And hung on high to whiten in the wind;
Some cleanse their stains beneath the gushing streams,
And some rise glorious from the searching flames.
Thus all must suffer; and, those sufferings past,
The clouded minds are purified at last.
But when the circling seasons, as they roll,
Have cleans'd the dross long gather'd round the soul:
When the celestial fire divinely bright.
Breaks forth victorious in her native light:
Then we, the chosen few, Elysium gain,
And here expatiate on the blissful plain.

My argument from the facts now exhibited is very simple. Blanco White and his abettors would insinuate that the doctrine of Purgatory was not known for several centuries after the establishment of Christianity: and thus lay the foundation for asserting that it was an invention of what they call Popery. I have met it by producing the early Fathers of the Church to show that it was one of the ancient and original doctrines of the Christian body: I have produced the ancient liturgies; I have produced the ancient separatists; I have thus shown that it was a tenet of the early Church, and not an invention of a later period. I went farther when I showed that it was a doctrine of the Jewish Church previous to the arrival of the Saviour, and I now show that it was a doctrine of Plato, of Cicero, of Virgil, and of other Greeks and Romans before the same epoch. Suppose the tenet to be as gross an error as the worship of the leeks of Egypt. I have at all events proved that it was no invention of the Popes or of their adherents. And yet those persons who claim to be more learned than we are, and who affect to pity us for the overshadowing of our intellect; those good gentlemen who bellow against our religion in the cities, and the towns, and the villages, and the courts, and the woods of this continent, most wise and learned antiquarians, most erudite and critical historians as they are, perpetually tell their hearers that the doctrine of Purgatory is one of the inventions of Popery. I have know clergymen in this city of Charleston, who really have, I believe, good claims to be considered scholars, recommend this same work of Blanco White to their friends and congregations, as being amongst other things a very accurate and good description of the origin of Roman Catholic errors: now what must be our opinion of the information of those gentlemen, upon their own professional subjects, if, as

we are in charity bound to suppose, they believe what they stated?

Before I leave this topic, I shall show you what I conceive to be abundant reason to lead to the conclusion that the Gentile as well as the Jew derived the knowledge of the doctrine from those to whom it was revealed by God in the earliest ages of the world.

I remain, yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 5, 1827.

LETTER XLVI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—We have seen that before the days of our Saviour, the doctrine of the existence of Purgatory was a tenet of the true Jewish Church, and of some of the most enlightened Gentiles. A question presents itself to us, "Were they in error on this subject?" Though it is not exactly within the range of my task, I shall meet this question by stating, that they were not in error. In my last letter, I laid down a few principles which I request you still to bear in mind, and at the proper period apply to what I shall now adduce: we shall thus obtain the rule for ascertaining what is error and what is truth in those early doctrines.

I assume the single origin of the human family; I assume that God made revelations to Adam, which were the foundation of the correct religious practices, and the substance of the faith of the true believers; I assume an object of the Almighty to be, that the preservation of the knowledge thus communicated by him to Adam, was to be one of the the first and most important religious obligations of mankind; I assume that neither Adam nor any of his descendants was acquainted with the future state of mortals, by any power of natural reasoning. In fact, we know nothing of a future state, save what we have learned from revelation; nor could we, nor could our earliest predecessors know with certainty that there was such a state, nor any of its circumstances, by the light of our natural reason: hence, every thing which was so known, had been revealed by him who knew what he saw and declared. After the deluge, Noah and his family had a knowledge of those revelations, one of the most important of which regarded the testimony of man: it was the most simple, the most interesting, the most easily recollected, and that which would most naturally arrest frequently and powerfully the attention of every person.

If men had been originally told that there were but two states, one of eternal happiness, and one of eternal misery, they would scarcely think of imagining a third state of transient endurance and ultimate happiness against the plain, positive, and universal testimony; or if several did, there would be some at least found who would have rejected the novelty, and adhered to the ancient evidence. Let us even abandon this ground, and say that they all erred, and that in their delusion, they framed a notion of such a Purgatory: still we must be certain, that when God gave a new revelation, he would have corrected this error, and the people to whom such revelation had been given would be rescued from the delusion: we would then find truth amongst the newly-instructed people, and error amongst the others. The patriarchs received a revelation; and its evidences were continued to their descendants, the Israelites, who had their knowledge extended by still more ample communications; and yet we find a perfect coincidence in the substantial belief, as to the number and nature of the states in another world, between the Israelites and the Gentiles. Thus we arrive at the conclusion, that the doctrine so found to exist was that which was originally given, and therefore the early revelation of God testified the existence of Heaven, of Hell, and of Purgatory.

Let us take another supposition, that it was a doctrine which the Gentiles did not receive from the original traditions derived from Adam and Noe, but that Plato who is supposed to have derived much of his knowledge from the sacred writings and from the Jews, drew his theory from this people, and that from this philosopher it spread through the Gentiles; in this case, we should have to attribute its origin to the Jews, who were the chosen people of God; and shall we say that a nation selected by the peculiar providence of heaven, in the midst of revelation and of miracles, to preserve the great truths of pure religion, taught error even to the philosophers of Greece? But the difficulty becomes greater, when we survey other and earlier nations, to whom Plato could not have taught what he had learned from the Mosaic code, or from the Hebrew people; thus the circumstance of its being found in those other nations, destroys the foundation sought to be laid, and we are driven to that inevitable conclusion, that it was one of the earliest religious doctrines of the world.

We next come to review facts, and they are all easily explained, by admitting what we state as their foundation. Several nations held the doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls. Let us, for a moment, view the foundation of truth and the superstructure of error. The ancient tenets gave a knowledge of Heaven, of Hell, and of a state of Purgation; but it was easily imagined by some that this purgation

consisted in transmigration, in order that the sins and imperfections of one life might be punished by endurance in another: thus the very superadded error bore testimony to the original truth. Prayer was from the earliest ages offered for the dead, by those who held the doctrines of pure and undefiled religion, and those prayers and obsequies were special accompaniments of the funeral: here also the tenet was preserved, that the troubled spirit was brought to repose by the due obsequies and the proper prayer, although the Gentile preserved only an indistinct idea, and used a superstitious rite of obsequy. The Jew did not take from the Gentile, nor the Gentile from the Jew, but both followed the custom, as they preserved the principle of their common ancestor, to whom God had made the revelation. I before remarked, that the errors and superstitions of Paganism were but a corruption of the primitive truths taught by God to man; and I have in this case given an exhibition hastily and imperfectly, it is true, but with sufficient distinctness to show that Purgatory and the efficacy of prayer for the dead, were some of the original doctrines of the earliest revelation, long before the days of Moses; previous, I would say, to the deluge, and derived from the days of Adam, of Seth, and of Enos, which were centuries upon centuries before the time insinuated and suggested by Blanco White and the erudite antiquarians who recommended his book to the Protestants of America.

I have done with the proofs of the doctrine; and, although I have been tedious and desultory, I have by no means exhausted my store of facts or topics of argument. I have neither the leisure nor the opportunity for arranging my arguments or correcting my style. A variety of heavy cares and perplexing duties, together with the want of a sufficient library, are difficulties which must necessarily cause these crude letters to be only the collection of some materials, from which a bulwark for our faith might be constructed. The imperfections of my mode will not therefore, I trust, be injurious to the excellence of my cause; yet, even with these disadvantages, I believe it has been made plain, that the proposition of White is one of the most unfounded assertions that has ever been put forward by a man pretending to any knowledge of theology or of history. I shall therefore conclude this letter and this subject by showing that, amongst Protestants themselves, we are by no means without supporters of our tenets regarding Purgatory and prayers for the dead.

But as I have been so far back as the antediluvian age, I shall not be blamed, if, in my rapid descent, I stop to remark that in the Koran, which was chiefly compiled from an observation of Jewish and Christian customs, the doctrine of Purgatory is taught. Thus this doctrine was a portion of the true faith of the ancient line of patriarchs, of the Jewish Church, and of the Christian Church; was received amongst the Gentiles but disfigured, and its nature mistaken; was also retained by the Mahometans, and is found amongst several of the Pagan nations of the present day, to whom it has come as a portion of the primitive religion which God gave to our great progenitors; but the Pagan having derived his knowledge of heaven and of hell from the same source, exhibits to us in his profession of the belief of each state a degree of vague and chaotic knowledge in which, though the great substantial truth is preserved, there exists much of error; so it is in his belief concerning Purgatory; he testifies to the fact of its existence, but he errs in the circumstances which regard it.

Its existence was first denied in the fourth century, by Aerius and his few adherents; their sect was speedily extinct. In the twelfth century, the Waldenses and others, especially the Petrobrussians and the Albigenses, renewed the denial.

Luther, in his disputation at Leipsic, stated that he "firmly believed, nay, he would dare to say, that he knew there was a Purgatory, and was easily persuaded that mention thereof was made in the Scriptures." He next stated, that no mention was found of Purgatory in the Scriptures; next, that the souls therein were not certain of being saved; that they could merit and sin; and lastly, he denied it for the purpose of denying other doctrines connected therewith.

The Lutherans drew up, and presented their Confession of Faith to the Emperor Charles V, at Augsburg, in June, 1530, and the same having been answered by some Catholic divines, Melancthon wrote its apology or defence, in the name and by the appointment of the principal Lutherans. In the apology is the following passage:

"Touching what is objected against us, concerning *oblation* for the dead, having been practised by the Fathers; we own *they prayed for the dead, and we hinder none from now doing it;* but we do not approve of the application of the Lord's Supper for the dead, in virtue of the action, *ex opere operato.*

"Unjustly do our adversaries bring against us the condemnation of Aerius, who they say was condemned for denying that the Mass was offered up for the living and the dead. This is their custom, to adduce the ancient heretics against us, and to compare our doctrine with theirs. St. Epiphanius testifies that Aerius taught that *prayers for the dead were unpro-*

fitable. WE DO NOT UPHOLD AERIUS, but we contend against you for your doctrine of the Mass," &c.

In this it is plain that the Lutheran apologists for the Confession of Augsburg did not rank praying for the dead amongst Popish errors, nor agree with the *heresy* of Aerius, whose *heresy* consisted in denying the utility of those prayers.

Amongst the decisions made by King Henry VIII, as head of the English Church, and subscribed to by Thomas Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury, whose signature followed that of Cromwell, the King's Vicar-General, was a full approbation of the custom of praying for the dead, "as consistent with the due order of charity to pray for them, and to make others pray for them in exequies and masses, to give alms for that end," &c. This subscription was made in 1536. Two years after, the English Church subscribed another document approving of prayers for the dead.

In 1557, a confession of faith drawn up by Calvin was carried to Worms, by Beza and Farel, and presented to the princes and states of the Augsburg Confession there assembled: in which the Calvinists of France subscribe to all the doctrines of that confession, save that of the Eucharist, and amongst them to that of praying for the dead.

Grotius, a Protestant, distinctly shows from evident principles that it is confessed by Mestresat, by Spanheim, and by Calvin, that there must be a purification of the soul after death; for he shows that they avow that no soul is pure at any moment of life, nor at the time of death; that nothing polluted can enter into the kingdom of heaven, and that as Spanheim says, the soul cannot be presented to God till it be without spot or wrinkle, all holy, pure, and unblameable; and upon the question whether this purification takes place, if I may so say, during the moment of death, or at a subsequent period, Spanheim says we cannot be certain. The Catholic has learned from the testimony of God, given by ages and by nations, exhibiting his early revelations, that it frequently is deferred, and that the soul undergoes punishment, which may be alleviated by prayers and suffrages of the faithful; and hence they pray for the repose of their deceased brethren.

I shall here transcribe evidence from Bishop Milner's excellent work, "The End of Controversy," Letter xliii, 3.

"I should do an injury, Rev. Sir, to my cause, were I to pass over the concessions of eminent Protestant prelates, and other writers, on the matter in debate. On some occasions, Luther admits of Purgatory, as an article founded on Scripture.(a) Melancthon confesses that the ancients prayed for the dead; and says, that the Lutherans do not find fault with it.(b) Calvin intimates that the souls of all the just are detained in Abraham's bosom till the day of judgment.(c) In the first Liturgy of the Church of England, which was drawn up by Cranmer and Ridley, and declared by act of Parliament to have been *framed by inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, there is an express prayer for the departed, that 'God would grant them mercy and everlasting peace.'(d) It can be shown, that the following Bishops of your Church believe that the dead ought to be prayed for: Andrews, Usher, Montague, Taylor, Forbes, Sheldon, Barrow of St. Asaph's, and Blandford.(e) To these I may add the religious Dr. Johnson, whose published meditations prove that he constantly prayed for his deceased wife. But what need is there of more words on the subject, when it is clear that modern Protestants, in shutting up the Catholic Purgatory for imperfect just souls, have opened another general one for them, and all the wicked of every sort whatsoever! It is well known that the disciples of Calvin, at Geneva, and, perhaps, every where else, instead of adhering to his doctrine, in condemning mortals to eternal torments, without any fault on their part, now hold that the most confirmed in guilt, and the finally impenitent shall, in the end, be saved:(f) thus establishing, as Fletcher of Madeley observes, 'general Purgatory.'(g) A late celebrated theological, as well as philosophical writer of our own country, Dr. Priestly, being on his death-bed, called for Simpson's work *On the Duration of Future Punishment*, which he recommended in these terms: 'It contains my sentiments: we shall all meet finally: we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness.(h) Here again is a general Protestant Purgatory: and why should Satan and his crew be denied the benefit of it? But to confine myself to eminent divines of the Established Church; one of its celebrated preachers, who, of course, 'never mentions hell to ears polite,' expresses his wish, 'to banish the subject of everlasting punishment from all pulpits, as containing a doctrine, at once improper and uncertain;(i) which sentiment is applauded by another eminent divine, who reviews that sermon in the British Cri-

a Assertions, art. 37. Disput. Leipsic.

b Apolog. Conf. Aug.

c Instit. l. iii, c. 5.

d See the form in Collier's Ecc. Hist., vol. ii, p. 257.

e Collier's Hist.—N. B. The present Bishop of Exeter, in a sermon just published, prays for the soul of our poor Princess Charlotte, 'as far as this is lawful and profitable.'

f Encycl. Art. Geneva.

g Checks to Antinom, vol. iv.

h See Edinb. Review, Oct. 1806.

i Sermons by the Rev. W. Gilpin, Preb. of Sarum.

tic.(*j*) Another modern divine censures 'the threat of eternal perdition, as a cause of infidelity.'(*k*) The renowned Dr. Paley (but here we are getting into quite novel systems of theology, which will force a smile from its old students, notwithstanding the awfulness of the subject) Dr. Paley, I say, so far softens the punishment of the infernal regions, as to suppose that 'there may be very little to choose between the condition of some who are in hell, and others who are in heaven!'(*l*) In the same liberal spirit, the Cambridge Professor of Divinity teaches, that 'God's wrath and damnation are more terrible in the sound than the sense!(*m*) and that *being damned* does not imply any fixed degree of evil.'(*n*) In another part of his lectures, he expresses his hope, and quotes Dr. Hartley as expressing the same, that 'all men will be ultimately happy, when punishment has done its work in reforming principles and conduct.'(*o*) If this sentiment be not sufficiently explicit in favor of Purgatory, take the following from a passage in which he is directly lecturing on the subject: 'With regard to the doctrine of Purgatory, though it may not be founded either in reason or in Scripture, it is not unnatural. Who can bear the thought of dwelling in everlasting torments? Yet who can say that a God everlastingly just, will not inflict them? The mind of man seeks for resource; it finds only, in conceiving that some temporary punishment, after death, may purify the soul from its moral pollutions, and make it, at last, acceptable even to a Deity, infinitely pure.'"(*p*)

The following is an extract from the declaration of the wife of James II, who became a Catholic, when she was Duchess of York, and is dated St. James's, August 20, 1670:

"After this, I spoke severally to two of the best bishops we have in England,* who both told me, there were many things in the Roman Church, which it were very much to be wished we had kept: as confession, which was no doubt commanded by God. That praying for the dead was one of the ancientest things in Christianity; that, for their parts, they did it daily, though they would not own it; and afterwards, pressing one of them very much upon the other points, he told me, that if he had been bred a Catholic, he would not change his religion; but that being of another Church, wherein he was sure were all things necessary for salvation, he thought it very ill to give that scandal, as to leave that Church wherein he had received his baptism."

In this letter, I have closed my evidence, and shall make a few comments upon the subject in my next.*

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 19, 1827.

LETTER XLVII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I now proceed to sum up in a general view the arguments upon which we found the doctrine of the existence of Purgatory and the utility of prayers for the souls therein detained.

It is conceded by our opponents that it was the prevailing belief of all Christendom in the tenth century. If it had not been derived from the Saviour and his Apostles, it must have been introduced into the Christian Church at some intermediate time: the Christians of that age stated that they did receive the doctrines from the founders of their religion. We have the *prima facie* evidence on our side; to destroy which our opponents must show when and by whom our doctrine was invented, if it was an invention: this they have never seriously attempted: therefore upon this single ground we would claim as proved that it was a part of the original deposit of the Apostolic faith. I say they have never attempted to show when and by whom the doctrine was invented, because although they might put forth vague assertions which refer to one or more centuries, every unbiassed mind will perceive that this is no evidence.

It has sometimes been said, that innovations make their way gradually and imperceptibly. I shall show that such could not have been the case in this instance; for, if at present the belief or disbelief of this tenet is considered important amongst Christians, we may fairly assume that it was always so considered: and if now the difference of belief upon this subject is a cause of separation and of contention, such difference would have been so at all times; and my assumption is supported by three facts. When the innovators of the sixteenth century denied the truth of our doctrine, it caused general and violent commotion, and the authors of the change can now be clearly pointed out, their history told, and all the circumstances

j British Critic, Jan. 1802.

k Rev. Mr. Polwhele's Let. to Dr. Hawker.

l Moral and Polit. Philos.

m Lect., vol. iii, p. 154.

n Ibid.

o Vol. ii, p. 390. It is to be observed, that the doctrine of the final salvation of the wicked is expressly condemned in the 42d Article of the Church of England, A. D., 1552.

p Vol. iv, p. 112.

* *Sheldon* of Canterbury and *Blandford* of Worcester.

[* The extent to which the doctrine of prayers for the dead has been revived in the Protestant Episcopal Churches of Britain and the United States, within the last few years, is well known to all.]

accompanying the division which ensued are matters of history: so it happened when the Petrobrussians in the twelfth century denied the truth of our doctrine: so also when Aerius in the fourth age denied the utility of prayer for the dead: in each of those cases the name and residence of the innovator can be given, and the precise period of his innovation. If our doctrine be an innovation, why are not its authors known, why is not the date of their existence pointed out?

When changes take place in doctrine the novelty is not at once adopted by an entire church, nor by a whole nation: and even let us suppose that it should take place gradually and insensibly in one church or nation, it could not be at once and noiselessly introduced into all the churches and all the nations of Christendom. We should then find nation and church opposed to nation and church, and yet our opponents do not exhibit one particle of testimony to show that such was the case, whilst they require of us to believe without evidence that they from whom the doctrine was received were innovators: and they are pleased to call us foolish and besotted and priest-ridden, for not acting against the very first principles of sound reason.

We have seen that the doctrine was taught by the Korun which was compiled in the seventh century, chiefly from the writings of the Jews and the Christians, and therefore it could not be a subsequent innovation of the Greeks, who separated from us in the ninth century; nor of the Iconoclasts, who separated from us in the eighth century; nor was it an innovation of the Mahometans, for the Eutychians taught it in the sixth century, and the Nestorians taught it in the fifth century: nor was it an innovation by any of those, for the Christian Church condemned Aerius for denying it in the fourth century: neither was it a novelty in that age, for Tertullian states it to be a Christian doctrine in the third century: and in this age it was received and taught by those who in the second century, were the disciples of those who had been the companions of the intimate friends of the Apostles: wherefore the writers of those early ages, as we have seen, declare that it came to them from this sacred source. Nor are we to rest here; we moreover have found that it was a doctrine of the pure and true Church of Israel, and was also a doctrine of the enlightened men of the Gentile world; and thus bears the character of one of the original revelations of God to man, even before the deluge.

With this strong presumptive argument in our favor, we proceed to another topic, upon which we feel such certainty as makes us lay aside all hesitation. We know that the Saviour established his Church to teach his doctrine to the end of ages, and through the world; it would be preposterous indeed to suppose that within a few years and throughout the Christian world, error should be substituted for that doctrine by this Church: yet if ours be not the true doctrine, such was actually the fact; as is manifest by the various testimonies which I have adduced; testimonies of all the early lights of our predecessors in the faith. Have they all erred on this plain, important and vital subject; and if they have, how did the few subsequent sectarians of the middle ages obtain the knowledge of truth; and why are not they of the sixteenth century agreed amongst themselves? We are then brought to this conclusion; that the Christian Church has taught error in place of truth during the whole period of its existence, to the great bulk of those who received the Gospels: or else ours is the true doctrine.

The next topic regards the testimony of Christ himself and his Apostles in the New Testament, and the testimony of the sacred historians and the prophets in the Old Testament. We thus add the testimony of the Scriptures to that of tradition, and to that of prescription. To the assertion that we mistake the meaning of the passages of the sacred volume, we answer: first, that the great majority of interpreters is on our side: next, that the ancient commentators agree with us; and lastly, that the tribunal, whose explanation of the text we follow, is that from which we received the text itself, and without whose authority we could not ascertain what book was inspired, or what book was unworthy of credit; whilst our opponents follow the more recent, and the more few even of those recent, and deserting all the ancients, oppose the very tribunal from which the book was received. We, therefore, have upon our side the weight of evidence, for ours being the correct meaning of the text.

Another ground that we take, is, that a variety of customs and monuments are known to have existed in the early Church, and through the subsequent ages, which are utterly irreconcilable with the opinions of our opponents, but completely in accordance with our doctrine.

We add to these, the fact, that several of the most learned and prominent individuals amongst those who, as a body, have rejected the doctrine, testify to its antiquity and truth; and that it is received and acknowledged to be true in some of their first and most esteemed confessions of faith and liturgies.

There is one other topic which I have reserved to the present period, and which I shall

briefly treat upon, before I conclude. The reasonableness of the doctrine in its conformity to what we know of the justice and of the mercy of God; and which reasonableness has been always acknowledged, until the unfortunate secession of the sixteenth century, when new principles were adopted to vindicate new doctrines. We behold in this world three classes of men; some extremely good, some extremely wicked, and a large portion whose lives exhibit a sort of middle disposition. We believe that they of the first class are, by the justice of heaven, if they die without repentance and the forgiveness of God through the merits of our Saviour, condemned to that hell, or to a place of eternal suffering; for them we have no hopes; for them prayer is unavailing; for them, that mercy which they have so much abused, will never be exerted. They who have been redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, whose souls are without stain, who, faithful to grace, have lived in holiness and perfection, will be admitted immediately after death to heaven, that blessed abode of eternal rest, where they shall enjoy the presence of their God. The souls in this state need not our prayers, because they now possess that which was the object of their desires and of our prayers. But how few are in this state of purity and perfection? What then becomes of the third class? Shall they be hurled with the reprobate to eternal perdition? Is mercy to be denied to them? Will no temporary affliction satisfy the justice of offended heaven? We say that justice requires punishment, but mercy extends relief to those who have sinned through infirmity, and not through malice; and that after a time of purgation [to] these souls, [which] will be more or less severe, and of longer or shorter duration, in the ratio of their offence. Thus, justice and mercy are conciliated. The distinction between malice and infirmity forms the basis of the difference between mortal and venial sin; and he who dies in a state of malicious opposition to God's law, or malicious affection to sin, will continue unrepentingly malicious through eternity, and therefore justice will require his eternal punishment, whilst it will but afflict for a time the soul which sinned without that depraved disposition. And a merciful God will hear with condescension and mercy the prayers of the faithful for this afflicted soul. Charity will urge them to prayer, and the redeemed spirit will upon its admission into heaven, praise and adore its God and Redeemer, and pray in return for its benefactors; thus there exists that communion of saints, which Christians have always professed to believe, between the three portions of our Holy Church, militant on earth, and triumphant in heaven, and suffering in purgatory.

A doctrine of religion which is manifestly taught in a very great number of places in the sacred Scriptures is, that when God remits the repentant sinner, the eternal punishment due to sin, whose guilt he has taken away, he generally substitutes a temporary punishment of a definite extent, but which extent, though known to him, is generally unknown to us; should the pardoned sinner die without having undergone the entire of this penalty, he will, according to our belief, suffer the unsatisfied portion in a state of purgation, before his admission into heaven, and unless such be the case, he must either receive from God a new remission, for which we have no evidence, or he will enter heaven indebted to the divine justice, which is against every principle of Christian faith; or what is more revolting to our ideas of God, he will be consigned to hell, though saved therefrom by redemption. We therefore say, that, besides those who die in venial sin, they also who die indebted to God's justice for unexpiated temporal punishment, will be consigned to a temporary purgation.

Before I close this letter, allow me to remark the consequence of denying the existence of this middle and temporary state, and of insisting upon the belief of only heaven and hell; it has led vast multitudes, who found in the Scriptures, and in common sense, and tradition, the evidence of Purgatory, to convert Hell itself into a place of only temporary endurance; so that, at present, the great majority of the Protestant sections, who were led to deny our doctrine, have found themselves under the necessity of resuming what they had cast away, and casting away what they had first retained. Hence, not only have we professed Universalists, who believe that all mankind will ultimately be saved, when the wicked shall have undergone a temporary purgation, but amongst the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Unitarians, and a variety of other Protestants, the greater number of individuals disbelieve the existence of hell, and believe that of purgatory.*

I remain, yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 19, 1827.

[* Upon this point, the Bishop appears to have derived his information from some inaccurate authority, which led him into an unconscious error of fact. What is said of the several sects mentioned, is strictly true of the Unitarians, and may be applied to a very few only, of the laity among Episcopalians, at least in this country. To the Presbyterians, properly

LETTER XLVIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—The next portion of Blanco White's book that I take up is the following passage: p. 95,

"The worship of saints, relics, and images might, when *tradition* began to spread it, have appeared less connected with the wealth and power of the Church of Rome; yet none of its spiritual resources have proved more productive of both. Europe is covered with sanctuaries and churches, which owe their existence and revenues to some reported miraculous appearance of an image, or the presence, real or pretended, of some relic. To form a correct notion of the influence which such places have upon the people, it is necessary to have lived where they exist. But the house of Loretto alone, would be sufficient to give some idea of the power and wealth which the Church must have derived from similar sources, when the whole of Christendom was more ignorant and superstitious than the most degraded portions of it are at present. Of this fact, however, I am perfectly convinced by long observation, that were it possible to abolish sanctuaries, properly so called, and leave the same number of churches without the favorite virgins and saints which give them both that peculiar denomination and their popular charm; more than half the blind deference which the multitude pay to the clergy, and through the clergy to Rome, would quickly disappear."

In this he does not object to the veneration which we pay to saints, to relics and to images, but by two unbecoming tricks, he misrepresents our doctrine and practice—he uses the word "worship" as the word to govern the three objects, when he must have known that *we do not worship relics*, that *we do not worship images;* and when he must have known that by the word *worship*, his Protestant readers are generally led to understand *adoration:* in which sense he must have known that *we do not worship saints:* his first trick was in using that equivocal verb to mislead his readers by one meaning whilst he could contend with us for the use of the word in another meaning: this dishonesty is usual with writers of his description: and I know of no words sufficiently strong to express my condemnation and more than pity for persons the badness of whose cause and the disingenuity of whose minds urges them to such a course. His second trick was in writing under the government of this verb three objects to which totally dissimilar honor or respect is paid.

Let us look to our profession of faith, as contrasted with his misrepresentation. "I hold that the *saints* reigning together with Christ are *to be* HONORED *and* INVOKED; and that *they offer prayers* TO GOD for us, and that their *relics are to be* RESPECTED." Such is the doctrine of our Church; instead of which White makes us say "the *saints* are to be WORSHIPPED." Yet the Rev. junta tells us that White is an excellent expositor of our doctrine and a moderate reprover of our errors! As to images, our profession says: "the *images* of Christ, of the mother of God, ever virgin, and also of other saints, may be HAD and RETAINED: and that *due honor and veneration* is to be *given* to them." White says that we teach *to* WORSHIP them. Thus the entire basis of his observations is an implied calumny.

I said that he did not examine the truth or falsehood of the doctrine, the correctness or incorrectness of the practice, but condemns us because the practice has a tendency to give the clergy "an influence upon the people." Is it then a mark of false religion that its clergy possess an influence upon its professors? If so, the Protestant Episcopal Church belongs to a false religion, the religion of the Presbyterians is false, and surely so is that of the Methodist: there is not in the world a true religion, because there is not a sect or division whose clergy has not more or less an influence on its professors: the religion of the Apostles was the most removed from truth, because no body of clergy ever did possess so much influence upon their flocks, as the sacred college did over their disciples.

Were I to enter upon this topic as it would require, I could show you that under the semblance of liberty, the various sects of Protestants are more completely influenced by their clergy than are our laity by our clergy. In truth, there are very few Protestant clergymen of any denomination in America who do not possess and exercise more despotic authority over the opinions and actions of the pious portion of their flocks than any Pope ever dared to aspire to.

Upon the subject of influence, I shall make one general observation; it is necessary that the clergy should possess it to a certain extent; but to possess is not criminal, nor is it criminal to obtain it by lawful and proper means: but it is criminal to use dishonest or unbecoming means to procure it, and if pos-

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so called, and the Orthodox Congregationalists, it cannot be applied at all; unless it may be true that the heresy alluded to has lately crept into the looser portions of these sects. How far it may be true of the Methodists, and of the numberless species of Baptists, the Editors are unable to say; but so far as their knowledge and observation go, they would not bear out the justice of the assertion, that a majority of them have ceased to believe in hell.]

sible more criminal to abuse it when it has been obtained. If the doctrine of the Church be true; and if her practices are founded upon this doctrine, the influence naturally and fairly arising from that practice cannot be improperly acquired. That it might have been in some instances abused, I am prepared to admit, but so has the influence arising from a variety of other true doctrines and pious practices. But the abuse might be corrected without the destruction of the doctrine: as I have somewhere read; it is not necessary to demolish a ship for banishing the vermin with which it is infested: nor would a wise man burn his residence to destroy its cobwebs.

Mr. Blanco White assumes what I am not ready to concede, when he insinuates that there was a time "when the whole of Christendom was more ignorant and superstitious than the most degraded portions of it are at present." I deny the truth of this insinuation: and I will undertake to maintain against any of the reverend junta of his approbators the following propositions.

1. That the whole of Christendom was never since the reign of Constantine sunk into more religious ignorance and superstition, than the whole of England and Wales is at the present moment.

2. That there is less knowledge of the doctrine of Christ at the present moment in England and Wales, than in any other part of Europe, except Russia, Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

3. That there is not in Europe a people so much given to the ignorant superstition of believing in omens, dreams, charms and fortune telling, as the Protestant people of England.

I know what bold assertion and rhetorical declamation have done to create the contrary impression; but I shall require facts, and will give facts in answer; I shall pay no attention to vaporing or declamation; neither will I admit that the authorized ceremonial of one Church is superstitious, nor assume that the practice of the other is so.

I now meet White upon his own ground of conviction, and try him by his own test. And I state a notorious fact. In Ireland there is not, I believe, a single sanctuary of the description which he mentions; should there be a few, they make no account in the general view. Here then is the very case in which he asserted that "more than half the blind deference which the multitude pay to the clergy, and through the clergy to Rome, would quickly disappear." Yet the Irish are said to be the most blindly deferential multitude to their clergy and to Rome of any people in the world. So that the gentleman has had the benefit of his test and lost its application: it even tells to his contradiction.

I thought here to make a passing remark upon the gross misconduct and irreligious demeanor in these States, of some persons who, in that island of saints, were apparently irreproachable, but this is not the place, nor is the present the occasion which I would select to exhibit the cause of this deplorable fatuity: it has produced lamentable effects; but I trust they are transient.

One word more upon this paragraph. Upon the subject of miracles; with the exception of those recorded in the Scripture, White ought to know that no Roman Catholic is bound to believe in the truth of any one, of the evidence to support which he is not fully satisfied: though he is bound by common sense and by revelation to believe that the hand of God is not shortened, nor his power lessened, and that he is as fully able to work a miracle to-day as he was in the days of Moses, or of the Apostles: and hence that if by the phrase, "the age of miracles is gone by," it is meant to convey the idea that God cannot now perform by himself, or by his agents, those extraordinary and peculiar works, it is equally opposed to reason and to religion.

His next paragraph is that which follows, in p. 96:

"The advantages resulting to Rome from the combined effect of indulgences, relics, saints and their images, are not, however, derived only indirectly through the deference enjoyed by her clergy. The bond thereby created between the Pope and the most distant regions which acknowledge his spiritual dominion, is direct. The Mexican and the Peruvian expects the publication of the annual bull, which allows him to eat eggs and milk in lent, enables him to liberate, by name, a certain number of his relations from purgatory, and enlarges the power of his confessor, for the absolution of the most hideous crimes. Wherever he turns, he sees a protecting saint, whose power and willingness to defend him, could not be ascertained without the supernatural and unquestionable authority of the Pope. It is the Holy Father who, by a solemn declaration, allots every district to the peculiar patronage of the saint; it is he who, by grants of indulgence, encourages the worship of those *miraculous* images which form central points of devotion over all the Roman Catholic world: it is he who warrants the supernatural state of incorruption of the body of one saint, and traces, with unerring certainty, some straggling limb to another. It is, finally, he who alone has the undoubted power of *virtually* furnishing the faithful with the relics of the most ancient or unknown patriarchs and martyrs, by bidding the fragment of any skeleton in the catacombs, be part of the body in request."*

* "This is called christening relics. The per-

The first portion of this paragraph only goes to show that we are "*one fold under one shepherd*:" that we are endeavoring to keep the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: one body and one Spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all: until we come in the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: that we be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things which is the head, even Christ, from whom the whole body, fitly jointed together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase in the body, unto the edifying itself in love." (Ephes. iv.) I would ask any rational man, whether it be against the doctrine of the Apostle and of his divine Master, that this unity of the body should be produced by "giving some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, some teachers; for the perfection of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ," (Eph. iv,) by the fulfilment of the Saviour's prayer, "neither pray I for these alone, but for them also *who through their* WORD shall believe in me, that they may all be one; as thou Father in me, and I in thee, that they may be also one in us," &c. (John xvii,) by the sort of unity which the Saviour exhibited as that to be established: "And other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold; one shepherd." (John x.) The first portion of the paragraph asserts that the most distant nations are preserved in this unity by our practice. I say, it is internal evidence of the correctness of the practice.

The last portion is a blending of discreditable misrepresentation and palpable falsehood: of the first kind is the description of the annual bull, the nature and object of which has been heretofore described at length in the Miscellany; of the latter kind is the statement that it is the Pope who allots every district to the patronage of a peculiar saint: if White knew the law or practice of the Roman Catholic Church, he would have been aware that this is not done by the Popes, nor by the Bishops, nor by the Priests, but by the people; the next assertion is notoriously false, for as I have before shown, IMAGES, whether *miraculous* or not, ARE NOT WORSHIPPED, and their worship is neither encouraged nor tolerated: neither is it the Pope who warrants the state of incorruption of a saint, but medical men and other competent witnesses: but it is his decision which approves of the finding of the sufficiency of their testimony by the Congregation of Rites which cautiously re-examines the process and documents of the original tribunals before which the evidence was taken, and which the vituperator styles "tracing with *unerring* certainty some straggling limb to another." But in this case no person claims infallibility for the Pope, and of course the flourish about *unerring* certainty is delusive vaporing.

The gross untruth of the insinuation in the closing passage, taken together with the note, is well worthy of a man whose book is such a tissue as I have shown it to be. There are some assertions which it is very difficult to refute: of this description are those to which an allusion is made in the following very prudent advice: "If you mean to lie, do it boldly, and you will be the more likely to succeed: *a timid liar is always suspected*, but one who comes out with a face of brass and goes through unhesitatingly, will impose upon many and probably will succeed." The canon which restricts the final judgment and decision as to the authenticity of relics, was enacted in direct opposition to the principle insinuated by White. Previously to the Council of Lateran in 1215, several Bishops were found to be remiss in examining the evidence, and in the habit of too easily admitting insufficient proof to show that what was offered was truly a sacred relic; to remedy which, the sixty-second canon of that council reserved the revision and final judgment of the case to the Pope, thereby taking every human precaution against imposition or mistake. Of what value, then, is the declaration of a man, who tells you deliberately that this was giving to the Pope a power which he calls that of *christening relics?*

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Dec. 3, 1827.

LETTER XLIX.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—It is next to impossible that any man who had received his education amongst Roman Catholics, as Blanco White did, could have been the author of the following passage:

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suasion that bones so christened are as good as those of the favorite saint to whom they are attributed, is certainly general in my country. I have no doubt that it is common to all Catholics."

"I do not intend to cast any part of your religious system into ridicule; though I confess it is difficult to mention facts like these, without some danger of exciting a smile. These and similar practices you will, perhaps, construe into innocent means of keeping up a sense of religion among the lower classes."

Every one so educated knows that we do not make use of any practice for the purpose of keeping up a sense of religion in any class of persons, unless we believe that practice to be in itself good and lawful; such a person must also know that we do teach to the rich and to the poor, to the learned and to the unlearned, the very same doctrines, and to all we recommend the very same practices. How could we hope to retain in our communion, wise, learned, and virtuous persons, if they were to know that we had recourse to trick, to delusion, and to imposition upon the LOWER CLASSES? How could we retain the *lower classes*, among whom are great numbers who are better informed upon subjects of religion than any one of hundreds of learned philosophers whom I could at once designate?

I have seen it frequently stated, that Southey the poet is the author of this book to which Blanco White has lent his name; I have assumed, and shall continue to assume that the work belongs to him whose name it bears; but my suspicions, that such is not the fact, would have been excited by even this single passage; because it is unquestionably impossible, that any one who ever had been a member of our Church could entertain this notion: and because the notion is commonly entertained of us by Protestants, as I am well aware.

They tell us that it is a compliment to our understandings: I am very far from receiving any compliment at the price which they require for this; that price is the avowal of my being a hypocrite, a dissembler, a knave, an impostor; and an impostor, too, upon the most awful and tremendous of all subjects, the worship of God, the revelation of heaven, the eternal concerns of the human race, Can this be a compliment? Yet such is the politeness which we sometimes meet with!!! I do not at present choose to state what I know to be the true cause of this most extraordinary blending of kindness and of insult, of respect for our understandings and reproach for our mean deceit. Habit reconciles persons to many strange incongruities, and prejudice cloaks the most palpable contradictions from our view. How often have I, in secret, lamented the origin of this delusion, which I find so common amongst our separated brethren, but to which no instructed Catholic can for a moment be liable? Southey might have written this insolent, absurd, and unfounded charge: White might have written it in conformity to what was fashionable, but not to what he knew to be true. Our holy religion needs no aid from imposture; if it did, it could not be holy or true; if we used delusive means, they would not be innocent; our practices are alike recommended to all our members; had we one religion for the HIGHER ORDERS and another for the LOWER ORDERS, we could not conceal the fact, and its detection would be justly the ruin of our cause. However, the very absurdity of the supposition will not prevent its repetition; the charge is nearly eighteen centuries of age; and should the world continue eighteen centuries more, it will be made against our successors as it has been against our predecessors, and as it is now made against us.

White proceeds thus:

"But without insisting, at present, upon their demoralizing and degrading tendency, I only present them in conjunction with all the other means of power and influence which the Church of Rome has drawn from the, at least, doubtful title, on which she grounds her spiritual supremacy."

This is what I complain of; he insinuates a charge which he dares not make; that those practices are demoralizing and degrading: he also assumes what he has not proved; that the spiritual supremacy of Rome is grounded on a doubtful title: this is indeed begging the question, or rather assuming as true that which has been totally disproved. But let us see his new mode of endeavoring to destroy the tenet which he failed in disproving before: p. 98,

"It is, indeed, of great importance in the question between Rome and the Protestants, to observe the consequences of their respective interpretation of Scripture, in regard to their own interests. The mass of Christians who, unable to weigh the theological arguments urged by the controversialists of both parties, content themselves with an implicit, and often an indifferent, acquiescence in the tenets which education chanced to impress on their minds; might form a pretty accurate notion of the whole case, by the following easy and compendious method. They should, in the first place, endeavor to become familiar with the reasoning which shows the absurdity of settling the question of Papal supremacy on other than Scriptural grounds."

This is again begging the question; for it assumes what we deny, viz. That there is no other mode but the evidence of the Scripture for ascertaining the fact, that St. Peter was the supreme visible head of the Church after the death of Christ, and that his suc-

cessors were to hold the same office to the end of the world. Allow me to exhibit the absurdity of this assumption in a very plain way.

If St. Peter had obtained this commission, he had it during the seven or ten years which elapsed between the ascension of our Saviour and the writing of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is the first book of the Scriptures in which it could be written. Would his commission from Christ have been the less valid, because as yet no evangelist had written the testimony? Suppose it was not written until St. John wrote his Gospel, and that St. John did write the testimony of the facts in his Gospel, xxi, 15, 16, 17, would not these facts have been true in all the time which intervened between the giving of the commission previous to the ascension, and its being written by the evangelist sixty-five years after? Thus the validity of the commission of Peter would in either case have been believed, upon sufficient grounds, by millions of Christians before ever it was written in the Scriptures, and the evidence of the facts could also have reached us though no Gospel had been ever written. White here assumes another false principle, viz. that nothing is to be believed as true in religion, but what is found on record in the Bible. He has been pleased to say, that it would be absurd to believe otherwise. I must be excused for retorting, by declaring the absurdity of this assumption; and unless my position be correct, the great bulk of Christians in the first five ages were all guilty of the grossest folly, because they built their belief not upon the Scripture, but upon other grounds.

He next proceeds, p. 98:

"Let them remember what cannot be too much repeated, the necessity of deriving the knowledge of any infallible expounder of the Scriptures from the testimony of those Scriptures, perused and understood without the aid of that expounder."

The Rev. gentleman must excuse me, if I differ altogether from his position here; for again he assumes what he is not allowed, and has not proved, viz. that those books which he calls Scripture do contain the word of God. I have never yet known any Protestant seriously undertake to prove this: they always assume it as granted, and this is indeed very like what, in p. 22, White calls "Christianity being a groundless fabric, the world supported by the elephant; the elephant standing on the tortoise." To know that these books contain the word of God, presupposes a witness competent to testify that they are his word. The Catholics say, that, before St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, the infallible witness, the Church of Christ, existed, and that this witness still lives; and tells him as she told his predecessors in every age, that those books contain the word of God. The Protestant says, that she not only is fallible, but has misled millions of persons to damnable idolatry, and to other errors; that she is not to be trusted: of course, he has no witness in her testimony. Where then is his evidence that these books are the word of God? Or will he admit that she will give him, with infallible certainty, the written word of God, but will not give him its true meaning? Upon what will he ground his distinction? If she is infallible in giving the doctrine, the exposition of the Scripture's meaning is doctrine, and White's position is untenable.

The miserable ingenuity which this sentence contains is unworthy of even a venal poet. Mark the logic he would induce us to adopt, that he might hold us up to scorn after we should have been misled. First, we were to assume without evidence of the fact, that certain books contained the revealed will of God, and nothing but what he had revealed: next, being at a loss for the exact meaning of the words susceptible of divers interpretations and differently interpreted, we were to seek for an infallible interpreter, and to find him, we should commence by assuming to be infallible interpreters ourselves. Should we do this, White would very naturally turn about and tell us, that now we had adopted the Protestant principle of considering our own private judgment as the proper mode of learning the most important rule, that upon which all others depend: and as we commenced with this rule, it was equally good for a continuation. Our answer is short and simple, viz. The Church existed before the Scripture was written; at that time, she was the only guide which the faithful had; she was the only one given by Christ; from her, and not from Christ, they received the Scriptures; from her they also received their interpretation; she still continues, she still testifies: before any of the Scriptures were written, the fact of the supremacy of Peter and his successors was known; before they were all written, Rome had been selected by Peter as his seat, and he had successors therein, whose supremacy was notorious and recognised: thus, before an evangelist wrote a line, the infallibility of the Church was known and recognised; and, hence, the whole of White's assumptions are false in fact and absurd in principle.

He proceeds, p. 98:

"To appeal to *divine* tradition as a rule for the interpretation of Scripture in this state of the question, is equally unreasonable and pre-

posterous; since from the nature of the cases, there is, as yet, no infallible rule to distinguish *divine* tradition from human and fallible report."

The fallacy and untruth of this passage is now evident.

"The next step in this momentous inquiry is to ascertain, by human means, the true sense of such passages of the Scriptures as are said to contain the appointment of a living supreme authority in matters of faith."

This might do very well for Protestants, Catholics need take no such step. Christ, by establishing his Church as their guide, has given them the authority; it has existed from his day to the present; and he declared, that it was to continue to the consummation of the world: then, but not till then, will the commission expire by its own limitation.

"Here, two sets of men deeply learned in all the branches of divinity, present themselves as interpreters. These affirm that the passages in question contain the rights and privileges which the Church of Rome and her head claim for themselves; those positively deny that the passages can bear such meaning. Remember again, I request you, that the decision must depend exclusively on the reasoning faculties of mankind."

This is just as if a man were to say: a law has been entrusted to the administration of a permanent court, which court expounds the same; but some men who have been disappointed by its decisions, without any color of a commission, erect themselves into a tribunal, and tell you that their decisions are more correct. Remember the commission of the State is to go for nothing, and the propriety of the decision is to be determined by the reasoning faculties of individuals. What is this but to assume against the fact, that Christ did not establish a Church before the evangelist wrote; and then tell the people that they were to pay the same regard to those who deny the fact as to the Church which he established? It might be a good delusion in the minds of the junta, to throw away a fact and its evidence, and then tell you to establish the fact without adducing the evidence, because they do not like to avow its truth: I prefer keeping things as they are; I hold with St. Augustine, that I would not know upon what rational grounds I could receive the Gospel, except by the testimony of the Church; and I must know the witness and the value of his testimony, before I can receive its results. The Catholic knows the Church first, and from that he receives the Scriptures. So it was in the early days of Christianity, in the days of the Apostles, and thence to the present day.

"Which, now, of these two opposed masses of intellect, is most likely to catch the true meaning of the texts? Which of the two interpretations have we most reason to suppose free from the distortions of prejudice? Common sense answers the question: that which is directly against the interests of the interpreters."

I state it is the interest of the Protestant mass of intellect, to have the decision in favor of its own cause; and for private judgment, because it has been condemned by the public tribunal. White says:

"Europe lay prostrate at the feet of the Pope, and every member of his clergy was raised, by the common opinion, to a rank and dignity to which even kings bowed their head. The meanest priest claimed and enjoyed exemptions which were often denied to the first nobles of the land. Wealth and honors were theirs; the law shrunk before them, when guilt and piety were ready to throw a cloak on their vices. The Church had, for many ages, been in the possession of unrivalled power on earth, when, at the rousing voice of a few obscure men, who questioned the foundation of that mighty structure, a large portion of those that might have continued under its shelter, unanimously declared that the whole was a work of delusion, which had sprung from an original, unexamined error. Such was the *unanimous* conviction of all the Protestants, when no bias but that of a contrary tendency could exist in their minds. If *common sense*, therefore, must be the interpreter of divine authority, conveyed to us in human language, this fact alone suffices to point the side to which that plain and faithful guide gives its sanction."

The commencement of this rhapsody is a series of untruths, not a whit the more venerable for their frequent repetition by our opponents, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the most ignorant stump bawler. There was no period during a long course of years when Europe was less under the influence of Rome than the very moment selected. So far from the clergy holding the place described, they were in many instances justly censured for great misconduct, and convicted and punished for their crimes: not only were their vices condemned by their superiors, but they were magnified and distorted, and multiplied by the people, who thus sought to palliate their own; and shorn of many of her privileges; as also stripped of several of her acquired prerogatives, the Church, though she had, during previous ages, possessed great power, was now a butt for every tyro at calumny, a theme for every unprincipled satirist: an object of plunder to every petty pillage-loving lordling, and though sound in her faith, wanting reformation in her discipline: like a stately vessel which had been

ong tossed in a tempestuous ocean, and now returned to harbor with her timbers good, and her hull uninjured, but her cordage worn, her rigging in disorder, and her sails tattered; she was more unseemly to the eye than in favor with her surveyors. It was in such a moment as this, that a disappointed, ambitious friar began to complain, and soon found associates, whose unrestrained passions found in his interpretation of the sacred volume, their long looked-for sanction; yet the congregated band of discordant separatists, was but a miserable minority of a single patriarchate of the Western Church. White may boast, if he will, of the *unanimous* conviction of contradictory divisions, that it was necessary to destroy the authority of the tribunal which pronounced them all equally in error.

If *common sense* be the interpreter of divine authority conveyed to us in human language, and that common sense is to be found on the side of the vast majority, White's fact fails him: and our fact being applied to this principle, suffices to point out the guide which he seeks, in that Church which pre-existed to the Gospels; from which the Scriptures received that testimony without which they would be a dead letter; which taught the doctrine of Christ before those Scriptures were written; and which, in the midst of the early controvertists, decided who held their true meaning; which preserved them through centuries of persecution, and ages of anarchy, and presents them to us this day, together with the history of their perversion, and their application, and the evidence of their authority. If common sense be that which is most common, which is Catholic, which is predominant in every age and in every nation of Christianity, and which now, as in every other age, is the expressed conviction of the vast majority of the Christian, that is, the civilized world, that *common sense* informs us that the Catholic Church, which is united to the Bishop of Rome as its head, and the centre of its unity, has been established by Christ to give his doctrine with infallible certainty, down to the consummation of the world; and as that doctrine is to be found in the correct explanation of the written law where it is ambiguous, that Church could not be the correct teacher of his law, if she could mislead us in that interpretation, nor would he send her to teach and command us to hear error from her lips; and if she errs, to what source shall we turn for certain knowledge. Thus, White's effort was to delude his readers into the very vicious circle in which they falsely charge us with moving, or to the alternative which he gives, private and fallible judgment, which would establish that a thousand contradictions are all divine inspirations of truth, communications from heaven.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Dec. 13, 1827.

LETTER I.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—I now lay before you the concluding passages of White's third letter.

"The Reformed Churches are taxed with their *variations*, as if, like Rome, they had pledged their existence upon infallibility. They have, indeed, varied and dissented from each other; with this difference from the oracular Church of the Vatican, that they have not disguised their proceedings, nor set up an Inquisition as the guard of their unity."

This again insinuates a plain falsehood, viz. that the unity of the Catholic Church is the result of the existence of the Inquisition. When White wrote those letters, the Inquisition did not exist in Spain, it did not exist in Portugal, it did not exist in South America, it did not exist in the East Indies, it did not exist in France, neither could it be said to exist in Italy: it never existed in any other part of the world: and the Catholic Church was and is in unity, though no such tribunal is now placed as its guard: she was in unity during twelve centuries before its institution: nor has the Irish Catholic been drawn away from that unity by the confiscations, the plunderings, the immoral and impious encouragement to children by bribing them with the family property for their seduction, by the imprisonments, the banishments, the gibbetings, and the worse than pagan oppression by which the Church of England sought and continues to seek its preservation. I say the Church of England, because with a very few honorable exceptions, it is her supreme head, her bench of Bishops, and her clergy and their connexions, who have devised, and executed and perpetuated this worse than Dioclesian's code, to continue which, White himself has given his aid. "The only security of *Toleration* must be a certain degree of intolerance, in regard to its enemies; as prisons in the freest governments are necessary for the preservation of freedom." For this he "*volunteered* his testimony in the great pending cause,"—when the question was concerning the repeal of this code which is to England a mantle of disgrace! Yet this is the man who writes of an Inquisition!!!—The unity of doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church has subsisted and continues to subsist as well in affliction as in prosperity, equally firm and complete under the persecution of the Emperor of China, and the King of England, as in the

free States of this continent, or in the Spanish dominions, or throughout the rest of Catholic Europe, where every man has perfect freedom of conscience. This precious passage admits what could not be denied, that no Protestant Church can be certain that it teaches the doctrine of Christ: I do not understand what is meant by "disguising their proceedings."

"But while the love of truth compelled the Reformers to expose themselves to the insults and raillery of their mortal enemies, by breaking into parties upon the more abstruse points of divinity; not even a doubt has disturbed their unanimity as to the insufficiency of the title to divine supremacy, by which Rome commands intellectual homage."

There is nothing more natural than that all who withdraw from unity should assert that it is not necessary; that all who oppose the decisions of a tribunal, should deny its authority. This is an admirable unity! But what are the more abstruse points of divinity? *Whether God is one in nature, and three in subsistence.* The truth of this which is the *most* abstruse point of divinity, is for instance, not to be ascertained by human sagacity; but by the simple knowledge of the fact that God said such was his nature and subsistence. If he said so; all they who believe in the doctrine of the Trinity are correct, all they who deny it are in error: the want of unity which we charge upon Protestants is not a want of unity of opinion, but a want of unity of doctrine, want of unity of Faith. What White calls the abstruse points of divinity are the doctrines which Christ revealed to man, and he acknowledges that the *Reformers*, as he calls them, "break into parties" respecting those doctrines. It is clear that as a body they teach glaring contradictions; it is equally plain that some, if not all of them, must teach what contradicts the doctrine of Christ, and no one of them can give us certainty that the contradiction is not taught by itself; thus, by the avowal of White and of the junta, in no Protestant communion can a person have certainty that he does not contradict what the Saviour taught. Mark then the state to which upon their principle Christendom is reduced. The Roman Catholic Church says that it will give the doctrines of revelation with infallible certainty. "No," they exclaim, "neither you nor we, nor any other body can so give them." Of course no human being can be certain that he knows what God has taught. Faith is the belief of what God has taught; that belief must be founded upon certainty: by destroying certainty, they subvert Faith:

"That, indeed, was the only point of controversy which common sense could decide; and the renunciation of all the worldly advantages to which the Roman Church invited the Reformers, had left their judgment unbiassed."

Suppose I grant the truth of the first supposition; history forbids me to grant that of the second. The Reformers, as they are called, had almost all their worldly motives against the truth. The first princes who in Germany and in England protected the dogmatizers, had their worst passions to gratify; and found that gratification opposed by the Roman Catholic Church, and sanctioned by the Reformers, Luther, Melanethon, Corvin, Bucer, Adam, Leningue, Wintferte, Melander. Crammer, &c. They renounced no worldly advantages to which the Roman Church invited them.

"Other disputes in divinity must be settled by a long, difficult and laborious process of inquiry; but a privilege is a matter of fact which, if not *evidently* proved, becomes a nonentity."

I thought that the Scriptures made "divinity" very easy to the meanest capacity, [so that] all who could read the Scriptures, might understand divinity, but it seems White is coming back to his Catholic principles, that *common sense* will first exhibit to you a witness, and the witness will then testify what God revealed. This is our Catholic principle.

"Now, the peculiar privilege claimed by Rome, essentially precludes *doubtful* proofs of its existence. A *doubtful* gift from God with a view to remove *doubt*, is a mockery of his wisdom. If the *common sense* of many learned and unbiassed minds is found to agree in denying that the Scripture passages alleged by Rome. in favor of her miraculous infallibility, contain a clear promise of that gift, or describe in whom. and how it was to exist after the decease of the Apostles; the pretensions of the Pope and his Church must be visionary."

By no means, until it is first shown that there is no other mode of knowing the truth of a fact but from the Scripture. This is the old fallacy: to assert that our proof of the existence of an infallible tribunal is derived only from the Scripture: and, that the *common sense* of a minority is the proper rule for interpreting the Scripture. Now we admit neither position; we say that before the Scripture was written, evidence existed of the facts that Christ had made St. Peter head of the Church, and that this office was to continue with his successors, and that Christ made that Church the infallible witness of his doctrine. Common sense observed and acknowledged these facts before St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, therefore it is not from that Gospel the proof was first had, although

that Gospel was the first written portion of the New Testament; and what common sense then without the aid of Gospel, knew to be facts, might be exhibited as facts to us, although they should never have been recorded in the sacred volume.

Again, suppose I were to admit that amongst the Protestants there were many learned and unbiassed minds: I hope it would be admitted that amongst the Catholics there were also many learned and unbiassed minds: and if, as is the fact, the Catholics are four times as numerous as all the Protestant sects united, I have four times as many learned and unbiassed minds for the Catholic, as I have for the Protestant explanation, unless the senseless, arrogant and untenable position were taken that a Catholic cannot be as learned or as unbiassed as a Protestant. In Great Britain this has been attempted, and in America there is a strong disposition amongst some Protestants to take the same ground; but like many other old British follies it is on the wane. Thus if *common sense* of learned men with equally unbiassed minds, or minds equally biassed to opposite sides, be the proper interpreter of Scripture passages: *common sense* being the sense of the *great majority*, not that of the *small minority*, the Catholic explanation is that which is correct and not doubtful.

In all this I have given to White an unfair advantage, because I have not pressed what I could and what is the fact, that when without the aid of Scripture, I learned the infallibility of the Church, from *common sense*, I then learned from the same source that this infallible Church and not her disunited opponents, was the tribunal to give me its accurate meaning. To admit a Protestant interpretation in such a case, would be like setting up the rejected glosses of a non-suited litigant, as of equal authority with the decision of a supreme court of appeals.

"The negative proof, in such cases,—the absence of a clear title—has the strength of demonstration. Nothing can weaken its force upon a candid mind, but the very common habit of starting away from newly discovered truth in fear of its consequences, which we have previously condemned.

"I am aware that, unable as you must be to find a direct and sufficient answer to this argument, and inclined to admit its truth, as an honest mind will make you; yet a crowd of such consequences will deter you from the path into which reason is ready to lead you.—A Church subject to error and division!—You shrink from such an inference, without remarking that the *preconceived* and *unproved* necessity of having an infallible Church, is the true and only source of that illogical process, by which you have endeavored to establish the *certain* existence of infallibility, upon the *uncertain* sense of a few words of the Gospel."

The whole of this is now but empty sound, and false suggestion; because it is not upon the uncertain meaning of a few words of the Gospel, but upon a notorious fact, as also upon the very nature of faith, that we establish the certain existence of infallibility. Those I have before given as our positive arguments, hence we have a clear title, and it is unfair to say that we have not.

I shall conclude my remarks upon this topic by stating that our opponents avow that they cannot with certainty know or teach what God has revealed, and yet they assume to be teachers of God's law!!! They state that our unity is the result of persecuting those who differ from us. We have suffered more, at least four times more, from Protestant persecutors, within three centuries, than all the victims of the Inquisition have endured throughout the world since the establishment of that tribunal; and the Inquisition is not a religious but a political tribunal, which has never existed as a mere ecclesiastical institution; it was found only in a very few Catholic nations, and only during particular epochs: its victims have not been Protestants, seldom has a Protestant been convicted in its court, but a vast multitude of its prisoners were delinquents in the most atrocious degree against the most sacred laws of nature, who in any civilized, and even in many savage nations, would be given up to infamous capital punishment; others were criminals who suffered for various heavy transgressions of law relating to general religion, such as sacrilege; others whom the Inquisition gave to the fire, would indeed in New England, or in old England, have only been hanged for witchcraft and sorcery. Our unity is not a result of the Inquisition, but of our belief in the competency of the Church to testify to us with infallible certainty the revelation of God. In this belief the vast majority of Christendom now is, and has been always united. The Church then assumes to be the teacher of God's doctrine, because she knows that doctrine with infallible certainty.

Nor is this certainty grounded upon the vicious semblance of reasoning which our opponents impute to us; but upon the notorious facts, that before the Scriptures were written, Christ formed the Church, commissioned her to teach, commanded men to hear, and promised that he would lead her into all truth, and remain with her to the

end of the world that she might be enabled to fulfil her high duty of teaching. And although when the Scriptures were written those facts were recorded upon the sacred page, still they were true and notorious before the record was made, and would have continued equally true and notorious though the Gospel never had been written. Each division testifies truly of itself; the Roman Catholic Church, when she says, "By virtue of the divine commission I will with infallible certainty exhibit to you the doctrines of the Most High;" and the so called Reformers, when they say, "We are not certain which are the doctrines of Heaven, we pretend to no infallibility, but we will tell you *our opinions*." We want no *opinions*, we desire the *testimony of doctrine*, for the foundation of our Faith. Faith is the belief of what God teaches, not of what might be human opinion.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Dec. 17, 1827.

LETTER LI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends: I proceed to consider White's fourth letter, the title of which is the following:

"A specimen of the unity exhibited by Rome. Roman Catholic distinction between *infallibility* in doctrine, and liability to misconduct. Consequences of this distinction. Roman Catholic unity and invariableness of Faith, a delusion. Scriptural unity of faith."

He commences his letter with the apparent fairness of quoting only from ourselves for our own condemnation.

"'So long since as the council of Vienne (I quote the words of your great champion, Bossuet, translated by your apologist Mr. Butler*) a great prelate, commissioned by the Pope to prepare matters to be treated upon, laid down for a groundwork to the whole assembly, that they ought to *reform the Church in the head and members*. The great schism which happened soon after, made this saying current, not among particular doctors only, as Gerson, Peter d'Ailly, and other great men of those times, but *in councils too;* and nothing was more frequently repeated in those of *Pisa* and *Constance*. What happened in the council of Basil, *where a reformation was unfortunately* eluded, and the Church re-involved in new divisions, is well known.' Such is the picture of the Roman Catholic Church at the beginning of the fifteenth century, drawn by the most able as well as cautious of her divines."

Not a word is here said of *reforming doctrine*.

* "Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 156, 1st ed."

To show the want of that candor to which he pretends, it will only be necessary for me to give you the entire paragraph which he has garbled.

"*History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches.*" *Book* I.

"A reformation of Church discipline was wished for, several ages since. 'Who will grant me,' cried St. Bernard, 'to see, before I die, the Church of God such as she was in primitive times?' If this holy man had any thing to regret at his death, it was, that he had not seen so happy a change. His whole life long, he bemoaned the grievances of the *Church*. He never ceased giving notice of them to the people, the clergy, the Bishops, the Popes themselves. Nor did he conceal his sentiments on this head from his own religious, who partook of his affliction in their solitude, and so much the more gratefully extolled the divine goodness, which had drawn them to it, as the world was more universally corrupted. Disorders had but increased since that time. The *Roman* Church, the mother of Churches, which had for nine whole ages, by setting the first example of an exact observance of ecclesiastical discipline, maintained it throughout the universe to her utmost power, was not exempt from evil."

This precedes the paragraph quoted by White; now read what follows his quotation:—

"The disorders of the *clergy*, chiefly those in *Germany*, were represented in this manner to *Eugenius* IV, by *Cardinal Julian*: 'These disorders,' *said he*, 'excite the people's hatred against the whole ecclesiastical order, and should they not be corrected, it is to be feared. lest the laity, like the *Hussites*, fall foul on the clergy as they loudly threaten us.' If the *clergy* of *Germany* were not speedily reformed, he foretold, that to the heresy of *Bohemia although it were extinguished, another* still more dangerous *would* soon *succeed;* 'for it will be said,' proceeded he, 'that the clergy are incorrigible and will apply no remedy to their disorders. When they shall find no hopes left of our amendment,' continued this great Cardinal, 'then will they fall upon us. The minds of men are big with expectation of what measures will be taken, and full ripe they seem for something tragical? The rancour they have imbibed against us becomes manifest; they will soon think it an agreeable sacrifice to God, to plunder and abuse ecclesiastics, as abandoned to extreme disorders, and hateful to God and man. The now but small remains of respect to the sacred order, will shortly be quite extinguished. The blame of these abuses will be thrown on the court of *Rome*, which will be reckoned the sole cause thereof, *because it had neglected to apply the necessary remedy.*' 'I see,' *said he*, 'the axe is at the root: the tree begins to bend. *and*, instead of propping it whilst we may, we hasten on its fall.' He foresees a speedy desolation in the *German* clergy. The desire of

taking from them their temporal goods, was to be the first spring of motion: 'bodies and souls,' says he, 'will perish together. God hides from us the prospect of our dangers, as he is used to do with those he designs to punish: we see the fire enkindled before us, and yet run headlong into it.'

"Thus did this *Cardinal*, the greatest man of his time, lament in the fifteenth century the abuses of those days: and foresee their dreadful consequences; whereby he seems to have foretold those evils which *Luther* was just going to involve all *Christendom* in, beginning by *Germany;* nor was he mistaken, when he foreboded that a despised *reformation*, and redoubled hatred against the clergy, would speedily bring forth a sect more terrible to the Church, than that of the *Bohemians*. Under *Luther's* banner did this sect appear, and assuming the title of *Reformers*, gloried they had fulfilled all Christendom's desires, inasmuch as a *Reformation* had long been the desire of Catholics, people, doctors, and their prelates. In order therefore to authorize this pretended *Reformation*, whatsoever church-writers had said against the disorders both of the people, and even of the clergy, was collected with great industry. But in this lay manifest deceit, there not being so much as one of all the passages alleged, wherein those doctors ever dreamt of altering the Church's *Faith;* of correcting her *Worship*, which chiefly consisted in the sacrifice of the *Altar;* of subverting the *Authority* of her prelates, that of the Pope especially, the very scope this whole *Reformation*, introduced by *Luther*, tended to."

Thus in those desires of reformation there was no expression of either an intention or right to change the doctrine; and however reprehensible the conduct of several of the clergy might have been, there was no deviation from the faith, no variance in doctrine between them and the purest and most holy members of the Church. The writer then proceeds to exhibit what he asserts to be the cause why reformation was eluded.

"The distinct mention of the *unfortunate* cause which prevented the proposed Reformation, would have given more color and individuality to the picture. It was, in fact, a revival of the *great schism*, which for fifty years had lately kept the Roman Catholic Church divided between two or three Popes, who at one and the same time, claimed the prerogative of vicars of Christ: it was a fierce contest between the council of Constance and Eugenius IV, the Pope who had convened it, and whom the assembled Bishops wished to reform: it was a sentence of excommunication issued by the council against Eugenius: it was a rival council convoked at Ferrara by the excommunicated Pope, where he employed the same arms against the fathers assembled at Basil: it was, in fine, the triumph of Rome against the spirit which had attempted to execute the work, of which 'great prelates,' 'particular doctors,' and 'councils too,' spoke so frequently, as to establish it into a 'current saying,' that the Church needed reform in *head and members*. The *head*, unwilling to be reformed, imprecated the curse of Heaven upon the *members;* and the *members* finding that *head* incurable, chose for themselves another, when they had duly devoted the refractory one to the unquenchable fire. Such are the 'well-known' events which took place in '*the council of Basil, where a reformation was unfortunately eluded, and the Church re-involved in new divisions.*'"

I have been greatly astonished at the number of mistakes in this paragraph. Before I examine its general untruth I shall remark upon one of the most striking particulars merely for the purpose of showing how little reliance is to be placed upon the historical accuracy of this most learned M. A., B. D., *in the University of Seville; Licentiate of Divinity in the University of Osuna; formerly Chaplain Magistral (Preacher) to the King of Spain, in the Royal Chapel at Seville: Fellow, and once Rector, of the college of St. Mary a Jesu of the same town; Synodal Examiner of the Diocess of Cadiz; Member of the Royal Academy of Belles-lettres of Seville, &c., &c.: now a clergyman of the Church of England;—Author of Doblado's Letters from Spain:* supported by the recommendations of so many of our eminent American clergymen.

The council of Constance was convoked in the year 1413 by Pope John XXIII, and its first session was held on the 16th of November of the following year; it having been opened on the 5th of that month. John XXIII, and Gregory XII, having resigned their pretensions to the Papacy in 1415, and the anti-Pope Benedict XII, having been deposed in 1417. Martin V was elected in that year, and the last session of the council was held on the 22d of April, 1418. Pope Martin V lived to the year 1431, which was thirteen years after the close of the council of Constance, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV, in that year; which was eighteen years after the convention of the council of Constance. Yet this accurate historian and his abettors make Eugenius convene this council so many years before he was Pope: and make him enter into a fierce contest with a council with which he had no difference. This will suffice to show how little dependence is to be placed upon the statements of fact in this book. In a variety of other passages a like ignorance and inaccuracy is manifested.

I shall not however deny that there was a serious difference between Pope Eugenius and the Bishops assembled at Basil, but the

nature of that difference is unfairly exhibited by this uncandid writer. In order fully to understand the case, it will be necessary for you to know something of the history of what White calls the *great schism*, and then to see its sequel in this most melancholy epoch of the Church.

In the commencement of the 14th century, Bertrand Archbishop of Bordeaux in France, was elected Pope: and in place of going to Rome to be crowned, he ordered the Cardinals and others to meet him at Lyons, where his inauguration took place in the Church of St. Justus on Sunday the 14th of November, 1305; he taking the name of Clement V. After passing the intermediate time in other parts of France, he came to Avignon in the spring of 1309, where he took up his abode; and died on his way towards Bordeaux, in 1314. His successor, John XXII, a Frenchman, was also crowned at Lyons, and resided at Avignon: meantime Italy became a prey to the Guelphs and Ghibbelines and to other parties of marauders: Louis of Bavaria, especially, went to Rome and roused the passions of the people against John, whom he accused of a variety of crimes, especially of not residing in his see, though frequently besought, and usurping an authority to which he had no claim; he pronounced sentence of deposition against the Pope, and asked the crowd if they desired to elect in his stead one, who, thus improperly and invalidly selected, took the name of Nicholas V. The partizans of this faction used all means to vilify the character of John. Two years afterwards, this anti-Pope made his submission to John, who died about four years subsequently, on the 4th of December, 1334. He was succeeded by another Frenchman, Benedict XII. The Romans sent a request to Benedict that he would go to the capital city; he stated it to be his intention; but subsequently finding the States of Italy in turmoil, he remained at Avignon, and died in 1342. Clement VI, another Frenchman, was his successor. At this time Joan, Queen of Naples, who, as countess of Provence, owned Avignon, being in great want of money, sold that city to the Holy See; which sale was ratified by the Emperor Charles IV, such ratification being required for this sale, as Avignon was a fief of the empire. The ratification took place in 1348; Clement died in 1352; and was succeeded by Innocent VI, a Frenchman, who died in September, 1362, and was succeeded by another Frenchman, Urban V. This prelate determined upon going to Rome, but when in 1366 he began to make preparations for his removal, the King of France used his utmost efforts to dissuade him therefrom; amongst those who particularly urged him to go, was the famous Petrarch. In April 1367 Urban departed from Avignon and arrived at Rome on the 16th of October, of the same year, sixty-three years since Benedict XI left that city; here he staid, nearly three years, and returned to Avignon, to endeavor as he said to reconcile the French and English nations then opposed to each other; he died at Avignon on the 19th of December of that year; and was succeeded by another Frenchman, Gregory XI, who was consecrated on the vigil of Epiphany, 1371. The Roman people sent to request his residence, and he declared his determination to comply with their very reasonable invitation. In August 1376 he was again waited upon by the Roman ambassadors, and was assured by several that his neglect would be attended with disastrous consequences. The King of France used every effort to detain him at Avignon. The Pope left this city on the 13th of September, 1376, and arrived in Rome on the 17th of January, 1377: many attempts were made to induce his return to Avignon, but he died at Rome on the 7th of March, 1378: shortly after his death the great schism commenced. I thought it necessary to lay before you this sketch of history, that you might be better able to form a correct judgment of the nature of that calamitous event. You will observe that between the persons who desired that the Pope should reside at Rome, and those who wished his residence at Avignon, there was a perfect accord and consent upon every doctrine of Faith: also, they agreed that the Bishop of Rome was and ought to be the visible head of the Church, and that this Church was but one body, from which any separation would be unlawful, schismatical and criminal. You will also observe the difference between schism which is an obstinate separation of one's self from the obedience due to the proper officers of the Church, and a disposition to obey that proper authority, but a doubt as to which of two contending parties holds it, or a mistake in the decision, whereby a person innocently adheres to the person who is the usurper. You will also observe a wide difference between schism itself and heresy, which is an obstinate refusal to believe what God has revealed. I now proceed to say that supposing a disputed election for any office in this Union, and that a number of the citizens did adhere to one candidate, asserting that he was properly and constitutionally chosen, whilst a number of others adhered to his opponent, alleging that he was the constitutional officer: suppose this to be the case in the office of our President, and that several of the States adhered to one, and the remainder to another; that the Congress was

in like manner divided; however unfortunate such a state of things might be, still both parties would acknowledge the constitutional doctrine, yet each would call the other an usurping faction. Still would our constitution subsist. After various fruitless efforts to put a stop to such a state of things, suppose a convention of the States to assemble and to depose or drive to a resignation the rival pretenders, and to elect a new President and re-unite the Congress, would not our constitution have survived the storm? Would not our President be the lawful successor of those who had previously held that office? Would he not have the same powers which the constitution gave to them? And would we not be the same body that we were before? I shall show you in my next that our case is even better than what I have now described, in that period which is denominated the *great schism*. But I must reserve this for my next.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 14, 1827.

LETTER LII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—The object which I have in view is to show you that during the *great schism*, neither party deviated from the doctrine of the Church, but all those concerned in it held a common faith: and also, that the succession of the Bishops of Rome was not lost by the melancholy occurrences of that period.

In my last I have shown you how the Popes came to reside at Avignon during the space of about seventy years: though residing in France, they were still Bishops of Rome, heads of the Church, and the successors of St. Peter. You will easily conceive how the citizens of Rome must have been mortified and displeased at this abandonment of their city: and how when Gregory XI died amongst them and the Cardinals, whose right it was to elect his successor, were to meet not at Avignon but at Rome, the people naturally dreading that if a Frenchman were chosen he might continue to hold his court at Avignon, began to cry out for a Roman, or at all events, an Italian Pope; threatening that if any other was chosen they would revenge it upon his electors. In this state of things, Bartholemew de Pregnano, Archbishop of Bari, was selected. When this came to be known, several persons mistook the title for the name, and under the impression that the Cardinals had fixed upon John de Bar, a Frenchman, they broke into the Conclave and assailed the electors, who fled in different directions. Others under the impression that the Cardinal of St. Peter's was elected, violently seized upon him, clothed him with the Pontifical habits, and began to pay him the usual marks of respect. This Cardinal declared that he had not been chosen, and would never be Pope, upon which the disappointed crowd abused him.

Next day the Archbishop of Bari informed the magistrates of his election, but added that he could do nothing until the Cardinals would make the usual proclamation, and give him possession. About a dozen of the Sacred College were brought together, who proclaimed him Pope, under the name of Urban VI, and gave him possession, and assisted at his coronation on the eighteenth day after, which was Easter Sunday; and on the subsequent day they wrote to inform the Cardinals who were at Avignon, that the election had been free and canonical.

Meantime a number of the French Cardinals wrote to their king that the election was invalid and uncanonical, because of the want of freedom of the Cardinals, and the violence of the Roman people.

Urban's manners were harsh and unaccommodating, and he treated the Cardinals in such a manner as to excite their discontent; thirteen French Cardinals retired from Rome to Anagni, and sent him a protest against the validity of his election, withdrawing their obedience; they also published a manifesto to the Catholic world, in which they stated that in the election they were forced to act against their judgments by the violence of the people. Having prevailed upon three Italian Cardinals to join them, they assembled under the protection of Joan of Naples, at Fondi, in her territories, and elected as Pope five months after the election of Urban, Robert, Cardinal of the twelve Apostles, brother to Amadeus, count of Geneva, a Swiss, who took the name of Clement VII, [and] went to Avignon.

Let us now see the exact state of the question. In the first place there was no difference in doctrine; next, there was no deviation from the principle that the Bishop of Rome is the visible head of Christ's Church and that all persons are bound to be of that Church, and in communion with its head. But there was a serious doubt as to a particular fact, viz. whether Urban had been freely and canonically elected. In such a case the duty of a good Christian, upon Catholic principles, is to wait patiently the result of the examination by a proper tribunal, and meantime to be disposed to submit to the decision of that tribunal, which in the last resort is a general Convention of the whole Church in a council of its Bishops. Frequently these Bishops could examine the evidence in their

Sees, and decide without assembling, and the agreement of a great majority would remove the doubt and settle the question.

In the present case such a decision was not speedily had, and therefore the Church was divided. Urban was recognised as duly elected, by the Germans, Hungarians, English, Irish, Bohemians, Poles, Danes, Swedes Prussians, Norwegians, Dutch, Tuscans, Lombards, Milanese, and other Italians, save the Neapolitans, and by some of the Spaniards: whilst Naples, most of Sicily, Scotland, Arragon, Castile, Navarre, Savoy, and Lorraine, declared their belief of the invalidity of the election of Urban, and their adherence to Clement. France declared at first her neutrality, until a decision should be made by a general council, but in the course of a few months she adhered to Clement, whilst several of the Spanish Bishops withdrew from Urban and appealed to the decision of a council, which could not be easily assembled, owing to the wars and dissensions of that period: meantime each division accused the other of schism, and each of the claimants created Cardinals: more than once, too, several States withdrew from one obedience and joined the other. Spain joined Clement, but Portugal adhered to Urban. He died on the 15th of October, 1389, at Rome. In place of endeavoring to effect a reconciliation, and put an end to the schism, the Cardinals who were at Rome proceeded to an election, and chose Boniface IX, and not only was the schism continued, but the calamities of war also spread more widely. As it was unlikely that a council could assemble, it was proposed to Boniface and Clement, either that both should resign, and permit all the Cardinals to make a new election; or submit to the decision of umpires, chosen by themselves: these requests were ineffectual. Clement died at Avignon in September, 1394, and notwithstanding the entreaties of Boniface and of several of the secular powers, the Cardinals who were there, after two days deliberation, on the 28th of the same month, chose Cardinal Peter de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII. The nations of Europe became more earnest in their design to close this schism. The University of Oxford recommended a council; the University of Paris recommended the resignation of both Prelates. Boniface stated that if Benedict would resign, he would imediately follow his example. In 1398 France withdrew from the obedience of Benedict and appealed to a council; most of the other nations followed this example; and most of the Cardinals who were at Avignon left the city and recommended the assemblage of a council; still however they returned, as did France and Castile to the obedience of Benedict. Boniface died in Rome in 1404. The Cardinals in that city chose Innocent VII, who was succeeded two years afterwards by Gregory XII. At the request of the greater portion of the Christian States, the Cardinals of both sides met in 1408, to deliberate on what was the best mode of proceeding, and they determined, that although under ordinary circumstances, no council ought to be called, but by the authority of the Pope, still in such a case as the present, they being aware of the wishes, of the great body, and representing the Church, could and ought to call upon the Prelates to convene, and they accordingly summoned them to meet at Pisa; and each division of Cardinals wrote to its chief, requiring his resignation for the benefit of the Church.

Thus we perceive that the question throughout was not one of doctrine, but merely a question of fact, whether Urban VI had been canonically elected: if he was, the Prelates who sat in Rome were the successors of St. Peter: if he was not, the succession was found at Avignon.

On the 25th of March, 1409, the assembly took place at Pisa. There were present, twenty-two Cardinals, four Latin Patriarchs, twelve Archbishops in person, and fourteen by proxy, eighty Bishops in person, and one hundred and two by proxy, besides a great number of abbots, generals of orders, priors, and deputies of Universities and of chapters, together with a long train of ambassadors. In this assembly, after Benedict and Gregory had been duly summoned and did not appear, they were declared guilty of abetting schism, contumacious and deposed: the Cardinals of both creations were ordered to proceed to the election of a Pope, and on the 26th of June, 1409, they unanimously chose Peter, a native of the island of Candia, who took took the name of Alexander V. He was a man noted for his virtue. England, Portugal, France, Ireland, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the greater part of Italy immediately acknowledged him: still the two former claimants refused submission: within less than a year, Alexander died and was succeeded by John XXIII. Only Spain and Scotland now adhered to Benedict, and a few places in the States of the Church acknowledged Gregory. John, pursuant to a decree of the assembly of Pisa, summoned a general council to be held at Rome in April. 1412, *to reform the discipline* of the Church: but as Ladislas, king of Naples, then besieged the city of Rome, the council could not be held; peace, however, being made in the month of June, John was left for some time

in quiet possession of the city and see. Ladislas however, in June, 1413, got into the city by night with his troops, without any previous notice, and committed horrible excesses. John escaped to Florence, and besought the aid of the Emperor Sigismond, with whom he also consulted about assembling a council, leaving it to the Emperor to fix upon the place. Constance was selected, greatly to the mortification of John, who however issued the bull for convocation. On the 5th of November, 1414, the council was opened in the Cathedral of Constance, John himself presiding. Several serious charges of misconduct being brought against the Pope, and the deputies of Benedict and Gregory being present, it was determined to require the resignation of John and the submission of the other two. At the second session on the 2d of March, 1415, John promised to resign, if it would tend to the peace of the Church. In the course of that month he withdrew from Constance, and retired to Schaffhausen, which was held by his friend Frederic, Duke of Austria; thence he retired to Lauffemberg, and afterwards to Friburg. He was required by the council to resign, but he eluding the request, they summoned him to answer upon an appointed day, the charges preferred against him for bad conduct. On the 13th of May, twenty-three commissioners were appointed to hear and report the testimony against John, who was again summoned to answer; this was in the ninth session: the charges contained in the articles of impeachment amounted to seventy. In the tenth session the commissioners reported them proved, the report was received and adopted, and the Pope was suspended by the council: this being notified to him, he acquiesced. He was now in the vicinity of Constance, and sent the fisherman's ring to the council by those who were sent to demand it. In the eleventh session it was determined that he should be deposed, and he having acquiesced, on the 29th of May, in the twelfth session, the sentence of deposition was pronounced, and his seal broken; five Cardinals were deputed to communicate to him these proceedings; after about two hours reflection he fully acquiesced, and the proclamation of the fact was published by the council. Gregory XII sent his resignation to the Emperor, which was received from him by the council in the fourteenth session on the 4th of July. Benedict XIII, at Avignon, still claimed the title of Pope, and Sigismond left Constance to try and induce him to lay aside the name; he could not prevail upon the unfortunate old man to accede, notwithstanding the entreaties of the ambassadors of Castile, Navarre, and Scotland, the only nations which yet continued to hold to his cause; the Emperor agreed at Narbonne, upon certain terms which were called a capitulation with those ambassadors, and these articles were approved of by the council; the object of the capitulation was principally to proceed to examine the case of Benedict at Constance, as if nothing had been done at Pisa, so as to save the honor of those who were now his adherents; Spain thereupon withdrew from the old man and joined the council: the process against this obstinate prelate was entered upon, but it was only in the thirty-seventh session which was held on the 26th of July, 1417, that sentence of deposition was pronounced. The council contined its sessions, and on the 11th of November, Otho of Colonna, a Cardinal Deacon, was elected Pope, he taking the name of Martin V. The council was dismissed on the 22d of April, 1418, and the schism closed; though Benedict lived till 1424, and made two Cardinals who adhered to him promise as soon as they should have interred his body to elect an opponent to Martin V; they were also urged to this by Alphonsus, King of Arragon, who had quarrelled with Martin: and yielding to this bad advice they chose Gilles Mugnos, a Spanish Doctor of Laws. This poor man was compelled by Alphonsus to wear the Pontifical dress and permit people to address him as Clement VIII; but the king having been reconciled to the Pope, Mugnos received his majesty's directions to discontinue the farce: having sent a formal resignation of the Popedom, he declared the See vacant, joined his two Cardinals in Conclave and they unanimously elected Otho Colonna now named Martin V. Thus in the year 1429 ended the great schism.

We have before seen that during the entire period there was no difference of doctrine, and now we see that whether Urban VI was or was not canonically elected, the full authority of the successor of Peter merged in Martin V.

If we calmly view the facts of this great schism, we will observe in the first place that throughout the whole period there was a perfect unity of faith, for no one division denied any article which the other held to have been revealed by our blessed Saviour. Next, if we examine the facts as presented to us, we will be led to believe that the great majority of Christendom adhered to Urban VII, and consequently that Robert, who took the name of Clement VII, and his successor Peter de Luna, called Benedict XIII, were schismatics, as was also the poor instrument Gilles Mugnos, called Clement VIII; [and] of course the succession will be found in Urban VI, Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII. If it be admitted that the council of Pisa repre-

sented the general body of the Church, and had authority to depose the Pope for maladministration, Gregory being deposed, the succession proceeds through Alexander V, and John XXIII, to Martin V, who is acknowledged by the whole Church, through its representatives at Constance, as well as by the cession of all the others in his favor: so that the unity of faith was never lost: there was no deviation from the unity of agreement as to *the nature of the Church government:* nor can a question be raised as to the full right of Martin V to be the supreme pastor of that Church.

Martin V summoned a general council to assemble at Basil, but died before its meeting: his death occurred in Rome on the 28th of February, 1431, and on the first of March the Cardinals entered into Conclave, and chose Eugenius IV, who repeated the summons of the council; confirming also the appointment of Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, a most excellent man whom his predecessor had named to preside as his legate.

I shall in my next lay before you the history of what White calls the installation of Felix V, and the deposition of Eugenius IV, in which you will still perceive that the unity of faith and principles of government, that is, the constitution of the Church, were preserved unchanged, and the succession unbroken. Thus, even in the most disastrous period of the Church, there was not amongst Catholics that *variance of doctrine and of government*, which we believe to be incompatible with the unity of the Church. There were disputes and perhaps serious temporary doubts as to which of two individuals was the depository of a power whose institution, necessity, continuance and existence were firmly believed. There was no difference of doctrine, but there was doubt respecting an important fact.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 21, 1828.

LETTER LIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—White's object in the paragraph under examination is to lead his readers into the belief that at the period of the great schism there was in the Roman Catholic Church a similar variance to that which exists between Protestant sects: he endeavors to show the continuance of that variation during the papacy of Eugenius IV, by insinuating that a difference of doctrine existed between him and a general council, which he by mistake calls that of Constance, and that two general councils, viz. that of Basil and that of Ferrara, opposed each other in doctrine.

It is to exhibit fully and clearly to you the baseless assertions of this man and his patrons that I enter so much into detail, because a knowledge of the facts will dissipate the illusion which he labors to create. I shall therefore lay before you the history of this contest.

Eugenius having summoned the council to meet at Basil, and having appointed Cardinal Julian as its president, soon perceived reason to doubt whether the city which had been selected was the most proper for the meeting. The council was opened on the 23d of July, 1431: towards the close of that year, and before any business had been matured, the Pope wrote to his deputy, Cardinal Julian, informing him of his wish to have a translation of the council to another city; Julian, however, continued the sessions in Basil; the Emperor of Germany and King of France were particularly opposed to any removal; and nearly a year passed in the endeavors of each side to obtain the accession of the other, the majority of the Bishops being with the Emperor and the King, and the minority with the Pope. Eugenius issued a bull dissolving the council at Basil, and summoning the prelates to meet at Bologna, but the majority of the prelates having voted against the translation, the meeting still continued at Basil. It was not until the close of the year 1433 that Eugenius revoked the bull and sent two other legates to preside with Julian at Basil. The Pope was greatly displeased at some regulations which were made concerning the revenue of the Holy See, and the administration of the court of Rome, and refused to sanction them with his assent. Meantime, in consequence of a sedition at Rome, the Pope was obliged to take refuge in Florence.

The Greek Emperor John Paleologus, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, sent ambassadors to Basil for the purpose of procuring a meeting between the prelates of both Churches, in order to a reconciliation: the Latins invited them to Basil, but the Greeks preferred some Italian city near the coast, to which the persons who had hitherto kept the sessions at Basil would not accede. The council proceeded to encroach still farther upon the revenues of the papacy by the abolition of first fruits, to which Engenius replied that he would give his consent to those abolitions, provided the Bishops would show how the See of Rome could be otherwise supported; meantime he refused his assent. The Greeks became urgent for a meeting at some other place, and at length the fathers at Basil consented upon certain conditions, that if the other parties agreed, they would translate their sessions to Avignon. The

foundation of re-union had already been laid between Eugenius and the Greeks in several conferences, but they required the assent of the Latin prelates, and neither the Pope nor the Easterns wished to go to either Basil or Avignon. The Bohemians had been called to Basil for the regulation of their differences, and this was urged as a reason for continuing in that city; the Pope's legates replied that the business of the Bohemians might be terminated at Basil, and then an adjournment might be made to meet the Greeks at Bologna or Udina: but this would not satisfy the majority. In the next session, a large number voted for a translation of the council to Avignon; a lesser number, with the legates, voted to discontinue the sessions at Basil, and to meet where the Pope would appoint for the Greeks. Eugenius declared the council of Basil dissolved, and convoked the fathers to meet the Greeks at Ferrara; allowing, however, the business of the Bohemians to be concluded at Basil. The bull containing this declaration was dated on the 1st of October, 1437. On the 23d of December, such of the prelates as remained at Basil having summoned Eugenius to answer to charges which they drew up, and he not appearing, they pronounced sentence of suspension against him. Of the value of this sentence it is easy to judge. As the Pope undertook to pay the expenses of the Greek deputies, he wanted money, and intended to sell Avignon: the indignation with which this was received at Basil, and the opposition which it experienced, showed pretty clearly that the old desire of having the Pope under the influence of the air of Avignon, was still one of the ingredients of the opposition.

On the 8th of January, 1438, the Cardinal of the Holy Cross, by the Pope's authority, opened the council at Ferrara. The Cardinal Julian and the other legates had now withdrawn from Basil and joined the Pope; few of the Bishops, however, had as yet arrived at the new council, because the Emperor of the West, and other secular princes, prevented their leaving Basil. Charles VII, King of France, particularly denounced the severest punishment against any French Bishop who should go to Ferrara. Eugenius arrived there on the 27th of January, and presided at a congregation which was held on the 8th of February, and at the second session which was held on the 15th of that month; the Greek Emperor arrived on the 4th of March, and three days afterwards the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Greek deputies entered Ferrara, and were introduced to the Pope.

On the 14th of March, the prelates who remained at Basil, and who, after the departure of the legates, had chosen as their president Cardinal Aleman, Archbishop of Arles in France, protested against the authority of the council of Ferrara. Henceforth they were gradually diminishing in numbers and proceeding in a mock trial of the Pope, during the remainder of that year.

Having made several preliminary regulations, subsequently to the arrival of the Greeks, for the more minute discussion of the points of difference, the sessions were adjourned for six months: during which the several points were debated thrice every week, the speakers on the side of the Greeks being Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nice; and on the side of the Latins, Cardinal Julian and Cardinal de Ferrara. The first session of the united Greeks and Latins was held on Wednesday, the 8th of October; the sessions continued until the 10th of the succeeding January; when upon the breaking out of sickness at Ferrara, at the request of the Florentines, and their engagement to pay the expenses of the Greeks, the council was, upon the suggestion of the Pope, transferred to Florence; at which [city] the first session was held on the 26th of February, 1439. The conferences and sessions continued and the articles of Union were nearly complete, when on the 9th of June, Joseph, the venerable Patriarch of Constantinople, who, during twenty-three years, had filled that See, died at Florence, having fully been reconciled to the Pope, whom he acknowledged to be the successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ, and head of the Universal Church. On the 25th of June, the re-union of the Greeks and Latins was substantially concluded at Florence; and on the same day the good prelates who remained at Basil, pronounced sentence of deposition against Eugenius. On the 6th of July, the last session was held at Florence, in which both Greeks and Latins united and subscribed the articles of re-union.

Contrary to the entreaties of the Western Emperor, and of others who still adhered to them, the prelates of Basil proceeded to elect a person to fill what they called the vacant See, and Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who, after the death of his wife, lived in a splendid sort of religious retirement, was chosen, and consecrated by the Cardinal of Arles; this anti-pope assumed the name of Felix V. Eugenius admonished the retired duke to lay down his pretensions, under pain of excommunication to him and his adherents.

The prelates at Basil excommunicated Eugenius and his adherents.

Very few even of those who adhered to the council of Basil treated Felix as Pope. His son Louis, Duke of Savoy, and some others of the Swiss, were almost his only adherents. The few clergymen, for there was

now scarcely a bishop remaining, who were at Basil, adjourned their council in May, 1443, to meet again at Lyons, in France, at the end of three years; but they did not meet. Eugenius died in 1447, and was succeeded by Nicholas V, whom the Catholic world acknowledged, and to whom Felix himself submitted two years afterwards, bitterly lamenting his erroneous proceedings; and thus was this schism concluded.

I have thus laid before you the statement of facts, and I ask whether this unfortunate schism was a difference of doctrine: and whether the succession of the Apostolic See was lost? Was this such a difference as exists between between Baptists and Methodists? Mark White's conclusion:

"And now, I will ask, is this the unity, the harmony, without which your writers contend that the Church of Christ cannot exist? Is it thus that the necessity of your interpretation of the Scripture passages, on which the system of infallibility has been erected, is sanctioned by experience? Can you still close your eyes against the demonstration contained in my preceding letter, because *variations* and dissent are in the train of its consequences?"

I answer; this, unfortunately, is not unity of charity, it is not unity of peace, and harmony of brethren, but there is not here any want of unity of doctrine; there is here still to be found that unity of principle which, properly applied to facts, will in time produce unity of affection and harmony of action. Here there are excited passions, embittered opposition, but an adherence to the great doctrine of the unity of the Church, and the necessity of preserving unchanged the deposit of faith and the constitution of the government, and because this was preserved the troubled ocean became calm, discord ceased, and when passion subsided schism was extinguished.

The contention was not about the correct interpretation of passages of the Holy Scriptures, nor about [the question] whether Christ revealed a particular doctrine, nor concerning the truth of a moral principle, nor even regarding a doctrinal fact: upon those subjects we believe the judgment of the Church to be infallibly correct. But the question was one of very easy solution, though rendered difficult by the circumstances with which it was entangled: it was not in any manner a question of faith. If White showed us two contradictory propositions of doctrine or of morals taught by the same, or by different general councils, indeed our principle must yield.

Viewing this in its most unfavorable light, we should say that supposing the majority of Bishops to have been at Basil, and the minority with the Pope at Florence, and both to have been in contradiction, neither would be infallible, because the tribunal which we believe to be gifted by heaven with that prerogative, must consist of the Pope and the majority of the Bishops in full accord. What would be said to the witling who should give us this sapient argument? "You say that your laws must be assented to by the President and a majority of the House of Representatives, and a majority of the Senate. But a majority of the representatives passed a bill of which the President disapproved, and after the constitutional close of the session, the representatives still continue in session; the President, with the advice of the Senate, reprimands them for this violation of custom and usage; and they declare that the President has lost his power, and proceed to declare him deposed, and the Senate to be traitors. Now, unless you acknowledge that he is constitutionally deposed, that the person whom they have chosen and whom the Senate reject and condemn, is the true constitutional President, you can never prove that Congress has power to pass a law; for to pass a law, the House of Representatives must have power, but if you deny their power in this case, you deny their power altogether, and if they have no power, are you not wrong in observing any law enacted by the Congress?" Just such an argument as this, those wise and learned gentlemen who support White, use against us. Judge you of its value.

I trust that you plainly perceive that even in this most afflicting state of the Church, there was no deviation from faith, no denial of the Papal supremacy, no change of the principles of Church government, no loss of the succession, and that they who differed as to facts agreed in doctrine.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 28, 1828.

LETTER LIV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—Having seen the nature of the divisions by which the Church was unfortunately rent at the time of the great schism, and at the period of the Council of Florence; it is now clear that on neither occasion was there any diversity of doctrinal belief amongst its members, consequently there was perfect unity of faith. White having endeavored to play upon the differences, and to insinuate a diversity of belief which he dared not assert, proceeds as if to answer our defence. In his p. 105, &c. we have the following passage:

"'Our troubles and dissensions, however, (you are taught to answer) are limited to externlas;

those of the Protestants affect the unity of the faith.' Such is the last shelter, the citadel, of your infallible Church theory. See, then, the series of assumptions, doubts and evasions of which that theory consists, and observe its inevitable consequences. 1st. You assume that which is in question, the *necessity* of an infallible judge of faith. 2dly. Upon the strength of that assumption, you interpret certain passages of Scripture, so that they are made to prove the existence of such a judge. 3dly. You are then in doubt as to the identity of the judge himself, without being able to determine by any fixed rule, whether the supernatural gift of infallibility belongs to the Pope alone, or to the Pope and the general council.* 4thly. When to evade this difficulty, you avail yourselves of the term Church, as embracing the privileges of the Pope and council; you are still obliged to contrive another method, which may meet the objections arising from such dissensions between the assembled bishops and their head, as took place in the instances above mentioned. This you do by allowing no council to be infallible till it has been approved by the Pope, and thus resolve Church infallibility into the opinion of the Roman See. 5thly, and finally, You intrench yourselves within the distinction of infallibility on abstract doctrines of faith, and liability to practical error. Now, observe, I entreat you, the consequences to which the whole system leads. The only *sensible* mark of a legitimate council, being the approbation of the Pope; and the only *sensible* mark of a legitimate Pope, being his undisputed possession of the See of Rome; you have, in the first place, entailed the gift of infallibility upon the strongest of the rival candidates for that see; and, as moral worth is, by the last distinction, denied to be a necessary characteristic of the vicar and representative of Christ, you have added, in the second place, one chance more of having for your *living rule of faith* that candidate who shall contend for the visible badge of his spiritual and supernatural office, under the least restraint of moral obligation. If we find, therefore, upon consulting the history of the Popes, that no Episcopal See has oftener been polluted by wickedness and profligacy, the fact is explained by the preceding statement. What chance of success to be head of the Christian Church could attend a true disciple of Jesus, when a Borgia was bent upon filling that post? Gold, steel and poison, were the familiar instruments of his wishes; whilst the belief that *faith* was still safe in the custody of such a monster, prevented opposition from the force of public opinion. The *faithful* still revered in Alexander VI, (be the blasphemy far from me!) the true representative of Christ on earth."

It is not easy to know what he would be at in this place. If he means to prove want of unity in our Church, as would seem to be his object in the first lines: he makes no reply to what he gives as our answer. But from what follows he appears rather to turn again upon *infallibility*, which indeed must ever be a thorn in the side of every innovator.

Let us see those "assumptions, doubts and evasions," of which he so magisterially disposes. "You assume that which is in question, the *necessity* of an infallible judge of faith." Indeed we do not, but we prove it by a very simple process: such as the following: "Faith is the belief of what God has taught." "We cannot believe what he has taught, without certainly knowing what it is." "We cannot know with certainty what God has taught except from a witness which can neither deceive us nor be deceived herself respecting what has been revealed by God." "A witness of that description is infallible." "Therefore, in order to have faith we find it *necessary* to have a judge of faith whose judicial testimony will be infallibly correct." White is kind enough to inform us that "there are but few, indeed, who can take a second true step in reasoning." I trust I shall not be consideredarrogant in believing that I have here taken three or four true steps, and that I have demonstrated what White so flippantly says we assume. I shall try another process for the same conclusion. "Any testimony which is not infallibly correct might lead me to error." "If the Church be not an infallibly correct witness, I can never be certain that she will teach me the doctrine of Christ;" "Neither am I myself infallible," "nor is any other individual or collection of individuals infallible." "Thus I cannot be certain of knowing the doctrine of Christ from the Church, from my own opinion of the Scriptures, nor from the opinion of any other individual or collection of individuals."—"Therefore I have no mode of being certain that I know the doctrine of Christ, and since I cannot believe with perfect certainty what I cannot know with perfect certainty; and since certain belief is absolutely required for Faith, it is impossible for me to have Faith." So much for what he calls our "assuming that which is in question."

"2ndly. Upon the strength of that assumption, we interpret certain passages of Scripture, so that they are made to prove the existence of such a judge." Then if the existence of this judge is *proved* by the interpretation of texts of Scripture, and every person is privileged to interpret the texts of Scripture according to his own opinion, why is Mr. White so inconsistent with himself, as to call our doctrine *unscriptural*? Do we not *prove* it according to his own

* "Note E."

principles from the Scriptures themselves? But what he insinuates here is in plain terms an untruth, because we do not assume the truth of the question, but we prove the truth of the position. Nor is it because even of this proof that we do so interpret those texts, which, by the way, he has taken good care to omit, but we interpret them thus, because from the beginning they had been interpreted so by the companions and the disciples of the inspired penmen, and by their successors in every intervening age.

"3rdly. You are then in doubt as to the identity of the judge himself, without being able to determine by any fixed rule, whether the supernatural gift of infallibility belongs to the Pope alone, or to the Pope and the general council."

This is also an untruth. It is painful to be under the necessity of using such language, but when a writer is so far lost to principle and to shame as to make such gross and palpable misstatements, there is no other phraseology which will express the character of his production. The rule is fixed, and plain, the judge is the supreme tribunal of the Church, and the Church is not the head without the members, nor the members without the head, but both united. The note which he appends to this assertion is but an extension of the misrepresentation.

"E.—page 106.

"*Uncertainty of Roman Catholic Infallibility.*

"Nothing can be more *certain* than the uncertainty of the Roman Catholic Church, as to the seat and source of her pretended infallibility. If any thing can be deduced from the vague and unsettled principles of her divines, on this subject, it would appear that infallibility finally resolves itself into the authority of the Pope. For, as no council whatever is deemed infallible till the Pope has sanctioned its decrees, the pretended assistance from Heaven must apply to that discriminating oracle, on whose decision the supernatural authority of the council depends.

"The opening speech of the papal legates who presided at the council of Trent represents the expected inspiration as conditional; a very natural caution in the representatives of that see, which has always most strenuously opposed the notion that the Pope is inferior to a general council. After a candid acknowledgment of the enormous corruptions of the Roman Catholic Clergy, which the reader will find hereafter, the legates speak of the expected inspiration in the following words:—

"'Quare nisi ille spiritus nos apud nosmetipsos primum condemnaverit, nondum illum ingressum esse ad nos affirmare possumus, ac ne ingressurum quidem, si peccata nostra audire recusamus. Idem enim dicetur nobis, quod populo veteri per prophetam Ezechielam est dictum, cum nondum agnitis suis sceleribus. Dominum per prophetam interrogare vellent. *Venerunt viri Israel ad interrogandum Dominum, et sederunt coram me. Hæc autem dicit Dominus: numquid ad interrogandum me venistis? Vivo ego, dicit Dominus, quia non respondebo vobis.* Sequitur autem, *si judicas eos, abominationes patrum illorum ostende illis.* In quibus verbis ostendit Deus, quare noluerit respondere illis, quia nondum scilicet abominationes suas et patrum suorum audierant. Quare cum idem Dei Spiritus sit, qui tunc debat responsa, et quem nunc nos sedentes coram Domino invocamus, quid nobis faciendum sit, ut propria responsa habeamus, ex his videtis.....Quia vero nonnullos nunc videmus, sua primum peccata, et nostri ordinis graviter deflentes, atque Dei misericordiam omnibus votis implorantes, ideo quidem in *maxima spe sumus*, advenisse, quem invocamus, Dei Spiritum."—Concilia per Labbeum et Gossartium. Tom. XIV, p. 738.

"It is clear that the legates grounded their hopes of inspiration for the Council, on the marks of repentence which they perceived in some of its members. Must then Roman Catholics ascertain the spiritual condition of their oracles, before they admit them to the privilege of infallibility? It should seem, however, that the Popes are not subject to such restrictions in the use of their infallible sanction; else, a man with the moral tact of Alexander VI. would have been subject to strange mistakes, in calculating the fitness of the bishops in council, to receive an inspiration totally dependent on moral character."

I have frequently before exhibited the sophistry of this man by applying his terms to our civil institutions. Allow me to use this method with the first paragraph of his note.

If any thing can be deduced from the vague and unsettled principles of American writers on the powers of Congress, it would appear that the legislative authority resolves itself finally into the authority of the President, so that the law is an emanation from him only. For as no legislative acts of the majority of the Senate and House of Representatives are deemed binding until they have been sanctioned by the President, whatever might be said in their courts, or written in their books asserting that the legislative authority resides in the Congress which consists of both houses and the President, must in fact be applied to the President alone, because it is by his authority the acts become laws and are carried into execution."

All this flimsy sophistry would be destroyed by the simple fact, that, if the President were to attempt to make a law without the concurrence of the majority in both houses, the attempt would be futile, and none would feel himself called on to obey.

In like manner, if the Pope were to issue a decision, from which the majority of the Bishops were to dissent, or to which they refused their concurrence, such decision would not be an act of the Church, and of course would not bind persons to obedience.

The latter portion of this note is, if possible, a more despicable piece of deceit. The "candid acknowledgment of the enormous corruptions of the Roman Catholic Clergy," is grossly exaggerated by the writer; but what were the corruptions? A change of faith—a corruption of doctrine? By no means. The legates who candidly avow the misconduct of several of the clergy, proclaim with the same voice the pure preservation of the doctrine of the Church. Nor was the misconduct of the clergy so enormous, nor were their corruptions of morals so great or so general, as were those of the self-called reformers: although there had been grievous crimes committed by several Roman Catholic Clergymen, yet the great majority of the body were men of virtue, and several were eminent for the most edifying sanctity.

It is also falsely suggested, that, because the legates exhorted the members of the council to repentance and virtue, as one mode of obtaining the blessing of heaven to lead them to truth, prudence, and knowledge; that they were, therefore, doubtful as to whether the Pope and Council were infallible. But here I cannot repress my astonishment at the inconsistency of White, who is charging our Church with arrogance, in alleging that the Pope and Council will give an infallibly true judgment upon doctrine, and yet in the very passage attempts to show that we do not hold the tenet which he condemns us for holding!!! It might be as well to translate the passage which he quotes and garbles: but even as it is, it will not establish his conclusion:

"Wherefore, unless that Spirit will first have led us to self-condemnation, we cannot affirm that he hath as yet entered unto us, nor indeed that he will enter, if we refuse to hear the voice of our sins. It will be said to us as it was said to the people of old by the prophet Ezekiel, when not having as yet acknowledged their sins, they desired to ask the Lord by the prophet:—*The men of Israel came to ask of the Lord, and they sat before me. But thus saith the Lord: have you come to inquire of me? As I live, saith the Lord, I will not answer you.* IT FOLLOWETH: *if thou judgest them, show unto them the abominations of their fathers.* In which words the Lord showeth why he would not answer them; because, to wit, since it is the same Spirit of God who then used to give answer, and also we now invoke, being seated before the Lord; you see from those things what we ought to do, that we might have proper answers. . . . . And since we now behold some bewailing, first their own sins, and those of our order, and imploring by all mode of prayers the mercy of God, therefore *we are in the greatest confidence* that the Spirit of God which we invoke hath come amongst us."

Such is the passage upon which this man founds his assertion, that "the legates grounded their hopes of inspiration for the council, on the marks of repentance which they perceived in some of its members." If the prelates are bad men, the Holy Ghost, he says, cannot guide them; though St. John says, he guided the wicked high priest of the Jews to a correct decision, because of the office which he held; and if they are good men, it is only a doubt that they will be guided. White does not like the guidance at all. But the ground of the confidence of the legates was not founded in this passage, which was only an exhortation to virtue, but in those passages in which they referred to the express and distinct promises of Christ. Such as that of Pope Paul, in his bull for assembling the Council, "ut cum illic in nomine Domini essemus congregati; ipse sicut promisit Dominus in medio nostrum effuturus," *that when we would be gathered in the name of the Lord, the Lord himself, as he promised, would be in the midst of us.* Thus it is untrue to say, that Catholics are unable to determine where infallibility resides, as it is also untrue to say that we must know the virtue of the Bishops, before we can know if their tribunal is properly constituted. We depend upon the promises of Christ, and not upon the virtue of the Bishops.

The futility of the fourth proposition has been so amply exhibited in what I have previously written that I shall not take it up again.

The fifth and final observation which he makes is an aggregate of untruths. First, it is untrue that "the only *sensible* mark of a legitimate council is the approbation of the Pope." Its legitimacy may be recognised by a variety of other *sensible* marks, of which I shall instance merely two. It might be recognised by the very view: as in case there was an actual majority of the prelates of the Church present, acting in harmony and with full liberty; it might be recognised by the sequel: as in case of the presence of only a minority but the approbation and adoption of their acts by the great body of the absent prelates. Suppose the See of Rome vacant in the first instance, the legitimacy of the council would be known, and yet there would have been then no Papal approbation. The next untruth is, that the mere undisputed possession of the See of Rome is the *only* sensible mark of the legitimacy of the Pope.

The third untruth is to assert that infallibility is according to Catholic tenets entailed upon that candidate who obtains such possession. The fourth untruth is, that no see has been oftener polluted by profligacy and wickedness than the See of Rome. The fifth is, that the Pope is our *living rule of faith*. When nonsense like this is put into our mouths by those who, at least, ought to know that they bear false witness against us, we are indeed made to appear ridiculous: but, I trust, it may without irreverence be said, that the spouse of Christ then resembles the Saviour, when clothed in the garment of a fool; he lost none of his wisdom, but the scoffer greatly increased his own criminality. Catholics have *no living rule*, but they have a *living tribunal;* a living judge, but that tribunal of judgment is the Church; and that Church is not merely its head or chief pastor, but it is the head and other pastors united.

White affects to ridicule the distinction between infallibility and impeccability. Though we are not called upon by our tenet to look upon the Pope as either impeccable or infallible, yet we can conceive the ground of the distinction, and it was taught us by the Saviour, when he told his hearers that the Scribes and Pharisees sat upon the chair of Moses, to do according to their words, but not according to their works. Fortified by such an admonition from such a source, we can read the commencement of the next paragraph with which we are favored, with pity for the pride and arrogance of those who vilify the teaching of the Son of God, p. 108:

"The strength of mind which enables the reformers to disregard the generally received distinction between exemption from doctrinal errors, and liability to misconduct, cannot be adequately valued by those who have never imbibed that scholastic prejudice."

White had previously boasted of his ignorance of scholastic knowledge, but really I was not prepared to learn that he would disregard and despise it even in the Gospel, and coming from the lips of the blessed Jesus. It might, for aught that I know, be strength of mind; but, if so, it is of that description for the humiliation of which St. Paul says the wisdom of heaven was given in what appeared to be human folly. It reminds me of the simpleton whom I once heard boast of his strength of mind, declaring that he could never be so stupid as to understand the use of mathematics, or throw away his time in learning how to make an equilateral triangle; and he, in the sincerity of his heart thanked God for giving him so clear an intellect as to be unable even to comprehend the demonstration of how it might be done.

I shall only adduce one favorite fact from amongst those on which the gentry, whose modesty and *strength of mind* urges them to take the title of reformers, are in the habit of dwelling. Peter was a sinner, yet the epistles of Peter are according to those strong-minded folk infallible evidence of the revelation of heaven: thus infallibility and peccability are compatible; or to use White's own phrase, the strong-minded gentry admit in St. Peter's case "the distinction of infallibility on abstract doctrines of faith, and liability to practical error." The consequences drawn against us, if legitimate, from the admission of the distinction, are equally fatal to themselves; but they affect neither, because they are not contained in the premises.

The dishonesty of the writer is again exhibited in the assertion, that Alexander VI was not opposed, because of the belief that *faith* was safe in his custody, though he was a monster. The custody or guardianship of the *faith* was not in Alexander VI, but in that Church of which he was the unworthy head; and in that Church, even under his Papacy, there were hundreds of holy Bishops, tens-of-thousands of venerable priests, and millions of saints. But it is folly to attempt the correction of all the untruths of such a book as White's.

I shall conclude this letter with the remark, that it is upon the presiding influence of the Holy Ghost, upon the promises of our blessed Redeemer, and upon the mighty power of God, and not upon the vice or virtue of the Prelates of the Church, that Roman Catholics rely for having in that Church always the infallible testimony of truth. Hence, all the semblance of argument which is used to show how weak a foundation is the imperfection of man, is wide of the question which is raised; and as the Church, and not the Pope, is the tribunal, so the arguments against the sufficiency of the Pope make nothing against the sufficiency of the Church under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, according to the promises of Jesus Christ, and from the very nature of faith itself.

Yours, &c., B.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 4, 1828.

LETTER LV.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—The succeeding paragraphs of White's book are perhaps as far below the criticism of a philosopher as they are distant from truth in their assertions of fact. I shall lay them before you, making upon each some of those remarks which must strike even the least instructed amongst you.

"The strength of mind which enabled the reformers to disregard the generally received distinction between exemption from doctrinal errors, and liability to misconduct, cannot be adequately valued by those who have never imbibed that scholastic prejudice. When a distinction of this kind has once become incorporated with common language, men seem to be placed out of the reach of conviction on the points it affects. If my observation of intellectual phenomena do not deceive me, the mass of those who may be said to think at all can go no farther in a reasoning process, than just to perceive one difficulty against their settled notions, and to catch some verbal quibble which removes the difficulty from their sight. The process of examining the usual fallacies of such answers is, to most men, so painful, that any serious attempt to urge them upon it, seldom fails to rouse their anger. There are, indeed, but few who can take a true second step in reasoning."

To disregard a distinction founded upon a difference might perhaps accompany strength of mind, but such recklessness of truth is also found in weak and vicious minds, hence the disregard of a generally received maxim founded upon common reason, consecrated by the Saviour, and upheld by the testimony of successive centuries of the learned, the wise, and the good throughout Christendom, does not establish for the *Reformers*, as they are pleased to style themselves, strength of mind so much as the rejection of truth. And surely it needs no depth of research to discover that testimony of truth might be certainly given by an immoral person. Yet as I before stated, our doctrine needs not this aid, because we do not teach as an article of faith the personal infallibility nor the official infallibility of a bad or of a good Pope. The entire paragraph is based upon the false assumption that we teach what we disclaim. It is also untrue that the distinction is a scholastic prejudice.

If we have no infallible guide to truth; if "those who may be said to think at all can go no farther in a reasoning process than just to perceive one difficulty against their settled notions, and to catch some verbal quibble which removes the difficulty from their sight," and if "there are but few who can take a true second step in reasoning," the inevitable result must be that "the mass of those who may be said to think at all," together with all those who may be said not to think at all; that is, the great bulk of Christendom, must be unable to examine the fallacies by which error is disseminated, and being without a certain guide, must be without any certain knowledge of truth, and they who are bereft of the certain knowledge of truth can have no rational ground for firm belief; it is manifest therefore that they can have no faith, since that virtue is the firm belief of certain truth revealed by God. To this conclusion every Protestant must inevitably come, according to the theory of this man, who proclaims to the world the imbecility of the human mind, and exhibits to us the incongruous theory of a just and merciful and wise God, requiring that we should firmly believe what we cannot certainly know. He leaves to us however, as we shall see, an alternative, but it is not that of unchangeable doctrine and belief, but of complete uncertainty.

"The stand which is generally made at the first stage of an argument, is more resolutely taken when arguments are brought against a system which is itself a palliative of some previous objection. The case now before us is perhaps the best illustration of my view of popular intellect.

"Christianity was at an early period systematized according to the notions and habits which some of its learned converts had acquired in the philosophical schools. It was soon presented to the world in the shape of a new theory, where the links which appeared to be wanting between the clearly revealed doctrines were supplied by the ingenuity of inference. Nothing, we know, is so opposed to this vulgar systematic spirit as taking facts as they are. The chasm between what *is*, and an assumed standard of what *should be*, must be filled up. Few men refuse to grant what is demanded with this object; for fragments of real knowledge are not to the taste of the multitude. Having agreed that the Gospel was a revelation from God, they could not conceive the possibility of doubt affecting it directly or indirectly. Optimism is the system of the many: a revelation which could not remove every doubt, and silence every objection, must certainly fail to suit their previous notions."

This is indeed a very curious but fallacious exhibition of the origin of our religion, and in the contemplation of which, I can scarcely know [whether] to be amused with the vain effort to elude the difficulty which pressed upon the writer, or be disgusted with the bold attempt to sap the foundations of faith for the purpose of an escape from its restraints. What a series of assertions does this passage contain! First, that the first Christians actually destroyed the simplicity of religious belief by substituting a system of learned philosophy or paganism for the doctrine of our Saviour. If such was the fact, then indeed the Christian religion was never spread through the world. And, for what purpose did Christ come upon this earth? How mean and contemptible a notion must we have of the power of God, of the force of truth, of the testimony of the

Apostles, of the evidence of miracles, of the providence of our merciful instructor! And will not the solemn prophetic and promissory declaration of Christ respecting the continuance and stability of his Church, be blasphemously contradicted by those who would maintain this position: that the first learned Christians changed the revelation of heaven into a system of pagan philosophical notions and habits!!! By this process White has changed the early witnesses of faith into its worst enemies. If the doctrines of Christianity were then lost, how have they been since acquired? By the reading of the New Testament? But how shall we be assured that they who corrupted the doctrine and the rituals did not also corrupt the Gospels and the Epistles? Suppose the Scriptures to be pure, how shall we be assured, that we who live several centuries later than the period in which they were written, understand their meaning better than did those learned converts, who lived in and immediately after the days of the Apostles, and around whom the evidence of still more brilliant miracles yet shed the effulgence of heavenly light? Have the Justins, the Irenæuses, the Dionysiuses, the Cyprians, the Clements, and the Tertullians erred, and corrupted Christianity, and has its purity been restored by the Luthers, the Cranmers, the Calvins, the Cromwells, the Henrys, the Socinuses, the Priestlys, the Hoadlys, and the Whites? If we look to history we shall indeed discover that in the early days of the Church some of its converts did endeavor to accommodate the doctrines of Christ to the systems of philosophy, but the names of those innovators, and the result of their efforts are also placed before us. They were the Ebions, the Cerinthuses, the Marcions, and such others, who for this unholy and sacrilegious effort were condemned by the Christian Church, and being separated from its communion, formed conventicles apart; declared that it was spiritual tyranny to compel them to conform to a standard of belief; that they would not destroy their liberty by submitting to the authority of men, and that they were to interpret the sacred writings by their own private judgment, and not to receive the decisions of a public body; in a word, they were the first heretics, whose errors assume new shapes in their transmigrations through succeeding ages, but have always the same spiritual characteristics: overweening pride, incorrigible obstinacy, arrogant self-esteem, insolent opposition, and glaring inconsistency.

Second assertion, that Christianity was an aggregate of clearly revealed doctrines without any mutual connexion. This is highly complimentary to the divine wisdom indeed! So that upon White's theory, the Almighty in his wisdom does what we would call folly in a human being. Suppose an adversary of religion to reason thus, what would be said to his argument? "You acknowledge that God is wise, and intended by revelation to instruct you upon a subject of vast importance, and respecting which you were extremely ignorant: you say, that in order to effect this he clearly revealed some isolated propositions between which there existed no mutual connexion, you say that it is unlawful for you to 'fill up' 'the chasm,' but that you should be satisfied with 'fragments of real knowledge,' however destitute of system. Call you this revelation? Is it not rather a bewildering?" For my part I must avow that if this was the basis of Christianity, I know not how I could be a Christian. The fact is in opposition to White's assertion, because it has been always an acknowledged point that the revelation of Christ was a perfect and connected whole, and not disjointed and separate doctrines: it was avowed to be the manifestation of the work of the Deity, and that it showed forth his power and his mercy, and was in unity as to its parts, and in unison with the perfections of its author. It is not true, then, that the ingenuity of inference supplied the links which appeared to be wanting between the clearly revealed doctrines. The principle of Protestantism, which asserts that nothing has been clearly revealed but what is exactly written in the Scriptures, renders it absolutely necessary to supply much by inference to fill up chasms: but the principle of Catholicism, which says that there exists no chasms, leaves nothing to supply. The Catholic says that some of the doctrines of revelation are found in the Scriptures, and others are exhibited by other evidence, which other evidence exhibited the entire code of doctrine before the Gospel recorded that portion which it contains, and by the production of the entire evidence, he gives the entire code as it emanated from God himself; he finds no chasm, he wants no link; all is the perfect work of divine wisdom. The Catholic thus, upon evidence, takes "facts as they are:" whilst the Protestants are driven to frame systems, and their systems differ as widely as do their tastes. When they once leave the unity which results from admitting fact, and nothing but fact, they are indeed carried about by every wind of doctrine, and of them it may be truly said, that the chasm between *not* what *is*, but what they choose to admit and what *should be*, according to their several fancies, must be filled up.

In the third place, I must necessarily deny

that the revelation of God consists of only "fragments of real knowledge."

In the fourth place, I cannot conceive what White means by his insinuated charge. "Having agreed that the Gospel was a revelation from God, they could not conceive the possibility of doubt affecting it directly or indirectly." Does he blame them for agreeing to admit the sacred book to be the revelation of God? Or if he does not, does he blame them for giving to it such full credence as excludes all doubt as to its truth? I before said that to criticise the philosophy of this passage was below the occupation of a philosopher. Will the reverend junta of his approbators adopt the philosophy of a man who confounds *optimism* with the consistency and connexion and sufficiency of God's revealed law under the Christian dispensation?

The next paragraph is indeed to me a most extravagant and astounding rhapsody.

"Had these Christians, however, studied the Scriptures without the bias of such notions, they would have found that the divine author of Christianity has no where provided a remedy against doubt and dissent. There were heretics when the church was still under the personal guidance of the Apostles; yet the New Testament mentions them without allusion to any infallible method of ending these first disputes on doctrines. On a *practical* question, indeed, we find that St. Paul was sent to ask the opinion of the church of Jerusalem; yet, that very opinion was, in part, set aside and neglected, soon after, by the tacit consent of most other churches.* The natural inference from such facts is, that the analogy of God's moral government was not broken in the direct revelation which he made to the world through his own Son; but having granted us convincing proofs that the Scriptures contain the knowledge supernaturally vouchsafed to man he has left the search thereof to human industry. Industry supposes difficulty, and difficulty implies danger. The field of moral discipline does not appear to have been changed by Christianity; the light indeed thrown upon it is clearer, and 'the high prize of our calling' is made fully to shine in our eyes; but it no where appears that we are therefore to close them, and run blindly after certain men endowed with supernatural vision."

Nothing can be more incorrect than his first assumption, viz. that the mode of learning the revealed doctrines in the first age was by the study of the Scriptures. Although the books of the New Testament were written in the first century, still, more than two others elapsed before there had been any general collection of those books, and an accurate selection of them from several works bearing the names of the Apostles and of others, but which were spurious or of no authority. The converts had been taught the system, if I may so call it, of Christianity, or as I would properly say, were instructed in its doctrines before they were entrusted with the sacred writings, and it was not from the arbitrary explanation of the writings they obtained a knowledge of the doctrines which they previously believed. Neither is it true that the divine author of our faith no where provided a remedy against doubt or dissent: for he declared to the world, who were to be the teachers; he commended belief, and he denounced condemnation against the unbeliever. To quote texts as proof of these propositions would be equivalent to proving to a man who looked at the sun, that he saw that luminary; yet as *philosophers* have existed who told us that we ought to doubt of the correctness of vision, so have *divines* who tell us that we ought to doubt the meaning of the texts.

The New Testament mentions heretics indeed and tells us of their character and fate, and how they ought to be avoided: it could not tell of an infallible mode of *ending* doctrinal disputes with those who would *always* dispute about doctrine, but it tells us of the *pillar and foundation of truth* to which we should adhere, nor is it an argument against the infallible authority of our blessed Saviour, that in his day he was heard by perverse and obstinate men who would not *end* a doctrinal dispute even for his declaration, but when he told them that he would give them his flesh and blood, would not believe the fact, but preferred their own system, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" and walked no more with him. The clumsy attempt to confound the council which was held at Jerusalem with the Church of Jerusalem is even unworthy of the bad cause to sustain which it is made; as well might we say that the Catholic world receives the decision of the Church of Trent as its infallible guide. Equally despicable and fallacious is the effort to confound the doctrinal decision of the council of Jerusalem with its regulation of discipline. The first is irreformable, the latter is changeable. At this day it is equally a doctrine as it was then, that the Mosaic rite is not obligatory upon the Christian, and the repeal of the discipline of not eating blood was made by the Church equally as was the discipline itself established for a time, and the enact-

* "The injunction against eating blood and suffocated animals, though given as from the Holy Ghost, was considered as of mere temporary expediency, and set aside as soon as heathen converts formed the majority of Christians."

ment and repeal was equally by the guidance of the Holy Ghost, not in this case stating what had been revealed, but what was expedient. It was indeed but a poor quibble to play off, when he says "the *opinion* of the Church *of* Jerusalem was in part set aside and neglected soon after by the tacit consent of most other Churches." Since the Acts of the Apostles inform us (chap. xv,) that Paul and Barnabas were sent up not to the Church of Jerusalem, but "to Jerusalem" the city, "unto the Apostles and elders," or ancients, or other Bishops whom the Apostles had ordained, "about this question;" and verse 4, informs us, that "when they were come to Jerusalem they were received by the Church *and* by the Apostles and Elders," the Scripture distinguishing what White confounds: and verse 6 informs us, that "the Apostles and Elders" and *not* the Church *of* Jerusalem "came together to consider of this matter;" and verse 22 informs us that it "pleased the Apostles and Elders *with the* WHOLE CHURCH" to give the decision of the Holy Ghost. The successors of those Apostles and Elders with the whole Church have, whilst they preserved the doctrine unchanged, altered the discipline, and therefore White fails in his attempt to establish the variation between the portions of the true Church in the first century, as also in his effort to misrepresent the fact by insinuating that the council of Jerusalem was but a partial assembly, that their decree was but an opinion, and that there was no tribunal then known that could certainly tell the faithful what Christ had revealed.

He then draws what he calls a *natural inference* from what he calls facts, though in the very previous paragraph he stated his condemnation of this practice of drawing such inferences. But what is more extraordinary is that his inference is made to ascertain what he alleges to be a fact.

For my part, I cannot perceive what he calls convincing proofs, nor any proofs, upon his principle, that the Scriptures contain the knowledge supernaturally vouchsafed to man. He has given us no proof, and I see none that he can give, upon his system: for it is only by the testimony of the Church we can know what the Scriptures really are, and the value of what they contain, and he tells us that this testimony is not sufficient. But suppose it to be manifest that they contain truth, he leaves us to the exercise of industry to find it out, after having told us that "the mass of those who may be said to think at all, can go no farther in a reasoning process than just to perceive one difficulty against their settled notions, and to catch some verbal quibble which removes the difficulty from their sight," and that "there are indeed but few who can take a true second step in reasoning:" such is the contradiction which results from error!

The closing of our eyes and running blindly after certain men endowed with supernatural vision, being merely the creature of his fancy, I must leave to his own enjoyment.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 19, 1828.

LETTER LVI.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

MY FRIENDS,—Having seen the manner in which White misrepresents our doctrines, undermines the foundation of faith, destroys all prospect of knowing with certainty what the Redeemer has taught, and egregiously fails in his effort to show variations in our doctrine at the time of the great schism; it would appear to be superfluous to follow him farther upon the subject of Church infallibility: yet the assertions which he makes are so strange that I cannot avoid laying them before you, and making a passing remark upon them.

"Such sober reasoning upon *facts*, could not be popular in the Christian Church. An infallible judge of abstract questions was wanting, and one was soon found; for St. Peter was the chief of the Apostles, and Rome the chief of the cities."

We would indeed be dolts if we were to found our assertion upon this semblance of reasoning; we do reason upon *facts*, but the fact which forms the basis of our doctrine is, that Christ did establish the Church to teach his doctrines to the world, and we avow the principle that as he desired to lead those taught to the knowledge of his doctrine, he must have enabled the teacher to bring them thereto. It would, indeed, be a strange exhibition to behold the Saviour directing the people to learn truth from the Church, and declaring that this Church might as well lead them into error as into truth. We reason upon *facts;* and a main fact upon which we rest is, that Christ repeatedly promised his Spirit of Truth to lead the Apostles who first constituted his Church, into all truth, that they might be enabled to teach it to others; and also that this Spirit was to abide with them all days to the end of the world. We do reason upon *facts*, when our inquiry is concerning what the Saviour declared to be facts, for his revelation regarded facts, and not abstract questions: we look upon the Church to be the witness of what has been revealed, not the judge of an abstract question. See then how many false-

hoods are in this short passage of this faithless writer!

"Nothing therefore appeared more *natural*, than that Peter should be Bishop of Rome; and little proof of this fact was demanded: tradition, a mere report, was sufficient for those who wished it to be so."

There was here no natural or unnatural supposition, but a simple question of fact; we say there is unquestionable evidence, that Peter was Bishop of Rome. No fact is better supported by evidence; there was no wish upon the subject: tradition is not mere report; nor is it by tradition, as distinguished from historical evidence, this fact is known. It is testified by witnesses and documents and monuments, at least as satisfactorily as is the existence of Augustus Cæsar as Emperor of Rome.

"Yet something more was necessary to fulfil the object of the first theory or supposition; for Peter could not live for ever, and the judge of faith was to exist till the end of the world. But what could be more *natural* than that Peter's successors should inherit his supernatural gifts? In popular logic, what is *natural*, i. e. what agrees with some original supposition, is certain. Subsequent doubts, arising from a system so *natural*, must be settled any way, or left unsettled."

We have no theory, we exhibit a fact; we argue not from what was *natural*, but from what had been *instituted*. It was instituted, that the judge of faith should exist to the end of the world, and that judge was a tribunal pointed out and commissioned by the Saviour; Peter was the chief, the president amongst the commissioners: but he was not the entire tribunal; they who formed the commission knew its constitution, according to the will of its instructor, and they testified that the office of the chief pastor or president of the commission, should last as long as the tribunal itself should continue; and that, upon the death of the incumbent, the power should vest in his successor. Indeed it was *natural* that such should be the case; but, besides its natural propriety, we have evidence of the fact that it was instituted. It is rather extraordinary effrontery in White and his panegyrists, who have substituted *their theories* for *our facts*, to have put forward those passages. Had White written "original *institution*" for "original *supposition*," his phraseology would have been correct, but his sophistry would have been too obvious.

"Whether infallibility belonged to the Pope alone, or to the Pope and the Church, and who was to be considered the Church, these minutiæ were left for the ingenuity of divines. The Pope and Rome were all in all for the mass of Christians."

This statement is incorrect: for the doctrine is, that the Church is infallible, and the head and the members constitute the Church; but as in every society, the body has some organ through which its testimony is given, Christ established the Bishops who were to succeed the Apostles, as that portion which was to examine, to decide, and to testify. Thus, the successor of Peter and the bishops form the teaching portion of the Church, and in them was infallibility vested by the Saviour, not by the ingenuity of divines. The Pope has at least generally, if not always, after consultation with his advisers in the city of Rome, ascertained and declared the sentiment of the Church; and although the Pope and Rome are not all in all for the mass of Christians, obviously the great body of Christians has and ought to have great respect for such declaration.

"The effects of uncontrolled power, however, soon became visible in the monstrous corruptions of Rome herself. Here the second step of popular intellect was required, viz. to seize the happy distinction of *infallibility* in doctrine, and profligacy in morals."

Had the writer given us some definite subject, instead of the vague phrase "Rome herself," and had he specified what were the "monstrous corruptions," we might be able to give a precise answer to his distinct assertion; but as he deals in those general expressions, his words have too indistinct a meaning to be fairly met. However, it is not true that the "power" of Rome is "uncontrolled:" it is limited, and it has been controlled. If he means that the Holy See corrupted or changed the doctrine of Christ, he states what is not the fact: if he intends to charge upon it a corruption of the principles of morality, he does so, not only without proof, but against the fact: if he only means that several individuals, in the administration of the Church, have been immoral men, I shall admit the fact, though I will not subscribe to the unmeasured extent of monstrous language. In the long catalogue of Popes, we find a splendid succession of men of greater virtue, more extensive learning, more prudent, and more venerable than ever appeared in any other office; men of criminal conduct have indeed rarely been found in the apostolic chair, but a Judas was admitted by the Saviour himself into the apostolic band. What the venerable junta condemns under the ironical phrase of the "happy distinction," is taught by the Saviour himself in Matt. xxiii, 1, 2, 3.

"Who that loves wealth, power, and pleasure, would wish to be a *sinless* oracle?"

What is the object, and what is the meaning of this expletive sentence some one else must determine; I cannot.

"No; the system of spiritual supremacy was now complete; the original supposition, that the Church could not resist the attacks of hell without an unerring judge of abstract questions, had been followed to its remotest consequences: he that ventured to doubt the accuracy of the whole theory was declared a heretic. The Pope might be, in his conduct, an enemy of Christ and his Gospel, and nevertheless succeed in the enjoyment of whatever privileges were granted to Peter, *in consequence* of the love which, above the other Apostles, he bore to his divine master. He might be a monster of vices, yet he did not cease to be *vicar* of him *who did no sin*. The Church, under his guidance, might be corrupt in '*head* and *members*;' but still she must be infallible in matters of faith."

The assumptions of the first portion of this paragraph have been all proved to be false; and the statement regarding what constitutes "a heretic," is incorrect. A heretic is a person who obstinately rejects a sufficiently proposed article of faith: an article of faith is a doctrine revealed by God; those doctrines are not "abstract questions." The doctrines of Christianity do not constitute a theory; they are the declarations of facts by a God who knows them to be true.

But we have, in the latter part of the sentence, a good specimen of the want of candor of our noble defamer. In his Letter III, when examining *the title to supremacy claimed by the Roman Church*, White gave us, in p. 88, as the only ground upon which Peter claimed supremacy, the text concerning the change of the name of Simon to Peter, as read in Matt. xvi; now finding it convenient to avoid this text, because of its containing evidence of a *continuation of the privilege for ever*, he refers to a text which he had not even noticed before:

"Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these; He saith unto him, Yea Lord thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, feed my lambs."—John xxi, 15, *et seqq;*

and tells us that this text, which is thus garbled by omitting two verses, is that upon which we ground the privileges of Peter, and of his successor; thus, he shows that he knew and concealed the advantages derivable from this passage, where he affected to give our arguments for refutation. Here, too, he is incorrect; because, although our blessed Lord might have selected Peter, because of his love, as the person to bear the supreme commission in the first instance, yet it was not *in consequence* of that love that the commission was established, but for the purpose of preserving that unity which was so great an object of the Saviour's solicitude.

His last assertion is one of those misrepresentations which are usually found in his book; the disingenuous garbling of a few words, by means whereof an unwary reader might be led to imagine that the whole proposition was granted, because a few of its words are found in the concession. We never admitted that the Church was corrupt, or might be corrupt in its head and members, though occasionally the head might be infirm, and some of the members be corrupt, but perhaps the soundest body will always contain some disordered or infirm part. The college of the Apostles needed the ejection of Judas, yet the whole of the sacred body was far from being corrupt.

"To the *solidity* of this structure have your divines committed the stability of the Church of Christ; unless all this be true, the gates of hell have actually prevailed against her. A moral corruption in *head* and *members;* a system which ensured the continuance of this corruption, by repeatedly defeating the efforts of those who wished for a reformation, were, if we believe them, no subject of triumph to the enemy of God and man. As long as the authority of Rome was safe, the gates of hell had still the worst of the contest: let the Pope possess the *heads* of Christians, and Satan was welcome to their *hearts*."

It is not upon the *solidity* of White's misrepresentations that we rest the stability of the Church; we do not admit the truth of his statements; we deny the existence of that moral corruption, whose existence he has supposed without proof; we deny, too, that the system against which he declaims, either ensured the continuance of corruption, or defeated the efforts to which he alludes. Whilst the majority of the Christian body preserved the true faith, the gates of hell did not prevail; and none amongst us would subscribe the blasphemy which, as a semblance of his wit, concludes the passage:

"The followers of Luther," says Bossuet, "assuming the title of reformers, gloried that they had fulfilled all Christendom's desires, inasmuch as a reformation had been long the desire of Catholics, people, doctors and prelates. In order, therefore, to authorize this pretended *reformation*, whatsoever church writers had said against the disorders, both of the people, and even of the clergy, was collected with great industry. But in this lay a manifest conceit, there not being so much as one of all the passages alleged, wherein these doctors ever dreamt of altering the Church's faith; of correcting her worship, which chiefly consisted in the sacrifice of the altar; of subverting the authority of her Prelates, that of the Pope especially—the very

scope which this whole reformation, introduced by Luther, tended to."

Was White faithful in giving us here the phrase, "manifest conceit," for what Bossuet gives as "plain sophistry," or if he likes the sound better, "manifest *deceit*."

"If there be any *conceit* in the matter, it is that of admitting the extreme corruption of the Christian Church, with the unavailing efforts of the advocates of reform, who preceded Luther; and yet blaming the Protestants, because, by making the Pope's supremacy the 'very scope' of their reformation, they took the only effectual method of putting an end to the evil. The absurd notion, that the unity of the Church of Christ depended on *unity* with the Bishop of Rome, tied the hands of all Christians, who wanted either the knowledge or the courage to examine the airy basis of that system.

"The *sword* and *the faggot*, besides, stood in the way of approach to that delicate point; else the invectives so carefully restricted to *morals* would not have always left the *doctrines* untouched. Submit your understanding to Rome; confess that you cannot hope for salvation out of the Pope's communion; acknowledge that immorality and wickedness do not detract from his supernatural privileges; and on these conditions, you are at liberty to oppose the corruptions of the Church of Christ. *Conceit* is not, indeed, a word which I should apply to such advice; *deceit* would seem more appropriate."

The basis was that rock which Christ himself had required. How far the one was *airy* and the other absurd, it is not for me to examine with what White calls courage, but I call impiety.

To say that unity of faith was preserved by persecution is neither novel nor true; to assert that they who defended that faith, whilst they sought to reform the discipline of the Church, were afraid, because of punishment, to declare their convictions, is to charge with base hypocrisy the best men in Christendom. It is *natural*, if White likes the phrase, to expect the charge from a man who, upon his own avowal, was a base hypocrite during ten years, and upwards; from a man who began his dissimulation in that period of life which exhibits candor and generosity, if they exist at all. And who was to punish those men, if they made the declaration? Were they not the men who, it is said, directed this sword and fired this faggot? Were they not the principal clergy of the Church?

I have done with this weak and faithless portion of the evidence, which exhibits more want of truth in a few pages, and accumulates more falsehoods within the same space than most others which have disgusted me.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 26, 1828.

LETTER LVII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—The remaining portion of White's fourth letter calls for very few remarks. I shall let this champion of Protestantism and opponent of Catholicism speak for himself.

"*Invariableness* in doctrine is Bossuet's criterion of the Christian characteristic of *unity;* but surely any set of men, who agreed on a system similar, to that on which Roman unity depends, might equally boast of *invariableness* and *unity;* surely there cannot be, at least there cannot appear, any difference of opinion in a society which excludes every member who does not submit his own views to those of one individual, placed at its head; and which lays down, as an indubitable fact, that that individual, whoever he may happen to be, and whatever he may add to the common doctrines of the society, always speaks the mind of his predecessors, and only gives explicitness to things implied in former decisions. Such is the artful contrivance which the author of the *Variations of the Protestant Churches* disguises into a miraculous unity of doctrine and belief; the effect, as he pretends, of Christ's promise of support to his Church against the gates of hell."

Would White, or would the theological phalanx which has in this country arrayed itself under his banner, assert that *unity* and *variableness* of doctrine are compatible?—Would they assert that Christ taught *variable doctrine?* If they would, how will they assert that he is the God of truth; for truth is invariable? St. Paul told the Christians of his day that if an angel from heaven was to preach to them a doctrine varying from that which he had taught them, they were to reject him as anathema. But however absurd the assertion that the *one faith* of the Christian is compatible with *variable*, and varying and contradictory doctrine, what other can be expected from a collected host of every species of Protestant clergymen, who unite to publish the calumnies of White against a Church whose doctrines are unvarying and consistent?

As to the possibility of such a result being created by the agreement of any set of men, there are too many facts to destroy the theory. Every body of men that separated from the Catholic Church has made the experiment and has made a miserable failure; they could neither preserve *unity* nor *invariableness* during half a century, not during the first five years, in any region in Christendom, from the days of Ebion and Cerinthus in the time of the Apostles, down to the present day, which exhibits to us such a diversity of contradictions all said to have emanated from a God of truth. They have

excluded from communion, they have fulminated censures, they have enacted penal laws, they have plundered Catholics and each other, they have crowded prisons and loaded gibbets with members of our Church, and of the various sectaries who separated from themselves or from whom they separated; and whilst the minority of those who professed the Christian name have been thus fruitlessly endeavoring to preserve unity and invariableness in some of their thousand divisions, the Catholic Church, spread into every nation of the globe, having her children separated by seas, by mountains, by language, by customs, by jealousies, by wars, and whatever else could estrange man from his fellow man, has during eighteen centuries preserved her doctrines *unvaried;* and this day shows upwards of one hundred and fifty millions of the human race, from California through America, Europe, Africa and Asia, to China, united in the profession of those doctrines. If what White calls additions to the common doctrines of the society, be innovations, and not explanations, which only give explicitness to things implied in former decisions, let him produce to us the contradictory decisions, let him show variation between the doctrine of former ages and the present in our Church, in a single doctrinal point, and we give up our claim.

After what I have previously remarked upon the dishonesty of his assertion, that we are required to submit our own views to those of one individual, I may be allowed to meet the passage with the mildest epithet which suits it, UNTRUTH.

"Raking up, besides, all the calumnies and atrocious reports with which the character of the opposers of Rome has been blackened at all times, and setting in the strongest light of mutual opposition the theological disputes which divided the reformers, he gives the whole weight of his authority and talents to a delusion, which nothing but an overwhelming combination of interest and prejudice could prevent his acute mind from perceiving."

Bossuet raked up the calumnies only from the writings of Luther, Calvin, Beza, Melanchton, and their associates. White and his American aids are welcome to style their fathers in the faith calumniators if they please. I shall not enter into their family disputes, I shall neither call the fathers calumniators nor the children impious: nor shall I say that the latter are the imitators of Cham. Indeed I have known several of the spiritual sons of those forgetful Patriarchs of the reformation, as they are pleased to call it, who probably did not see the shameful scene; as I believe they did intentionally walk backwards and on set purpose keep their eyes averted, that they might still preserve the veneration which they had drawn in with their earliest sustenance. White and the junta would have done better in telling us what the delusion was under which Bossuet labored, than to tell us that he was deluded.

"Had the Bishop of Meaux bestowed the ten thousandth part of the perverse industry with which he followed that argument, in examining the gratuitous assumption on which it is founded, we may hope that his honesty would have directed his pen to some other topic. Instead of availing himself of the inveterate notion that Christ had established an infallible judge in his church, lest, by the existence of doubt as to the sense of the Scriptures, there should be diversity of opinion among his followers—instead of taking it for granted, that the victory of hell depended on the diversity of abstract doctrines among Christians, and not in the prevalence of dark works of wickedness, provided they were wrought in the unity of papal faith—he should, in the spirit of philosophical reasoning, have penetrated to that part of the argument which conceals the gratuitous assumptions whence the Roman Catholic theory has sprung."

I am not astonished that White and the junta dislike the book: but really the notion that Christ had established the Church as an infallible judge of doctrine was extremely inveterate in the days of Bossuet, having been then about seventeen centuries in existence. But the gentlemen are in too great haste when they assume without our leave that we teach that the gates of hell would not have prevailed against the Church, if the works of darkness were to be wrought by all its members. But when we deny his assumption, he would gain but little by our admitting that sanctity was also to be a characteristic of the true Church; for we can prove that sanctity and infallibility co-existed.

"When Catholics have proved, without the aid of *church authority*, that the church of Christ must be infallible, then, and not before, they may object their *variations* to the Protestants."

We have done so and we use his license.

"The Protestants have *varied* in search of the divine simplicity of the Gospel, which Rome had buried under a mountain of metaphysical notions. The Protestants have *varied*, because they could not at once divest themselves of the habits of thinking which they had acquired in the Roman Catholic schools. The Protestants have *varied*, because they had the honesty not to imitate the contrivances by which the Roman Church gives to her new decisions the appearance of unity with the preceding. The Protestants have *varied*, because they would not, upon the fanciful notion of a perpetual

miracle, claim for any of their churches the supernatural gift of unerring wisdom, nor counterfeit by obstinacy in error, the conscious certainty of inspiration. The Protestants in fine, have *varied*, because, by restoring the Scriptures to their full and unrivalled authority, they perceived the intrinsic power of settled, recorded, *invariable* revelation; and were aware that, in spite of doubts and divisions, the light of those divine records needed no help to withstand the attacks of the gates of hell."

The fact of variation being admitted, I care not for its cause. A church which varies in its teaching cannot be the Church of Christ, because his Church was always to teach his doctrine, and his doctrine is not at variance with itself, this church which varies in its teaching must then at one time have taught a doctrine which was not that of Christ, and as I can have no guarantee for one time rather than another, I never can be certain of learning truth from that church. It cannot therefore be the Church of Christ which he established to teach the true doctrine, *all days*, to the end of the world.

But let us try the logic of White's causations. His first assumption is that Rome buried the doctrine of Christ under a mountain of metaphysical notions. This is as easily denied as it is asserted. Now I assert she did not so bury them. The Gospel which she preserved was in the words of its original writers, she gave this to those persons who are by their own children called calumniators and reformers: its divine simplicity was in their hands, they need not go under a mountain for what they already had.

Next they *varied* because they could not divest themselves at once of the habits of thinking which they had acquired in the Roman Catholic schools. In p. 116, we are told that this was *to submit their views to those of one individual* placed at its head—admirable cause of variation. Why does not this habit of thinking produce its effects amongst ourselves? How can this habit of thinking influence those who have never been in our schools, and such are the discordant divines of the Protestant Churches during nearly three centuries? It is an admirable logic to attribute a palpable fact to one with which in one case it has no connection, and in another case to a cause which produces a contrary effect!!

The third cause is an assertion against the fact, for they did attempt by every contrivance which they could devise, from creeds and anathemas to confiscations, dungeons, tortures and death; and made a miserable failure.

The fourth cause is but the expression of bitter disappointment; and only proves the absence of that cause which existed in the church to which they were opposed.

The fifth and last is an assumption that the consistent revelation of the God of truth is compatible with inconsistency, doubt and error; and is the last refuge of Protestantism. It is in fact the proclamation of despair. "We take this book to be the word of God who desires to teach us this law, but we cannot agree [as] to its meaning: he speaks, but we are not certain what he says,—let every body believe what he likes, and thus each will have a doctrine to his own taste, and although we shall have innumerable contradictions, still we shall all be right, and all will hold to the truth."

I shall in my next conclude my remarks on this fourth letter.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 3, 1828.

LETTER LVIII.

To the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.

My Friends,—In closing my remarks upon White's fourth letter, I must rather present to you some desultory observations upon his detached paragraphs, than give any thing of a regular dissertation or lengthened argument.

After having acknowledged what he could not deny, that Protestants varied in their doc-doctrine, he proceeds in giving his extraordinary notion of unity. Let us however see the nature and the consequences of the *variations*. One division of Protestants tells us that Christ is really present in the Eucharist: such is the doctrine of the consistent Lutherans: another division, the Zuinglians, declare that he is not really present in this sacrament: each professes to tell us what Christ taught: now it is clear that our blessed Lord could not have taught two contradictory propositions: he must have taught whether he was or was not present in this sacrament: one of the contradicting sects must then be in error, and the one that is in error must also contradict the Saviour, and contradiction to the Saviour is the undermining of faith. Where this contradiction exists, unity of faith is lost: and the loss of unity of faith causes men to deny the revelation of God. If God only revealed what it was necessary for man to know, they who tell us that it is a matter of indifference whether we know what God has revealed, give us a very erroneous notion of his wisdom: in fact they tell us "God revealed the doctrine which he wished you to believe, but it is a matter of indifference whether you believe it, nor is it essential that you should

know what he has taught." Can this be less than blasphemy?

But the variation does not consist only in the contradiction of sect to sect; but in the contradiction of the same sect to itself. Thus for instance, the work of Bossuet exhibits not only the Lutheran of his day contradicting the Lutheran of an earlier period, but Luther contradicting himself, and all the early seceders whom in this country it has been usual to style Reformers, contradicting themselves. We then ask, "Did your predecessors teach the doctrine of Christ?" If they say "yes;" we then reply, "Then in leaving their doctrine you have left the doctrine of the Saviour." If they say "no," we reply "Then they whom you call Reformers and Apostles contradicting what you teach as God's revelation were opposed to God's truth, and could not be his servants." But we not only agree in all nations in our doctrines, sacraments and government: notwithstanding the ridiculous and mischievous efforts of some misguided men in this country, who know very little about their religion, and never practice its duties, to constitute themselves as a new kind of governors, under the name of Vestries and Patrons: but we hold to the doctrinal decisions and sacramental institutions and form of government of every age during the centuries that Christianity has existed. Let us then view what White says:

"If mere controversy were my object, I should feel satisfied with having demonstrated that the system of Roman Catholic unity is but an arbitrary contrivance; a gratuitous assumption of a supernatural privilege, which is no where *clearly* asserted in the Scriptures; an endeavor to produce certainty by a standard conceived and planned upon conjecture. A more Christian feeling, however induces me to dwell still on this subject, and propose to you what I conceive to be the true scriptural notions on the *unity* of the Church of Christ."

Upon this I shall remark that it can be no gratuitous assumption, when the very nature of faith requires unity of doctrine, and it is clearly revealed in those various parts of the Scriptures, which show us that we should not be carried about by every wind of doctrine, and that we should believe what Christ has taught, and the Apostles have preached: and that we should obey those whom he commissioned. But let us see White's scheme of unity.

"In reading the New Testament with a mind carefully freed from the prejudices of school-divinity, it is impossible not to perceive that the assemblies of men who are called to obtain salvation through Christ, cannot either singly or collectively constitute *the* Church, whereof the Roman See has tried to appropriate the qualities and privileges to herself. Wherever men assemble in the name of Jesus, there he has promised to be by means of his spirit; and certainly the works of that spirit are more or less visible in the Christian virtues, which never yet failed to spring up in these *particular* churches, though mixed with the tares and other evils, which are not separable from 'the kingdom of Heaven' in this world. But there is a structure of sanctity in perpetual progress, towards the completion of which the Christian churches, on earth, are only made to contribute as different quarries do towards the raising of some glorious building. The churches on earth partake, in various proportions, of the attributes of the great Church of Christ, 'which is his body, the FULNESS of him that filleth all in all.' But the Church to which the great privileges and graces belong, has characteristic marks which cannot be claimed by any one of the churches on earth: for it is that church 'which Christ loved, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having *spot or wrinkle, or any such thing;* but that it should be holy and without blemish.' To become members of that church we should, indeed, 'endeavor to keep the *unity* of the Spirit in the bond of peace;' but such unity is proposed as the effect of *endeavor*, and consequently of choice and judgment, not of blind submission to a silencing authority, which is the Roman bond of union. The true *unity* of Christians must arise from the 'one hope of our calling.' There is indeed for us, 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism;' but that faith is a faith of trust, a 'confidence, which hath great recompense of reward,'* not an implicit belief in the assumed *infallibility* of men who make a monopoly of the written word of God, prescribe the sense in which it must be understood, and with a refined tyranny, which tramples equally upon Christian liberty, and the natural rights of the human mind; insult even silent dissent, and threaten bodily punishment to such as, in silence and privacy, may have indulged the freedom of their minds.†"

* Heb. x, 35.

† "Præterea ad coercenda *petulantia* ingenia, decernit (eadem sacrosancta synodus) ut nemo suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei et morum, ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium, sacram Scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; aut etiam contra unanimem consensum sanctorum patrum, ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari audeat *etiamsi hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edendæ forent. Qui contravenerint per ordinarios declarentur, et pœnis a jure statutis puniantur.* Decretum Concilii Trident. de editione et usu sacrorum librorum, Sessione IV."

I had better give a translation of this note which so exceedingly terrifies him: yet it is very simple; it only says that the Scripture has only one true meaning, and is not a parcel of contradictions; and that the Church, a great assembly of Christians, has from the beginning testified this meaning, as well as the book itself; and therefore that it is irreligious to put arbitrary meanings upon the sacred volume.

Moreover, in order to restrain petulant minds, the same holy synod decrees, that no person relying upon his own prudence, torturing to his own notions the sacred Scriptures, in those things which concern faith and morals, relating to the edification of Christian doctrine, in contradiction to that sense which our holy mother the Church has held and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures, shall dare to interpret these same sacred writings, or otherwise than according to the tenacious consent of the Fathers; although such interpretation should not be at any time published. Let whosoever shall contravene be denounced by the ordinaries, and undergo the penalties legally enacted.

I know not by what ingenuity White converted the *spiritual censures* legally enacted by the Church into *bodily punishment*. The council had not, neither did it assume, or pretend to have power to inflict bodily punishment.

"Such is the saving faith of the Council of Trent! How different from that proposed by St. Paul, when he says, 'If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.' 'That is the word of faith which we preach,' says St. Paul; and well might that faith be made the bond of union between all the churches which the Apostles saluted, without requiring a previous proof of their implicit submission. 'Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity,' is St. Paul's language. Cursed be they who, whatever be their love of Christ and veneration for the Scriptures, yield not obedience to the Church of Rome, is the spirit of every page which has been published by Popes or Councils."

"Whatever might be the effect of the prejudices which the first reformers brought away from their *Roman captivity;* whatever the necessity which Protestant churches still acknowledge of preventing internal feuds, by proposing formularies of faith to their members, they have never so misunderstood 'what spirit they are of,' as to deny salvation to those who love their common Lord and Redeemer. Their churches, indeed, may differ on points which the subtilty of metaphysics had unfortunately started long before the Reformation, and even before the publication of Christianity; they may observe different ceremonies, and adopt different views of church hierarchy and discipline; but their spirit is the only one which deserves the name of *Catholic*, in the genuine sense of that word; the only spirit indeed which can produce, even on earth, an image of the glorious Church which will exist for ever in *one fold* and under *one shepherd*."

I shall now proceed to make a few observations on this extraordinary piece of theology, which seems to say what is religious, but really speaks contradiction.

First. In reading the New Testament without or with the impressions of school divinity, we must perceive what common sense teaches, that Christ did not state that contradiction to his doctrine was equally acceptable to him, and useful to man, as a belief and adherence to what he taught: and that the assemblies of men, who are called to obtain salvation, were to believe his doctrine, and thus to constitute his Church. The Church, in union with the Roman See, will be easily perceived to have the mark of this unity of faith, to attain which others have long since despaired; and thereupon declared it to be unnecessary.

Secondly. The Saviour did and does manifest his presence in that Church, by the miracles which in every age, even in this our own, and in this our own country, have been wrought therein; as also by the sanctity of the doctrine which she teaches, and by the millions of saints which she has and does produce.

Thirdly. The pretty figure of a quarry might be poetical, but is not applicable; for Christ's Church is not composed of error and contradiction. Its members should endeavor to have not only that unity of faith which they do possess, but the unity of spiritual charity which they do not always preserve, but which the Apostle exhorts them not to lose. White is disengenuous, when he confounds things which are distinct, that he might bewilder by the similarity of names, and the misapplication of the text.

Fourthly. His assumption of unity consisting in "one hope of calling" is gratuitous, and contradicts not only the testimony of all nations and ages of the Church, but several passages of the sacred volume; and amongst others, that very text which he quotes and misinterprets, by making *faith* mean *trust* or *hope*. This is, indeed, a miserable mode of denying the necessity of faith, without which it is impossible to please God.

Fifthly. It is untrue that the saving faith of the Council of Trent is an implicit belief in the assumed infallibility of men who make a monopoly of the written word of God. As well might he charge courts of justice with a monopoly of the statute law,

because they prescribe the sense in which it must be understood, and declare that it must always have the same meaning, and not be tortured and made ridiculous by the contradictory ravings of partial litigants. Neither is this infallibility assumed: for it has been established by Christ, and was demanded by reason, by religion, and by the exigencies of society. It is required for the perfection of faith, that we believe all those things which God has revealed; and amongst the facts of revelation, he taught us that he insured to his Church infallible correctness in judging and testifying what he taught. But yet the Council of Trent does not call this faith "saving," unless it be accompanied by hope and charity: it declares faith to be necessary, but not sufficient for salvation. In the sixth session, chap. viii, it declares:

"When the Apostle saith that a man is justified by faith and gratis, those words are to be understood in that sense which the perpetual consent of the Catholic Church hath held and expressed: to wit, we are thus said to be justified by faith, because faith is the origin of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification, without which it is impossible to please God, and to come to the fellowship of his children," &c.

And in the preceding chapter of the same session, we read:

"No person can be just, except he to whom the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ are communicated; but this takes place in the justification of the sinner, whilst by the merit of the same most holy passion, the charity of God is poured out into the hearts of those who are justified by the Holy Ghost, and it dwelleth in them; whence, in the very justification itself, the man receives through Jesus Christ into whom he is engrafted, together with the remission of sins, all those infused *graces*, faith, hope, and charity; because, unless hope and charity were added thereto, faith doth neither perfectly unite him to Christ, nor make him a living member of his body. For which reason it is most truly said, that faith without works is dead; and, in Christ Jesus, neither doth circumcision avail aught nor the foreskin, but faith which worketh by charity."

Thus White and his abbettors have grossly misrepresented the Council of Trent.

Seventhly. Surely if White and the junta require no farther faith or belief than what he here lays down, they cannot accuse the Unitarians of destroying faith, and yet they do, upon their own principles, treat this division of Christians most unceremoniously, for no other cause than that they use the good Protestant prerogative of interpreting the Scriptures, not according to that sense which our holy mother the Church hath held and does hold, nor according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, but against their consent and judgment. Unitarians do believe in their hearts that God raised the Lord Jesus from the dead, and with their mouths they confess the Lord Jesus. Why, then, do other Protestants dare to say they will not be saved? Why exclude them from "the bond of union?" They say that they love the Lord Jesus in sincerity; why will other Protestants assume and assert what they do not?

Eighthly. The Church makes no such curse; but she says, that no person who wilfully rejects the truth and testimony of God can love Christ; that no person can venerate the Scriptures, and despise the tribunal from which the Scriptures have been received; and, therefore, the Church in communion with the See of Rome denies that she condemns those who love the Saviour.

Ninthly. If Catholic faith means the approval of every error, nothing can be more degrading to man, or more offensive to truth than Catholic faith. God forbid that I should say that Catholic faith is the collection of all the folly, fanaticism, and contradiction which the world has witnessed and religion has wept over, from the days of Simon Magus to those of Johanna Southcote or General Smyth: for, indeed, such would not be *one* fold, and we would be at a loss to know who was their shepherd! I have done with White's doctrinal misrepresentations, calumnies, and ignorance, in his first four letters. I have not yet determined as to whether I ought to take up the abomination and blasphemy of his other two. I shall take a few days to reflect.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 10, 1828.

[The series of letters here terminates; the Bishop having been determined by his reflections, or by the pressure of some other engagement, to let White's two remaining letters be answered by silence, and pass into that oblivion which would soon cover up the memory of all his crimes, blasphemies, and signal misfortunes, were it not for their accidental connection with the spotless name and reputation of the one who has here chastised him, and with those of others like him remarkable for their fidelity to the holy faith which this wretched man betrayed.]

APPENDIX TO THE FOREGOING LETTERS.

No. 1.

BOSSUET'S OPINION TO JAMES II.

SUR LA DECLARATION DU ROI D'ANGLETERRE.

La declaration qu'on a demande au Roi d'Angleterre en faveur de ses sujets Protestans, consiste principalement en deux points:

Le premier est que S. M. promette *de proteger et defendre l'Eglise Anglicane, comme elle est presentement etablie par les lois, et qu'elle assure aux membres d'icelle toutes leurs eglises, universites, colleges, et ecoles avec leurs immunites, et privileges.*

Le second, que Sa dite Majeste promette aussi qu'*elle ne violera point le serment du Test, ni n'en dispensera point.*

J'ai repondu et je reponds, que S. M. peut accorder sans difficulte ces deux articles; et pour entendre la raison de cette reponse, il ne faut que fixer le sens veritable des deux articles.

Le premier a deux parties: L'une de proteger et defendre l'Eglise Anglicane comme elle est presentement etablie par les lois; ce qui n'emporte autre chose que de laisser ces lois dans leur vigeur, et comme Roi, les executer selon leur forme et teneur.

La conscience du Roi n'est point blessee par cette partie de la declaration, puisque la protection et la defense qu'il y promet a l'Eglise Anglicane Protestante, ne regarde que l'exterieur, et n'oblige S. M. a autre chose qu'a laisser cette pretendue Eglise dans l'etat exterieur ou il la trouve, sans l'y troubler, ni permettre qu'on la trouble.

Pour decider cette question par principes: il faut faire grande difference entre la protection qu'on donneroit a une fausse Eglise par adherence aux mauvais sentimens qu'elle professe, et a celle qu'on lui donne pour conserver a l'exterieur la tranquillite. La premier protection est mauvaise, parce qu'elle a pour principe l'adherence a la faussete; mais la seconde est tres-bonne, parce qu'elle a pour principe l'amour de la paix, et pour objet une chose bonne et necessaire, qui est le repos public.

Ceux qui traitent avec le Roi d'Angleterre, dans cette occasion ne lui demandent pas l'approbation de l'Eglise Anglicane, parce qu'au contraire ils le supposent Catholique et traitent avec lui comme l'etant: Ils ne lui demandent donc qu'une protection legale, c'est-a-dire, une protection a l'exterieur, telle qu'elle convient a un Roi qui ne peut rien sur les consciences; et tout le monde demeure d'accord que cette sorte de protection est legitime et licite.

Les Rois de France ont bien donne, par l'edit de Nantes, une espece de protection aux Protestans reformes, en les assurant contre les insultes de ceux qui les voudroient troubler dans leur exercices, et en leur accordant des especes de privileges, ou ils ordonnoient a leurs officiers de les maintenir. On n'a pas cru que leur conscience fut interessee dans ces concessions, tant qu'elles ont ete jugees necessaires pour le repos public, parceque c'etoit ce repos et non pas la religion pretendue reformee qui en etoit le motif. On peut dire a proportion la meme chose du Roi d'Angleterre, et s'il accorde de plus grands avantages a ses sujets Protestans, c'est que l'etat ou ils sont dans le royaume, et le motif du repos public l'exigent ainsi.

Aussi ceux qui trouvent a redire a cet endroit de l'article ne mettent-ils la difficulte qu'en ce qu'il renferme une tacite promesse d'executer les lois penales qui sont decernees par le Parlement contre les Catholiques: parceque, disent-ils, les Protestans mettent dans ces lois penales une partie de la protection qu'ils demandent pour l'Eglise Anglicane Protestante.

Mais les paroles dont se sert le Roi n'emportent rien de semblable; et il importe de bien comprendre comme parle la declaration! *Nous protegerons*, dit-elle et defendrons l'Eglise Anglicane, comme elle est, *presentement etablie par les lois.* Il ne s'agit donc que des principes constitutifs de cette pretendue Eglise en elle-meme, et non pas des lois penales par lesquelles elle pretendroit pouvoir repousser les religions qui lui sont opposees.

Les principes constitutifs de la religion Anglicane, selon les lois du pays sont, 1°. les pretendus articles de foi regles sous la Reine Elisabeth; 2°. la liturgie approuvee par les parlemens; 3°. les homelies ou instructions que les memes parlemens ont autorisees.

On ne demande point au Roi qu'il se rende le promoteur de ces trois choses, mais seulement qu'a l'exterieur il leur laisse un libre cours pour le repos de ses sujets: ce qui suffit d'un cote pour maintenir ce qui constitue a l'exterieur l'Eglise Anglicane Protestante, et de l'autre ne blesse point la conscience du Roi.

Voila donc a quoi il s'oblige par cette premiere partie de l'article ou il promet d'*assurer a l'Eglise Protestante et a ses membres, leur eglises*, etc. La seconde, a encore moins de difficulte, et meme elle tempere la premiere en reduisant manifestement la protection et la defense de l'Eglise Anglicane Protestante aux choses exterieures dont elle est en pos-

session, et dans lesquelles le Roi promet seulement de ne souffrir point qu'on la trouble.

Le Roi est bien loin d'approuver par la l'usurpation des Eglises et des benefices; mais il promet seulement de ne point permettre que ceux qui les ont usurpes soient troubles par des voies de fait, parceque cela ne se pourroit faire sans ruiner la tranquillite de ses etats.

A l'egard du *Test*, qui fait le second article de la declaration du Roi: Il n'oblige S. M. a autre chose sinon a exclure des charges publiques ceux qui refuseront de faire un certain serment: en quoi il n'y a point de difficulte, puisqu'on peut vivre et humainement et chretiennement sans avoir des charges.

Que s'il paroit rude aux Catholiques d'en etre exclus, ils doivent considerer l'etat ou ils sont, et la petite portion qu'ils composent du royaume d'Angleterre; ce qui les oblige a n'exiger pas de leur Roi des conditions impossibles, et au contraire a sacrifier tous les avantages dont ils se pourroient flatter a l'avancement, au bien reel et solide d'avoir un Roi de leur religion et d'affermir sur le trone sa famille quoique Catholique; ce qui leur peut faire raisonnablement esperer, sinon d'abord, du moins, dans la suite, l'entier retablissement de l'Eglise et de la foi.

Que si on s'attache, au contraire, a vouloir faire la loi aux Protestans qui sont les maitres, on perdra avec l'occasion de retablir le Roi, non seulement tous les avantages qui sont attaches au retablissement, mais encore tous les autres quels qu'ils soient, et on s'exposera a toutes sortes de maux, etant bien certain que si les rebelles viennent a bout selon leurs desirs d'exclure tout a fait le Roi, ils ne garderont aucune mesure envers les Catholiques, et ne songeront qu' a assouvir la haine quils leur portent.

Pour ces raisons, je conclus, non seulement que le Roi a pu en conscience faire la declaration dont il s'agit, mais encore qu'il y etoit oblige, parcequ'il doit faire tout ce qui'l est possible pour l'avantage de l'Eglise et de ses sujets Catholiques, auxquels rien ne peut-etre meilleur, dans la conjoncture presente, que son retablissement.

On doit meme regarder deja comme un grand avantage la declaration qui fait S. M. *de recommander fortement a son parlement une impartiale liberte de conscience*, ce qui montre le zele de ce Prince pour le repos de ses sujets Catholiques, et tout ensemble une favorable disposition pour eux dans ses sujets Protestans qui acceptent sa declaration.

Je dirai donc volontiers aux Catholiques, s'il y en a qui n'approuvent pas la declaration dont il s'agit: *Noli esse justus multum: neque plus sapias quam necesse est, ne obstupescas.* (Ecc. vii. 17.)

Je ne doute point que N. S. P. le Pape n'appuie le Roi d'Angleterre dans l'execution d'une declaration qui etoit si necessaire et ne pense bien des intentions d'un Prince qui a sacrifie trois royaumes, toute sa famille, et sa propre vie, a la religion Catholique. Je me soumet, neanmoins, de tout mon cœur a la supreme decision de S. S.

Fait a Meaux, ce 22 Mai, 1693.

† J. Benigne, Ev. de Meaux.

BOSSUET'S OPINION TO JAMES II.

ON THE DECLARATION OF THE KING OF ENGLAND.

The declaration which has been required of the King of England, in favor of his Protestant subjects, consists chiefly of two points.

The first is, that his Majesty should promise *to protect and defend the Church of England as now by law established, and that he will guarantee to the members thereof all their churches, universities, colleges and schools, together with their immunities, rights and privileges.*

The second, that his aforesaid Majesty should also promise *that he will not violate the Test law, nor will he dispense therewith.*

I have answered, and do answer, that his majesty can without any difficulty agree to those two articles. And to understand the reason of this answer, it is only necessary to determine the true sense of these two articles.

The first has two parts: the one to protect and defend the Church of England as at present by law established; which means no more than to leave those laws in their full force; and in his capacity of king to execute them according to their form and tenor.

The King of England's conscience is not wounded by this part of the declaration; for the defence and protection which he there promises to the English Protestant Church, regards only its administration, and does not bind his majesty to any thing farther than to leave this pretended Church in the same external state in which he may find it, without either disturbing it, or permitting any other person to disturb it.

Now to decide this question by principle: there must be a wide distinction taken between the protection which one would give a Church by adhering to the bad opinions which she professes, and that which is given to her external administration, in order to preserve the public peace. The first kind of protection is bad, for its principle, viz., adherence to falsehood is bad: but the second is very good, because its principle is the love of peace, and its object that which is good and necessary, viz. the public repose.

They who on this occasion treat with the king of England, do not ask his approbation

of the English religion, since on the contrary, they look upon him to be a Catholic, and treat with him as being such: they then only ask from him royal protection; that is an external protection, such as belongs to the office of a king who has no power over conscience: every one acknowledges that this protection is allowable and lawful.

The kings of France have by the edict of Nantes, given a sort of protection to the self-styled reformers, in guaranteeing them against the insults of those who would disturb them in their religious exercises, and in giving them some kinds of privileges, in the use of which the royal officers were commanded to protect them. No one believed the royal conscience was interfered with by those concessions, as well because they were judged necessary for the public tranquillity, and because this tranquillity and not the encouragement of the pretended reformation was the motive. The same might be said to the proper extent of the King of England: and if he grants greater advantages to his Protestant subjects, it is because that peculiar state in which his kingdoms are and the motive of public tranquillity make it requisite.

Thus they who make difficulties at this part of the article, find them in their assumption that it contains an implied promise to execute the penal laws which the parliaments have passed against the Catholics, for they say, the Protestants place in those penal laws a portion of that protection which they demand for the English Protestant Church.

But the words which the king uses have no such meaning, and it is very important to comprehend what the declaration expresses. *We will protect*, it says, *and we will defend the Church of England as now by law established.* It does not then treat of more than the constituent principles of this pretended Church in itself, not of the penal laws by which it endeavors to repel the religions which are opposed thereto.

Those constituent principles of the English religion according to the laws of the land are 1°. the pretended articles of faith regulated under Queen Elizabeth; 2°. the liturgy approved by the parliament; 3°. the homilies or instructions which the same parliaments have authorized.

The king is not required to become the promoter of those things, but only that in his external administration he would, for the peace of his subjects, leave them a free course: that which is sufficient on the one side to maintain the external constitution of the Protestant Church of England, and on the other side does not wound the conscience of the king.

Here then is what he binds himself to by the first part of this first article of his declaration. The second part of the article where he promises *to guarantee to the Protestant Church, and to its members their Churches, &c.* has far less difficulty, and it even restrains the meaning of the first part in manifestly reducing the protection and defence of the English Protestant Church to the external things of which it is in possession, and in which the king only promises that he will not permit her to be molested by any person.

The king is very far from thereby approving of the usurpation of the Churches and benefices, but he only promises that he will not permit the usurpers to be troubled in their possession by the acts of others, as this could not be done without destroying the peace of his States.

Respecting the *Test* oath, which is the second article in the royal declaration: it does not oblige his majesty to any thing more than to exclude from public offices, those who refuse to take a certain oath: in this there can be no difficulty, for a person can live both in a worldly and a religious manner without holding an office.

And if this appears harsh to Catholics, they ought to consider the situation in which they are, and the small portion which they form of the kingdom of England; this should oblige them not to seek from their king impossibilities, and they ought to sacrifice those vain and flattering expectations of great advantages to the real and solid good of having a king of their religion, and fastening his Catholic family upon the throne, a circumstance which may give them the reasonable hope after the lapse of time, if not immediately, of the entire re-establishment of their Church and faith.

But if on the contrary, people are bent upon dictating the law to the Protestants who are in power, they will lose, together with the opportunity of re-establishing the king, not only all the advantages which are attached to this re-establishment, but besides, all others of what kind soever, and will expose themselves to all kinds of evil, for they may be convinced that if the rebels succeed in their desire of excluding the king altogether, they will keep no terms with the Catholics, and will only devise how they may indulge the hatred which they bear them.

Upon those grounds I conclude that not only can the king conscientiously make the declaration in question, but farther, that he is bound to make it, because he ought to do what he can, for the benefit of the Church, and of his Catholic subjects, for whom nothing can be better in the present conjuncture, than his re-establishment.

They ought moreover to consider as a great

advantage the declaration of his majesty *to recommend strongly to his parliament an impartial liberty of conscience*, that which shows the zeal of this prince for the repose of his Catholic subjects, and at the same time a favorable disposition towards them in those of his Protestant subjects who accept this declaration.

I would then freely say to Catholics, if there be any who do not approve of the declaration in question, *Do not be overmuch just: nor be more wise than necessary, lest thou become foolish.* (Eccl. vii, 17.)

I doubt not but our father the Pope will support the king of England in the execution of this declaration which is so necessary, and will judge favorably of the intentions of a prince who has sacrificed three kingdoms, his whole family, and even his life to the Catholic religion. I submit myself, however, with my whole heart to the supreme decision of his Holiness.

Given at Meaux, this 22d of May, 1693.

† J. Benigne, Bishop of Meaux.

[A slight difference will be observed between the phraseology of this translation, and that of the original, which has been corrected according to the edition of Paris, 1827. The difference does not, however, affect, in the least the sense of the document.]

No. 2.

A LETTER

OF THE CELEBRATED

CHARLES LEWIS DE HALLER,

Member of the Sovereign Council of Berne, to his family, informing them of his conversion to the Catholic, Apostolical and Roman Church. Translated from the French.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The name of De Haller may not be as familiar to America as it is on the European Continent. A few words, therefore, concerning a man so distinguished by his writings and by his virtues, will tend, we presume, to render the lustre of both generally known, and, when known, more generally esteemed. Charles Lewis De Haller, Member of the Sovereign Council of Berne, a native of Switzerland, and the grandson of the illustrious physician of that name, so eminent for his deep and extensive learning, is admired at present by literary Europe on account of his works, replete with wisdom and talent, in favor of the principles preservative of society. Though raised in a Protestant communion, he partook not of all its prejudices, and was soon aware that something was yet requisite to so short a creed, and so naked a worship. Conversation with Catholic Ecclesiastics, during his travels, induced him warmly to admire the spirit of their religion. A number of other circumstances combined to clear away from his eyes the films of error, and gradually to open them to the rays of truth. These we shall pass over, not to anticipate the contents of the present letter. Mr. De Haller being at length intimately convinced of the genuineness of the Catholic Church, made his profession of faith on the 17th of October, 1820. In the following letter, he states this conversion to his family; here he unbares to them his heart: he exposes his sentiments with the greatest candor, answers the objections which may be made to him, and by the strongest considerations, defends the lawfulness of his proceeding. This letter of Mr. De Haller did not produce a lively sensation only at Rome. Its frank character and affecting tone, together with the solidity of its reflections, made it impressive on unbiassed minds; and many a tender breast, easily penetrated to the gentle emotions of religion and of nature, felt its influence.

Protestants, as well as Catholics, could not deny their esteem for views so disinterested, expressed with so much sincerity. The first edition was rapidly sold, and a second was given immediately. In June, 1821, Mr. De Haller returned from Paris to his family; and may he, subjoins the French journalist, obtain in his country that favorable reception which his works, his virtues, and his services merit.

But this wish was vain—De Haller, for following conviction, was stripped of his honors, and with him a change of faith was a reverse of fortune.

No. 3.

"It is impossible to justify the conduct of Calvin, in the case of Servetus, whose death will be an indelible reproach upon the character of that great and eminent reformer. The only thing that can be alleged, not to efface, but to diminish his crime, is, that it was no easy matter for him to divest himself at once of that persecuting spirit, which had been so long nourished and strengthened by the popish religion in which he was educated. It was a remaining portion of the spirit of Popery in the breast of Calvin that kindled his unchristian zeal against the wretched Servetus."—*Macl. Mosh. Cent.* xvi, § iii, pt. 2.

A.

[The subsequent most melancholy history, and the miserable death of White prove that the author of these Letters was correct in

thinking that the latent poison of scepticism was still working in his mind, and would one day show itself. After a gradual descent through various stages of heresy, (during the process of which he left the Church of England, and connected himself for a short time with the Unitarians,) he became, once more, a Deist, and finally, a mere sceptic; his mental sufferings and intellectual wanderings, meanwhile, furnishing a sad and terrible example of the consequences which justly follow the renunciation of faith by any Catholic, but especially by a Catholic priest. The following extract from the "Christian Remembrancer," (a Protestant Review published in London, which became, after the extinction of the "British Critic," the chief organ of the Tractarians,) gives a brief relation of the manner of his death, which took place on the 20th of January, 1838. It is chiefly in the words of the editor of his "Autobiography," with a few comments by the author of the article.

"Unhappy man! his mental miseries, his doubts, fluctuations, hopelessness, bodily disease, make death at last welcome. He prepares for it with the fortitude of an ancient philosopher. He thinks the position of a human being waiting calmly for his translation into the unknown state, a dignified one. But philosophy cannot regain now the same tranquilizing power that once it had. It does not protect the mind that apostatizes to it. He cannot sustain the effort and gives way; and his death, as his life, is a tragedy. 'The agony of despair threatens him . . . . ! 'The only check to it is a deeply felt horror at such a state of mind.' He recovers, and inspirits himself. 'I am weak, and therefore my feelings overpower me. I have contributed my mite to the liberty of mankind. It is cast into God's treasury. I stand upon a rock. God's providence is carried on by the struggles of reason against the passions. I have no doubts. I came from God, and I go to him.' Pain, then, overpowers him, and he cries out to God with the voice of nature, checking it immediately with the rationalistic protest—'Oh my God! oh my God! But I know thou dost not overlook any of thy creatures. Thou dost not overlook me. So much torture—to kill a worm! Have mercy upon me, oh God! have mercy upon me! I cry to thee, knowing I cannot alter any of thy ways. I cannot, if *I would*, and *I would not*, if I could; if a word could remove these sufferings, I would not utter it!' The night after, to several members of the family collected around him, he spoke of the state of his mind, in what he knew to be the presence of death, and aware that the power of distinct utterance was failing, added, 'When the hour shall come, let it be said once for all, my soul will be concentrated in the feeling, "My God, into thy hands I commend my spirit." God to me is Jesus; and Jesus is God—*of course not in the sense of divines.*' He remained some days longer, chiefly in the state of one falling asleep, until the morning of the 20th, when he awoke up, and with a firm voice and great solemnity of manner, spoke only these words—'Now I die.' He sat in the attitude of expectation, and about two hours afterwards IT WAS AS HE HAD SAID."—*Chr. Rememb.* No. for July, 1845, pp. 202, 3.]

B.

[The calm and impartial historian of the Jesuits, Cretineau-Joly, says of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier: "Ces deux hommes *** honoraient l'Eglise autant par leurs vertus creatrices, que par *leurs miracles.*" *Vol.* iii, p. 467. The following summary of the principal miracles of S. Ignatius, is drawn up from Father Bouhours' French biography; which was compiled from Ribadeneira's Spanish Life, Maffee's Latin, Bartoli's Italian, Orlandin's History of the Company, Tellez's History of the Portuguese Province, Nierenberg's "Illustrious Men," and the Acts of Canonization of the Saint.

1. *Miraculous healing of his wound.* After his being wounded at Pampeluna, he was given up by the physicians, and had received the last sacraments, on the vigil of SS. Peter and Paul; when, St. Peter appearing to him during the night, healed him with a touch of his hand. *Vol.* i. *p.* 26-7.

2. *Vision of the Virgin and child.* Immediately after his conversion, the B. V. M. appeared to him, environed with light, holding in her arms the infant Jesus, and purified his heart and flesh from all images of sensual pleasures, which never afterwards annoyed him.—p. 35.

3. *Raising a dead man to life.* At Barcelona, in the year 1606, one of two brothers named Lisan, at law together, being unsuccessful, hung himself; and all natural means having first been tried in vain, was restored to life at the prayer of St. Ignatius, made his confession, received absolution, and immediately afterwards again expired. This was in the presence of a great crowd of persons, and is juridically attested in the Acts of his Canonization.—p. 115.

4. *Exorcises evil spirits and heals the sick.* In Biscay, a woman who had been possessed for four years was brought by her friends to Ignatius, who tried to send them away to a priest, alleging that a sinner could not have power over demons; but overcome by their

importunity, made the sign of the cross over her and healed her. A few days after, a maniac was restored by him in the same way. In the Magdalen hospital, a poor man named Bastida was cured of epilepsy by his laying his hand on his head and praying.—p. 189.

5. God revealed to him the temptation of Rodriguez to quit his vocation, after healing him of a dangerous sickness by his prayers. p. 211.

6. *Celestial Vision.* After assembling all his companions at Vicenza, in 1537, he set out for Rome. Entering a little chapel on the road between Sienna and Rome, to pray, he saw the Eternal Father, who presented to him His Son; and he saw Jesus receive a heavy cross from his Father's hands, who then said to him, "I will be propitious to you at Rome." He related this at once, in a transport of joy and confidence; and Laynez told the circumstance to all the fathers of Rome at a domestic conference, in the presence of Ribadeneira. *Vol.* ii, *p.* 7.

7. *Sees the soul of Hozez enter Heaven.* While Ignatius was in retreat at Monte Cassino, Hozez was arrested and confined in prison at Padua, by order of the bishop, on suspicion of conspiracy, and after his liberation was seized with a violent disease, of which he died. At the moment of his death, Ignatius saw his glorified spirit enter Heaven, and afterwards, at the words "omnibus Sanctis" in the Confiteor at Mass, saw him again in glory, among a troop of blessed spirits. The countenance of Hozez, which was brown and ugly during life, became so transparently white and beautiful after death, that it could scarcely be recognized.—p. 12.

8. *Miraculous virtue of his dead body.* On the day of his interment, a woman was healed of a scrofula of five years standing, judged incurable by the physicians, by touching something from his body.—p. 288.

9. *Apparition to Pascal.* The Saint predicted to a young man named Pascal the principal events of his life, and a series of severe sufferings, revealing to him also the certainty of his final salvation. He also appeared to him after his death, before matins, in the Church of St. Eulalia in Barcelona.—p. 299.

10. *Heals Bobadilla.* This companion of Ignatius was miraculously healed by him of a fever, in the chamber in which the saint died.—p. 325.

It was also discovered that St. Ignatius had an *Archangel guardian*, with whom he held frequent conversations. The manner in which this was discovered, and the unsurpassed humility manifested by the saint, are related by F. Bouhours, in page 325 of his 2d vol., in a manner which must charm every believing mind, though it may not convince the incredulous. There are, however, miracles in the Saint's Life, some of which we have mentioned above, and others still more illustrious in that of St. Francis Xavier, which may challenge the closest scrutiny of the sceptic. The Acts of Canonization record *two hundred.*]

C.

[The following is the passage referred to: "Cum apud pontificem de hac consternatione ageretur, a Panormitanis missos ad eum oratores, viros sanctos; qui ad pedes illius strati, velut pro ara hostiaque, CHRISTUM AGNUM DEI SALUTANTES, illa etiam ex altaris mysteriis verba supplices effarentur.—"Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri;—Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri:—Qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem." Pontificem respondisse, Panormitanos agere quod fecissent qui cum Christum pulsarent. eundem regem Judæorum salutabant. re hostes, fando salvere jubentes."—*Pauli Emilii Veronensis Histor. Clar. de reb. gest. Franc. Lib.* x. *Chron. de iisd. reg. ex Pharamundo usque ad Hen* ii, *fol.* 328.

Butler's translation is this: "Paulus Emilius, on whose credit the tale rests altogether. relates that the 'City of Palermo having grievously offended the Pope, sent some holy men to him as ambassadors, who prostrated themselves at his feet, AND SALUTED CHRIST THE LAMB OF GOD as before an altar and the blessed sacrament, and suppliantly pronounced the mystic words of the altar, 'Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us! Who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us! Who takest away the sins of the world, give us peace!' The Pope replied by telling them that 'they acted like those who, after they had struck Christ, saluted him as King of the Jews; that, in reality they were his enemies, although in these words they wished him health.' "

White says—"This translation makes the transaction quite unintelligible, etc. Had Mr. Butler taken notice of the *velut*, which qualifies the whole of the next sentence, and the *etiam*, which applies to the words taken from the Mass, he would have perceived his mistake, &c." White then gives the following as the true translation: "Who, being prostrate at his feet, AS IF they were saluting Christ the Lamb of God before the *ara*, and the Host, used EVEN those words from the mysteries of the altar, (i. e. the Mass) Agnus Dei, etc." White's translation is certainly more correct than Mr. Butler's. They both err in adding to the original text of the author

the words "Agnus Dei," before "Qui tollis, &c." The true translation is this: The citizens of Palermo sent holy men as ambassadors to the Pope, "*who being prostrate at his feet, as if saluting Christ the Lamb of God, before the Altar and the Host, should also utter the words from the mysteries (Sacred Liturgy) of the Altar: Thou who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us, ... give us peace.*" The obvious meaning seems to be, that these ambassadors were directed by those who sent them to prostrate themselves before the Pope, as before the Lamb of God, and to *utter* in that humble position the words: "Qui tollis, &c." The words were not properly spoken *to* the Pope, but in his presence *for* him,—*effarentur*. It was a *ruse de Rhetorique*, which those acquainted with the history of the times, and of the character of the Sicilians even at this day, can well understand. It was an ingenious way, in the mind of the Palermians, of showing their veneration of the Pontiff, of reminding him of the meekness of the one he represented, and of supplicating him to restore them to the peace of the church. If, however, any one wishes to insist that the words "Qui tollis, &c." were addressed directly and without any figure to the Pope, we answer, that such words may be addressed to the successor of him, to whom Christ said: "To thee I will give the keys, etc." *Matt.* xvi. 19.]

D.

[M. Gosselin, in his Treatise, "Pouvoir Du Pape Sur Les Souverains Du Moyen Age," remarks, that the body which gave a response to Mr. Pitt's questions was not the veritable Faculty of Divinity of Louvain, but was composed of certain professors in the general Seminary established in that city by Joseph II, who illegally usurped the rights of the ancient Faculty, then dispersed by the banishment or retirement of most of its members. The men from whom this response proceeded were of so dubious a character, that their public teaching was condemned by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Mechlin, and the document itself breathes a spirit which could not emanate from a genuine Catholic body; nevertheless it is true, as the author above cited remarks, that the question of the independence of England is considered only in its relation to the divine law, and the public law of the eighteenth century, without touching upon the relation which it bears to the public law of the middle ages. So that there is no formal error in its statements.

M. Gosselin quotes the testimony of M. Van-Gils, a member of the ancient Faculty, in proof that the University had always taught the doctrine that the civil and political constitutions of the middle ages had their root in the Catholic faith; that by these constitutions, the prerogatives of rulers and rights of citizens were enjoyed by them only inasmuch as they were, and while they continued, Catholics, ceasing, ipso facto, as soon as they apostatized, or were excommunicated; from which it necessarily follows, that the Church was the proper tribunal to decide who were and who were not, according to this principle, entitled to the rights and privileges of rulers or citizens.—*Pouv. Du Pape, etc. Paris*, 1839, *pp.* 47, 51.]

E.

Sane quoniam de hoc, sicuti de ceteris, consulere voluit dilectio tua, adjecit etiam filius meus Cælestinus diaconus in epistola sua, esse a tua dilectione positum illud, quod in beati Apostoli Jacobi epistola conscriptum est: *Si infirmus aliquis in vobis est, vocet presbyteros, et orent super eum, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, et oratio fidei salvabit laborantem, et suscitabit illum Dominus: et si peccata fecit, remittet ei.* Quod non est dubium, de fidelibus ægrotantibus accipi vel intelligi debere, qui sancto oleo chrismatis perungi possunt: quo ab episcopo confecto, non solum sacerdotibus, sed omnibus uti Christianis licet in sua aut suorum necessitate inungendo. [*Marg.* ad ungendum.] Ceterum illud superfluum videmus adjectum, ut de episcopo ambigatur, quod presbyteris licere non dubium est. Nam idcirco de presbyteris dictum est, quia episcopi occupationibus aliis impediti, ad omnes languidos ire non possunt. Ceterum, si episcopus aut potest, aut dignum ducit, aliquem a se visitandum, et benedicere et tangere chrismate sine cunctatione potest, cujus est ipsum chrisma conficere. Nam pœnitentibus istud infundi [*marg.* fundi] non potest, *quia genus est sacramenti.* NAM QUIBUS RELIQUA SACRAMENTA NEGANTUR, QUOMODO UNUM GENUS PUTATUR POSSE CONCEDI?—*Labb.* t. ii. Col. 1247, 8.

F.

Transacto autem anno [sc. pœnitentiæ,] debet sacerdos benedicere aquam et oleum, non sicut benedicitur in baptismo, nec ut benedicitur chrisma, sed *ut oleum infirmorum.*—*Can. Arab. Conc. Nic.* 69. *Labb.* t. ii. *Col.* 313.

G.

Volat irrevocabile tempus, et dum creditis vos cavere pœnam istam minimam, incurritis ampliorem. Illud enim scitote, quia post

hanc vitam in purgabilibus locis centupliciter, quæ fuerint hic neglecta, reddentur usque ad novissimum quadrantem. Scio ego quid durum est homini dissoluto apprehendere disciplinam, verboso silentium pati, vagari solito stabilem permanere: sed durius et multo durius erit futuras illas molestias tolerare.—*Serm. in Obit. Humb.* prope finem.

H. I. K.

See Note at the end of Appendix.

L.

Sacrificium pro defunctorum fidelium requie offerri, vel pro eis orari, quia per totum hoc orbem custoditur, credimus quod ab ipsis Apostolis traditum sit. Hoc, enim ubique Catholica tenet Ecclesia; quæ nisi crederet fidelibus defunctis dimitti peccata, non pro eorum spiritibus vel eleemosynam faceret, vel Deo Sacrificium offerret. Nam et cum Dominus dicit. (*Matt.* xii.) "Qui peccaverit in Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hoc sæculo, neque in futuro," demonstrat quibusdam illic dimittenda peccata, et quodam *purgatorio igne purganda.*—*S. Isid. Hisp. De Off. Eccl.* i. 18. *Cit. a Nat. Alex. Diss.* xlv. *in Sæc.* iv. *prop.* 2.

M.

Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante judicium purgatorius ignis credendus est.—*Dial.* iv. 39.

N.

Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me. Quasi dicat: Scio futurum esse, ut post hujus vitæ exitum alii flammis expientur purgatoriis, alii sententiam æternæ subeant damnationis. Sed quia illum transitorium ignem omni tribulatione præsenti æstimo intolerabiliorem, non solum in furore æternæ damnationis opto non argui, sed etiam in ira transeuntis timeo correptionis purgari. Tu ergo Domine, cui in spiritu meo servio, quem omnium salvatorem esse cognosco, ne arguas me in furore damnationis perpetuæ, neque corripias me in ira expurgantis vindictæ.—*Explan. Ps.* xxxvii, v. 1.

O.

Sed quæso, inquam, te, nullane animarum supplicia post defunctum morte corpus relinquis? Et magna, quidem, inquit: quorum alia pœnali acerbitate, alia vero purgatoria clementia exerceri puto.—*De Consol. Philos. L.* iv, *p.* 4, prope medium.

P.

See end of Appendix.

Q.

Si sacramenta Mediatoris acceperit, [sc. infantia] etiamsi hanc in eis annis vitam finiat, translata scilicet a potestate tenebrarum in regnum Christi, non solum pœnis non præparetur æternis, sed ne ulla quidem post mortem purgatoria tormenta patiatur.—*De Civ. Dei.* xxi, 16.

Still more strongly, in chapter xiii, the holy Doctor writes:

Sed temporarias pœnas, alii in hac vita tantum, alii post mortem, alii et nunc et tunc, verumtamen ante judicium illud severissimum novissimumque patiuntur.

R.

Tales etiam constat ante judicii diem per pœnas temporales, quas eorum spiritus patiuntur purgatos receptis corporibus, æterni ignis suppliciis non tradendos.

This passage, which occurs in the edition of Erasmus, is noted in the Benedictine edition, as spurious; but a passage of equivalent import and certain authenticity is found in the same section, viz:

Nam pro defunctis quibusdam, vel ipsius Ecclesiæ, vel quorumdam piorum exauditur oratio: sed pro his quorum in Christo regeneratorum nec usque adeo vita in corpore male gesta est, ut tali misericordia judicentur digni non esse, nec usque adeo bene, ut talem misericordiam reperiantur necessariam non habere. Sicut etiam facta resurrectione mortuorum non deerunt quibus post pœnas, quas patiuntur spiritus mortuorum, impertiatur misericordia, ut in ignem non mittantur æternum.—*Ib.* 21.

S.

Hi vero qui temporalibus pœnis digna gesserunt, de quibus Apostolus dicit: *Si cujus opus arserit detrimentum patietur: ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem:* per fluvium igneum, de quo propheticus sermo commemorat: *Et fluvius igneus currebat ante eum:* per fluvium igneum et vada ferventibus globis horrenda transibunt. Quanta fuerit peccati materia, tanta et pertranseundi mora. Quantum exegerit culpa, tantum sibi ex homine vindicabit quædam flammæ rationabilis disciplina.—*Class.* v, *Serm* cclii. *Ed. Bened. Tert. Venet.*

According to the Benedictine editors, this sermon is to be attributed to St. Cæsarius of Arles, (A. D. 542,) the first part, however, being

taken from S. Augustine's sermon on Ps. 148, probably by S. Cæsarius, who was wont to compile Homilies in this way, to be read by his clergy for the instruction of the people.*

De viri pœna. Sed qui forte agrum non coluerit, et spinis eum opprimi permiserit, habet in hac vita maledictionem terræ suæ in omnibus operibus suis, et post hanc vitam habebit, *vel ignem purgationis vel pœnam æternam.—De Gen. con. Man.* ii, 20.

T.

Et sicut diaboli et omnium negatorum atque impiorum, qui dixerunt in corde suo: *Non est Deus* (Ps. xiii, 1,) credimus æterna tormenta: sic peccatorum atque impiorum et tamen Christianorum, [*vel. sicut in vetustiori Ambros. ms.* sic peccatorum etiam Christianorum,] quorum opera in igne probanda sunt atque purganda, moderatam arbitramur et mixtam clementiæ sententiam judicia. (1 *Cor.* iii, 13.)—*Com. in Is. Lib.* xviii, *cap.* 66, in *v.* 24

U.

Vel in præsenti vita precibus sapientiæque studio purgatus, vel post obitum per expurgantis ignis fornacem expiatus ad pristinam vellet redire felicitatem.

E corpore egressus, cognita, quae inter virtutem et vitium est differentia, non poterit divinitatis particeps fieri, nisi maculas animo immistas purgatorius ignis abstulerit.

Aliis autem post hanc vitam purgatorio igne materiæ labes et propensionem ad malum abstergentibus, et ad gratiam initio naturæ concessam voluntaria bonorum cupiditate redeuntibus.—*De Mort. Orat.* prope medium.

V.

Igne ergo purgabuntur filii Levi, igne Ezechiel, igne Daniel. Sed hi etsi per ignem examinabuntur, dicent tameu: *Transivimus per ignem et aquam* (Ps. lxv, 12.) Alii in igne remanebunt: illis rorabit ignis, ut Hebræis pueris, qui incendio fornacis ardentis objecti sunt; ministros autem impietatis ultor ignis exuret. Væ mihi si opus meum arserit, et laboris hujus patiar detrimentum! Et si salvos faciet Dominus servos suos, salvi erimus per fidem, sic tamen salvi quasi per ignem; et si non exurimur, tamen uremur. Quomodo tamen alii remaneant in igne, alii pertranseant, alio loco nos docet Scriptura divina. Nempe in mare Rubrum demersus populus est Ægyptiorum, (*Exod.* xiv, 22 *et seq.*) transivit autem populus Hebræorum: Moyses pertransivit, præcipitatus est Pharao; quoniam graviora eum peccata merserunt. Eo modo præcipitabuntur sacrilegi in lacum ignis ardentis, qui superba in Deum jactavere convicia. Sequamur ergo hic positi columnam ignis, quæ nos in hoc corpore positos illuminet, et viam monstret: ut in futurum nobis nebula refrigeret noctis: quo *sæva incendia relevare possimus.*—Enarr. in Ps. xxxvi, v. 15.

W.

Si igitur per confessionem detexerimus peccatum, jam succrescens gramen arefecimus, dignum plane quod depascatur et devoret purgatorius ignis.

Non ommimodam internecionem et exterminium comminatur, sed innuit expurgationem, juxta Apostoli sententiam, quia si cujus opus arserit, damnum patietur: ipse autem salvus fiet, sic tamen per ignem. *In Cap.* ix, *Esai.*, prope finem.

X.

See Note S.

Y.

An cum ex ommi otioso verbo rationem simus præstituri, diem judicii concupiscemus, in quo nobis est ille indefessus ignis subeundus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia?—*Tract. in Ps.* cxviii, *Lit. Gimel, v.* 12.

Z.

Aliud est ad veniam stare, aliud ad gloriam pervenire; aliud missum in carcerem non exire inde donec solvat novissimum quadrantem (*Matt.* v.) aliud statim fidei et virtutis accipere mercedem (1 *Cor.* iii,) aliud pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum emundari et purgari diu igne, aliud peccata omnia passione purgasse, aliud denique pendere in deim judicii ad sententiam Domini, aliud statim a Domino coronari.—*Ep.* lii. *ad Antonianum. Ed. Baluz, in Curs. Comp.* t. iii, Col. 786.

AA.

Idcirco igitur qui salvus fit, per ignem

* By some mistake, another sentence somewhat similar to that here cited is substituted for it in the text of the Letter, and this passage is quoted under the reference to the Homilies of Pseudo-Eusebius. Perhaps the two quotations were transposed by the printer; but this cannot be certainly known without referring to the Homilies, which the editors have not yet been able to find. At best, however, the importance of the passage is but slight, and the mistake of no consequence.

salvus fit, ut si quid forte de specie plumbi habuerit admixtum, id ignis decoquat et resolvat, ut efficiantur omnes aurum bonum. Quia aurum terræ illius bonum esse dicitur, quam habituri sunt sancti, et sicut fornax probat aurum, sic homines justos tentatio. Veniendum est ergo omnibus ad ignem, veniendum est ad conflatorium. Sedet enim Dominus et conflat, et purgat filios Juda. Sed et illuc cum venitur, si quis multa opera bona et parum aliquid iniquitatis attulerit, illud parum tanquam plumbum igni resolvitur ac purgatur, et totum remanet aurum purum. Et si quis plus illuc plumbi detulerit, plus exuritur, ut amplius decoquatur, ut etsi parum aliquid sit auri, purgatum tamen resideat. Quod si aliquis illuc totus plumbeus venerit, fiet de illo hoc quod scriptum est, Demergetur in profundum, tamquam plumbum in aqua validissima.—*In Exod. Cap.* xv, *Hom.* vi. prope medium.

AB.

Judex te tradat angelo executionis, et ille te in carcerem mandet infernum, unde non dimittaris, nisi modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso.—*De Anim*, xxxv.

AC.

In summa, cum carcerem illum, quem Evangelium demonstrat, inferos intelligamus, et novissimum quadrantem modicum quodque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum interpretemur; nemo dubitabit animam aliquid pensare penes inferos, salva resurrectionis plenitudine per carnem quoque. —*Ib.* lviii.

AD.

Missa in Conventu sua illa sancta devotiône celebrata, febre correptus lecto decubuit et nos cum illo omnes.*** Ecce appropinquat dies, quem, ut optime nostis, optavi semper ipsum fore diem resolutionis meæ. Scio cui credidi, et certus sum; non fraudabor reliquo desiderii mei, qui partem jam teneo. Qui me sua misericordia perduxit ad locum, quem petii: terminum quem æque volui, non negabit. Quod ad hoc corpusculum attinet, hic requies mea: quod ad animam, Dominus providebit, qui salvos facit sperantes in se. Nec parum spei repositum mihi in die illa, qua mortuis tanta a vivis beneficia impenduntur.

AE.

Percontatus aliquando, quonam in loco, si optio detur, extremum malit agere diem, (de hoc siquidem fratres quærebant inter se, quem sibi quisque deligeret) cunctatur, et non respondet. Instantibus illis; si migro hinc, inquit, nusquam libentius, quam unde una cum nostro Apostolo resurgere possim. (Dicebat autem sanctum Patricium.) Si perigrinari oportet, et ita permittit Deus, Claramvallem delegi. Requisitus item de tempore, diem respondit solemnem omnium defunctorum.—*Vit. Mal.* xxx, xxxi.

AF.

Videte detractores, videte canes. Irrident nos .... quod oramus pro mortuis; quod sanctorum suffragia postulamus .... porro mortuos viventium fraudantes auxiliis.—*Serm. in Cant.* lxvi.

AG.

See end of Appendix.

AH.

Hoc enim ubique Catholica tenet Ecclesia; quæ, nisi crederet fidelibus defunctis dimitti peccata, non pro eorum spiritibus vel eleemosynam faceret, vel Deo Sacrificium offerret. Nam et cum Dominus dicit, (*Matth.* xii.) "Qui peccaverit in Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur ei neque in hoc sæculo neque in futuro," demonstrat quibusdam illic dimittenda peccata, et quodam *purgatorio igne purganda.—Cit. a Natal. Alex., Diss.* xlv, *in sæc.* 4.

AI.

Petrus. Quidnam ergo esse poterit quod mortuorum valeat animabus prodesse? Gregor. Si culpæ post mortem insolubiles non sunt, multum solet animas etiam post mortem sacra oblatio Hostiæ Salutaris adjuvare.

St. Gregory goes on to relate the appearance of the soul of a certain man condemned to purgatory, to a priest, whom he continued to serve for some time at the bath, and who, at length, offered him some of the bread of the oblations, as a gift; upon which, telling him who he was, he begged him to offer Sacrifice for him, and on his doing so for the space of a week, was liberated.

AJ.

Petrus. Putamus ne animabus aliquid prodesse si mortuorum corpora fuerint in Ecclesia sepulta?

Gregor. Quos gravia peccata non deprimunt, hoc prodest mortuis si in Ecclesia sepeliantur, quod eorum proximi quoties ad eadem sacra loca conveniunt, suorum quoque sepulcra conspiciunt, recordantur, et pro eis Domino preces fundunt.—*Dial.* l. iv. 50, 55.

AK.

Neque vano (ut spei nostræ expertes solent) pomparum inanium honore comitatus es; sed remediis salutaribus et vivis opibus, hoc est eleemosynis prosecutus, debito ordine primum charo funere justa persolvens, piis lacrymis et largo charitatis rore perfusus, religiosius exequias honorasti.—*Ep.* xxxvii.

AL.

Sed potius ut orationibus tuis condonetur tibi, ut et illius animam vel de minimo sanctitatis tuæ digito distillans refrigerii gutta respergat.—*Ad Delph.*

AM.

Ea verius causa obisse lugemus, quia ex his quæ gesta ab ipso ad finem ejus vel ordinata sunt, peccatis magis nostris quam votis congrua egisse perspeximus, ut mallet ad Dominum *debitor transire, quam liber.* Ob hoc impense rogamus, ut quasi frater (quod nobis in Domino esse dignaris) unanimos fratres juvans, et hanc meritis fidei tuæ mercedem accumules, ut pro eo infirmitatis nostræ compatiaris, et orandi labore conspires; ut misericors et miserator Deus, qui facit omnia in cœlo et in terra, et in mari et abyssis, refrigeret animam ejus stillicidiis misericordiæ suæ, per orationes vestras. Quia sicut IGNIS ACCENSUS AB EO ardebit usque ad inferos deorsum, ita procul dubio etiam ros indulgentiæ ejus inferna penetrabit, ut roscido pietatis ejus lumine IN TENEBRIS ARDENTIBUS ÆSTUANTES REFRIGERENTUR.—*Ad. Amand.*

AN.

In Machabæorum libris legimus oblatum pro mortuis sacrificium (2 *Machab.* xii, 43.) Sed et si nusquam in Scripturis veteribus omnino legeretur, non parva est universæ Ecclesiæ, quæ in hac consuetudine claret auctoritas, ubi in precibus sacerdotis quæ Domino Deo ad ejus altare funduntur, locum suum habet etiam commendatio mortuorum. —*Cap.* i, § 3.

AO.

Cum itaque recolit animus ubi sepultum sit charissimi corpus, et occurrit locus nomine martyris venerabilis, eidem martyri animam dilectam commendat recordantis et precantis affectus. Qui cum defunctis a fidelibus charissimis exhibetur, eum prodesse non dubium est iis qui cum in corpore viverent, talia sibi post hanc vitam prodesse meruerunt.—*Cap.* iv, § 6.

AP.

Non sunt prætermittendæ supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum quas faciendas pro omnibus in Christiana et Catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum, sub generali commemoratione suscepit Ecclesia; ut quibus ad ista desunt parentes, aut filii, aut quicumque cognati vel amici, ab una eis exhibeantur pia matre communi.—*Ib.*

AQ.

Aeriani ab Aerio quodam sunt, qui cum esset presbyter, doluisse fertur quod episcopus non potuit ordinari; et in Arianorum hæresim lapsus, *propria quoque dogmata addidisse nonnulla,* dicens offerri pro dormientibus, non oportere etc.—§ liii, *Curs. Comp.* t. xlii, Col. 39.

AR.

Si autem etiam peccator excessit, propterea etiam lætari oportet, quod interscissa sunt peccata, et vitio nihil adjecit; et, quoad ejus fieri potest, ei succurrere, non lacrymis, sed precibus, supplicationibus, eleemosynis et oblationibus.

Ne nos pigeat opem ferre eis qui excesserunt, et pro eis offerre preces.—§ 4, *prope fin.* et. 5.

AS.

Non frustra hæc ab apostolis sunt legibus constituta: ut in venerandis, inquam, atque horrificis mysteriis memoria eorum fiat qui decesserunt: noverant hinc multum ad illos lucri accedere, multum utilitatis. Eo enim tempore, quo universus populus stat manibus passis ac cœtus sacerdotalis, et illud horrorem incutiens sacrificium; quomodo Deum non placabimus pro istis orantes?—*Hom. in Epist. ad Philipp.* iii, § 4, in medio.

AT.

Cæteri mariti super tumulos conjugum spargunt violas; rosas, lilia, floresque purpureos: et dolorem pectoris his officiis consolantur. Pammachius noster sanctam favillam ossaque veneranda, eleemosynæ balsamis rigat.—*Ep.* lxvi, *ad Pammach. Curs. Comp.* t. xxii, Col. 642.

AU.

Cæterum, (*inquit,*) quæ pro mortuis concipiuntur preces, iis utiles sunt, tametsi non omnes culpas extinguant.... Nam et justorum et peccatorum mentionem facimus: pec-

catorum quidem, ut iis a Domino misericordiam imploremus, etc.—*De Hæres, cit. a Natal. Alex. in Diss. sup. laud.*

AV.

Itaque non tam deplorandam, quam prosequendam orationibus reor; nec mæstificandam lacrymis tuis sed magis oblationibus animam ejus Domino commendandam arbitror.—*Ep.* xxxix, *ad Faust. Curs. Comp.* t. xvi, Col. 1099.

AW.

Tu solus, Domine, invocandus es, tu rogandus, ut eum in filiis repræsentes. Tu Domine, custodiens etiam parvulos in hac humilitate salvos facito sperantes in te. Da requiem perfectam servo tuo Theodosio, requiem illam, quam præparasti sanctis tuis. Illo convertatur anima ejus, unde descendit; ubi mortis aculeum sentire non possit, ubi cognoscat mortem hanc non naturæ finem esse, sed culpæ .... Dilexi, et ideo prosequor eum usque ad regionem vivorum, nec deseram, donec fletu et precibus inducam virum, quo sua merita vocant, in montem Domini.—*De Obit. Theodos.* §§ 36, 37.

Beati ambo (sc. Gratianus et Valentinianus,) si quid meæ orationes valebunt! nulla dies vos silentio præteribit, nulla inhonoratos vos mea transibit oratio, nulla nox non donatos aliqua precum mearum contextione transcurret: omnibus vos oblationibus frequentabo.—*De Obit. Valentin.* § 78.

Tibi nunc, omnipotens Deus, innoxiam commendo animam, tibi hostiam meam offero; cape propitius ac serenus fraternum munus, sacrificium sacerdotis.—*De Excess. Satyr. Lib.* i, § 80.

AX. AY.

See end of Appendix.

AZ.

Ego Ephræm morior. Notum igitur vobis cunctis sit, o viri Edesseni. Testamentum quippe vobis relinquo: symbolum monumenti documentorum, ex illa quæ mihi concessa fuit gratia et dono: ut in orationum commemorationibus, mei memoriam faciatis, qui me scitis et cognoscitis.

BA.

In orationibus vestris, assidue pro mea parvitate oblationes facere dignamini: et quando diem trigesimum complevero, mei memoriam faciatis.—*Op.* t. ii, pp. 230, 39, *Ed. Vatican.*

BB.

See end of Appendix.

BC.

Ac beatus quidem Princeps, (*inquit,*) alto in suggestu jacens, laudibus tum celebrabatur. Innumerabilis autem populus una cum Sacerdotibus Dei, mon sine gemitu ac lacrymis, pro Imperatoris anima preces offerebant Deo: gratissimum pio Principi officium exhibentes. Porro in hoc etiam Deus prolixam erga famulum suum benevolentiam declaravit .... et *quod maxime ambierat*, locum juxta Apostolorum memoriam ei concesserit, ut se .... populo Dei in Ecclesia sociaretur, divinisque cæremoniis ac mystico sacrificio, et sanctarum precum communione potiri mereretur.—*De Vit. Constant. Lib.* iv, *cap.* 71.

BD.

Quod episcopi antecessores nostri religiose considerantes et salubriter providentes, censuerunt ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur .... Et ideo Victor, cum, contra formam nuper in concilio a sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Faustinum presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesia frequentetur.—*Ep.* lxvi, *ad Cler. et pleb. Furnis consist. Curs. Comp.* t. iv, Col. 399.

BE.

Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus.—*De Coron. Cap.* iii.

Enimvero et pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus.—*De Monog*, *c.* x.

Th text from which the author translated varied slightly from the reading here given from Migne's edition.

BF.

Deinde accedens Antistes, precem sacram super defuncto peragit: qua finita, ipsemet Antistes eum salutat, ordineque deinceps suo omnes qui adsunt. Rogat itaque precatione illa divinam bonitatem, ut defuncto omnia peccata dimittat, quæ per humanam infirmitatem contracta sunt, eumque in lucem sanctam ac vivorum regionem transferat. et collocet in sinu Abrahæ, Isaac, et Jacob. in loco a quo dolor et tristitia gemitusque aufugiunt.—*Cap.* vii, *Pars* iii, § 4.

BG.

Agnitio vera est Apostolorum doctrina et antiquus Ecclesiæ status, in universo mundo, et character [corporis] Christi, secundum successiones Episcoporum, quibus illi eam, quæ in unoquoque loco est Ecclesiam tradiderunt, quæ pervenit usque ad nos, custodia sine fictione Scripturarum tractatione plenissima, neque [additamentum neque] ablationem recipiens, [et] lectio sine falsatione et secundum Scripturas expositio legitima et diligens, et sine periculo, et sine blasphemia, et præcipuum dilectionis munus, quod est pretiosius quam agnitio, gloriosius autem quam prophetia, omnibus autem reliquis charismatibus supereminentius.—*Iren. ado. Hær. Lib.* iv, *cap.* lxiii.

Not having the dialogues of Theodoret, and several other works cited in the Letters, at hand, the editors are unable to give the originals of passages quoted. Several of the originals in Greek, are also here omitted for the want of Greek type. If arrangements can be made to remedy these inconveniences, the parts wanting will be supplied at the end of Part I, in the Second Volume.

The editors have not attempted to substantiate the references to the Scriptural Commentaries of the Fathers, the Decrees of Councils, or to the Liturgies, in support of the doctrine of purgatory. The labor would have been too great, and the size of the Appendix too much increased. Those who wish to examine further are referred to the works of Gotti, Perrone, Kenrick, and other standard theologians of the Catholic Church, and to Natalis Alexander's Ecclesiastical History, Saec. iv, diss. 45.

For a full discussion of the doctrine of the Greek Schismatics, see the work "De Purgatorio" of Leo Allatius, a learned Greek convert to the Catholic Church, and the treatise of Collet in the "Cursus Completus Theologiæ," published by Migne, Paris.

Note to Letter XII, page 162.

[A few lines near the close of this Letter, beginning with the words "members as well of the Church which he deserted, etc." need some explanation, to remove an apparent ambiguity. The pronoun "he" which may be thought by a reader not familiar with the fact alluded to, to refer to White, which makes the sense unintelligible, really refers to Bishop Kemp, who left the Presbyterian Church to enter the Episcopalian Communion, in which he became a Bishop. The "members of the Church which he deserted," are then the Presbyterian ministers who joined with him in recommending White's book, and the others are the Episcopalian ministers who were associated with them in this laudable act.]

LETTERS ON THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION,

AND ON

PROTESTANT ERRORS CONCERNING THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

ADDRESSED TO REV. JOHN BACHMAN, D.D.

[In giving the ensuing Series of Letters the next place after the Letters in reply to Blanco White, the chronological order has been departed from, for the sake of a more appropriate theological classification; according to which, the Doctrine of the Mass seemed entitled to precede the other controverted dogmas of the Church, vindicated elsewhere. This series was published in the "U. S. Catholic Miscellany," Vols. XVII and XVIII, for the year 1838. All the other pieces on the same subject have been connected with this Series, without regard to their chronological order.]

A NOTE FROM BISHOP ENGLAND

To the Editors of the United States Catholic Miscellany.

GENTLEMEN,—Will you be so good as to procure and insert, as soon as you can, in your paper, a copy of the Sermon preached in this city, on the 12th of last November, by the Rev. Doctor Bachman, "On the Doctrines and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," and printed at the request of the Synod?

My object in making this request is, to let your readers peruse a discourse upon which I intend, God willing, to address a few letters through your columns to the Rev. Preacher; and I consider it but justice to him and to those who may read the letters, to have in the Rev. gentleman's own words the statements upon which I shall comment.

In order that reference may be more easily and accurately made to the text itself, I request that you will number the paragraphs consecutively as they follow each other in the discourse.

I shall send you my first letter as soon as I find the sermon appear on your paper.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant, B. C.

Charleston, January 17th, 1838.

A SERMON ON THE DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, preached at Charleston, S. C., November 12th, 1837, by appointment of the Synod of South Carolina and adjacent States, by JOHN BACHMAN, D. D., President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States.

Extract from the minutes of the Fourteenth Meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, of South Carolina, and adjacent States, convened at Charleston, on Saturday, November 11th, 1837.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to present the thanks of Synod to Rev. Dr. Bachman, for his appropriate, lucid and learned Discourse on the Doctrines and Discipline of our Church, on Lord's Day evening, and to request him to furnish a copy of the manuscript for publication, because the information contained in the Sermon is highly important, to be communicated as soon as possible, to our respective congregations, and the religious world at large.

Ordered, Committee be composed of Rev. Dr. Hazelius, Messrs. Jacob F. Mintzing, Thomas Purse, and Henry Muller.

German Society Hall, Nov. 5th, 1837.

REV. DR. BACHMAN,

Reverend and dear Sir,—It is our pleasing duty to offer you the thanks of Synod, for your able, lucid, and learned Discourse on the Doctrines and Discipline, of the Lutheran Church, and to request you to furnish that body with a copy for publication.

With esteem, yours,
ERNEST L. HAZELIUS,
THOMAS PURSE,
JACOB F. MINTZING,
HENRY MULLER,
Committee.

Canonsborough, November 16th, 1837.

REV. DR. HAZELIUS, Messrs. THOMAS PURSE, JACOB F. MINTZING, HENRY MULLER, Committee.

Gentlemen,—I received your note, as a Committee appointed by the Synod, requesting a copy of my Sermon on the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church, for publication. As a minister of religion I regard my services at the disposal of the Church, and if it is conceived by my brethren, that the publication of my discourse will in any wise promote the cause of religion, it is at their disposal.

Yours, with esteem,
JOHN BACHMAN.

SERMON.

HEBREWS, chap. 10, ver. 23.

Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, for he is faithful that promised.

1. In various passages of holy writ, faith is expressly enjoined as a duty—to the performance of it promises are annexed, and the neglect of it is threatened with the anger and punishment of God. That the acceptance of it is a voluntary act on the part of man, we infer from several texts of Scripture where we are commanded to "believe on the Gospel"—to "believe on the Son," and also from the assurance that "those who believe not shall not see life." Were faith purely an involuntary act of the mind and the effect of mere physical necessity, a just and holy God would not accompany the performance or neglect of it either with sanctions or threatenings.

2. Faith, then, is the object of a command of God, enjoined upon mankind to perform. Were man incapable of its performance, the duty would not be enjoined since it would militate against the goodness and mercy of God;—then virtue which is nothing else but a voluntary obedience to truth, and sin which is a voluntary obedience to error, would be mere empty names.—When, therefore, the great Apostle to the Gentiles exhorts the Hebrew Christians to hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering, and urges the faithfulness of him that promised, he enjoins a duty which thus aided by the power and mercy of God, may be performed by all who enjoy an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

3. The voluntary and public profession of our faith is enjoined upon all true believers, and the Apostle in our text exhorts us to constancy and perseverance in the doctrines of the Gospel, when he urges us to "hold fast the profession of our faith."

4. He who has chosen a system of Christian doctrine, is presumed to have examined carefully the grounds of his faith, and to be able to give a reason of the hope that is in him. He who prizes his religion as he ought—who regards it as of inestimable value both to his present peace and future happiness, will carefully study its doctrines—strive to conform to the duty it enjoins, and cleave to its consolations and hopes through all the lights and shades of human life.

5. Having been appointed by this Synod to deliver a discourse on the doctrines and discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, we will now endeavor, as far as we are able, to comply with this request.

6. That such expressions of our views of the doctrines and discipline of that branch of Christ's Church to which we profess to belong are not uncalled for at the present day, especially in America, we may infer from the fact that they appear to be but little understood by other denominations who have written on the subject, and that even many of our own people are but imperfectly acquainted with

them. It is comparatively but of recent date, even within the remembrance of many of those who now hear us, that our religious services were first conducted in the English language. Our clergy have since that period been so generally devoted to the pastoral duties, that little leisure has been afforded them to engage in the cares, anxieties and expenses of authorship. The few standard works by ministers of our Church that have from time to time appeared in our country, have confessedly not been sufficiently diffused among the mass of our population. In Germany, however, there never has been any deficiency in theological and devotional books; on the contrary, in that land of free inquiry, where all religious opinions are tolerated, provided they do not interfere with the laws of the State, the press has teemed with some of the most valuable, as well as some of the most dangerous, productions that have yet appeared: whilst on the one hand, the wretched system of philosophy adopted by some of their writers has led them to the very borders of infidelity, their Evangelical Divines have, as is universally acknowledged, presented the world with some of the most valuable works on almost every branch of Christian Theology that are now extant in any language. It is feared, however, that many years will pass away before this deficiency can be fully supplied in the language of our country. In the mean time it becomes the duty of the friends of our Church to furnish such aid as their experience and knowledge will permit, to enlighten the minds of our people on the true intent and meaning of the doctrines they profess to believe.

7. Time will not permit, even if it accorded with the objects of this address, to enter into a detail of the various steps by which, under the Providence of God, the reformation of the Church was effected. Suffice it to say that if ever the hand of God was visible in carrying on a mighty reformation in the Church, by the instrumentality of men, destitute of power or wealth, opposed by the deep rooted prejudices, the personal interests and power of tyranny, it was that work.

8. Let not, however, the objects of Luther and the other reformers be misunderstood. They pretended not to establish a new religion till then unknown in the world —they wished to reform, to purify the Church from corruptions in doctrines, and from useless ceremonies which had been accumulating for ages, and to bring it back to the purity and simplicity of the Apostolic days. They sought not to establish a religion of their own, but to become the blessed instruments in the hands of God of restoring to its original beauty the now tarnished glories of the Church of the Redeemer. If one branch of the Protestant Church was called after Luther, and another after Calvin, to designate their peculiar creeds, it was not by their approbation or that of their friends. These names were given by their opponents. In the address of the Elector of Saxony, and others, the friends and coadjutors of Luther to the Emperor, they used the following sentiments expressive of their views on this subject: "The doctrines of Luther we only receive as far as they agree with the word of God. On this word we ground ourselves, and not on the person or doctrines of a man, let him be Luther or any other person, because all men may err. We will therefore be judged only by the word of God." Those who hold the sentiments of our Church in Europe and America, desire to be denominated the Evangelical Church.

9. The reformation openly commenced in Germany in the year 1517. Luther was still a monk, and a sincere Roman Catholic, but having carefully and prayerfully perused the Scriptures, desired only to correct what he regarded the abuses in that Church, and had not at that time any intention of separating himself from her communion and worship. His mind became gradually more and more enlightened as he advanced from step to step, until June, 1530, the memorable Confession of the Reformers was presented to the Diet of Augsburg. It contained twenty-eight articles, twenty-one of which represent the religious creed of the Reformers, and the remainder are levelled at the errors and abuses that led them to a separation from the Church of Rome. It was not until that period that the doctrines of the reformation can be said to have been cleared defined.

10. We do not desire to be understood that Luther was the only human agent that God at this time raised up to effect a reformation in the Church. There were indeed a concurrence of providential circumstances, all tending to the same great event. A memorable drama was to be acted on the theatre of the world, in an age when the art of printing, the winged commerce of the mind, had just been discovered—when a constellation of the greatest monarchs occupied the thrones of Europe; when Charles the Fifth was Emperor of Germany—when Francis the First was King of France—when Henry the Eighth was King of England—when Solyman had ascended the Ottoman throne, and Leo the Tenth was the Roman Pontiff. It was in an age when Cardinal Wolsey bore sway in England, and Cajetan in Germany. An age when Calvin, Beza, Melancthon, Erasmus and Luther acted each a conspicuous part. That the talents and the moral courage of Luther,

however, together with the simplicity and purity of his life, enabled him to become a principal leader in this great moral revolution no one, in this enlightened age, will be disposed to deny; and that this reformation has proved a blessing to the world every Protestant will cheerfully admit.

11. Having made those preliminary and somewhat desultory remarks, we proceed to enumerate, and in a few instances to explain, the articles of the Augsburg Confession, which contain the fundamental principles of our faith—which have been made the groundwork of the thirty-nine articles in the Episcopal Church, and which with some variations, contain the principles of all Protestant denominations.

12. The 1st article treats of God—of three persons in the Godhead, who are of the same essence and power, and are co-eternal, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The 2d teaches the natural depravity of man. The 3d, the Divinity of Christ, his incarnation, death, and atonement for sinners. The 4th is on justification, that men are not justified by their own works or merits, but through faith in Christ. The 5th on the ministerial office. The 6th on renewed obedience, or the good fruits or good works which are the results of a true faith.—The 7th of the Church, showing that the Holy Christian Church is a congregation of the faithful, in which the Gospel is purely preached, and his holy sacraments administered agreeably to Christ's ordinance. The 8th, who are the Members that compose the Church. The 9th and 10th on baptism and the holy supper. The 11th on confession and forgiveness of sins. The 12th on the nature and duty of repentance. The 13th on the number and use of the sacraments. The 14th and 15th on Church government and ordinances. The 16th on political governments. The 17th on the future judgment. The 18th on free will. The 19th on the cause of sin. The 20th on faith and good works. The 21st on the the adoration of saints: in which it is shown that whilst we hold in remembrance the virtues of the good and pious who have gone before us, we are neither to invoke or adore them. The remaining seven articles are taken up in enumerating the corruptions of the Church from which the Reformers had separated themselves, and are not usually printed with our formulas. They are included under the following heads: The communion in one form—the wine among Roman Catholics being denied to the laity—the celibacy of the priests which in many instances has led to licentiousness—the sacrifice of the mass—auricular confession—the diversity of meats—monastic vows—the powers of Bishops and Clergy. These errors and abuses are now regarded in the same light by all Protestant Christians.

13. With regard to the majority of the doctrines contained in the Augsburg Confession, nearly all Orthodox Protestants agree with us, and have adopted our sentiments, and to these it will be unnecessary to refer more particularly. A few of our articles, however, have been misrepresented, or are misunderstood, and require from us no concealment, but a fair and a candid expression of the sentiments of the Church. This seems to be more particularly called for at the present time, when errors of doctrine which we regard as dangerous to morals and religion are inculcated, and in some places attempted to be palmed on the community as the true doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Some years ago several individuals residing in North Carolina, who had previously been members of our Church, on account of some dissatisfaction separated themselves from our communion. They chose as a leader an individual by the name of Hinkel, (hence are called Hinkelites,) a weak and illiterate man, whose ground of dissent, as far as can be gathered from the crude, visionary, and inflammatory publications, which have from time to time appeared either under his name or that of his sect, was that the Evangelical Church had departed from the true doctrines of the reformation, which he and his Church attempted to restore. As these individuals are unconnected with us, we consider it unnecessary to notice all their errors, such as their opposition to Synods, to Sunday School, Bible, Missionary, and Temperance Societies, &c., but shall confine ourselves to those doctrines which they profess to have derived from the Lutheran Church. They may be classed under the three following heads: 1st, that baptism is regeneration; 2d, that in the Lord's Supper the elements become the actual flesh and blood of Christ; and thirdly, that the participation of the sacraments entitles us to salvation. These sentiments so directly opposed to the Gospel of Christ, and the express declaration of the Reformers, and fraught with so much evil, were immediately denounced by all the members of our Church as unscriptural, and not warranted by any article in our creed. No Synod in our country has ever acknowledged or given countenance to this sect. They had taken possession of some of our Churches in North Carolina, from which they were excluded, by a decision of the court as having departed from the Lutheran Church. Years of contention, bitterness and strife, ensued, and the lovers of order and peace were deeply grieved at the injury which the cause of true religion had sustained. In the process of time, as their doctrines became better un-

derstood, their numbers greatly declined in North Carolina. At present they have established themselves in Tennessee, and designate themselves as the Tennessee Conference. There in the abodes of obscurity we would have willingly left this declining and unenlightened sect, with the charitable hope and prayer that God might enlighten their minds, and restore them to purity of faith, and righteousness of life. But the evil has recently come nearer to us than we had at first anticipated. Their ministers and their doctrines have been introduced into the very bosom of some of our Churches, which till now have been in regular connexion with this Synod. Under these circumstances the duty which we owe to the flock over which we are appointed the overseers, is enjoined on us to defend the doctrines of our faith and to preserve our people, as far as we are able, from the influence of error. But whilst we contend earnestly for the divine principles of truth in our Master's cause, we should beware lest our zeal even in a good cause may lead us to lose sight of those sentiments of charity, which constitute the most important features in the Christian character. We are living in a land of Christian liberty, where every variety of sentiment is tolerated by our laws. The cause of truth has gained nothing either by violence or abuse. In order to reform our erring fellow men, we must convince their judgments and endeavor to exhibit in our lives and characters those principles which will evidence the purity of our motives. We will then endeavor to show from that holy volume to which Luther, Melancthon, and the learned and pious Reformers ever resorted for light and knowledge, that their doctrines are unscriptural, and that the sentiments they promulgate are not contained in the articles of our Church or in the writings of the Reformers. Whilst, therefore, we feel no disposition to persecute them for the opinions they entertain, we wish to convince them and all others, that there is an evident act of injustice in advocating sentiments as coming from the Reformers which are directly opposed throughout the whole tenor of their writings.

14. 1st. Then let us inquire whether the Holy Scriptures any where inculcate the belief that baptism is regeneration.

We will first endeavor to explain those passages of Scripture that are usually urged in favor of this doctrine. In a conversation with Nicodemus, (John, 3d chap.) our Saviour instructs him as to the nature of the new birth, or regeneration. In the 3rd verse he says "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." The meaning in the original is, except a man be born from above. Every man must have two births, one from the earth which enables him to see the light, and experience the enjoyments of this world, and one from above, which fits him for the kingdom of glory hereafter. Nicodemus could not comprehend how a man could be born when he was old. Our Lord then reiterates his first declaration with an addition,—"Except a man be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."—When men became converted to the Christian religion they were admitted by water baptism as members of the Church of the Redeemer. But the water which was used was only an emblem of the Holy Spirit. This baptism admitted them into the visible kingdom of God—into the family of believers. Something more was necessary, and our Saviour taught Nicodemus that in order to be prepared for the invisible kingdom of God he must be born of the Spirit—his heart must be converted to God by the divine influence from above. If baptism alone was regeneration why does the Saviour lay such stress on the necessity of a new birth, as effected by the Holy Spirit? In the 16th chapter of Mark, after our Lord had given his commission to his Apostles, to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, he tells them, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." "He that believeth"—that accepts this Gospel as a revelation from God—"and is baptized"—that is, makes an open profession of it in the way which God has instituted, by baptism—"shall be saved;"—"but he that believeth not"—that is, he that yields no faith or obedience to this Gospel, (and here no reference is made to baptism)—"shall be damned"—because he rejects the Gospel, the only provision that could be effectual in saving his soul. The following passage contained in Paul's Epistle to Titus, 3rd chapter, 5th verse, has also been brought forward as evidence in favor of their doctrine: "According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." If these words have reference to the ordinance of baptism, they can only mean that baptism which Christ has established in his Church, is symbolical of that change of the heart which is necessary to salvation. Thus far, therefore, we find nothing in the holy Scriptures that can warrant us in believing so dangerous a doctrine.

15. But let us inquire in what manner were men under the Gospel dispensation converted to God. When the Apostles received their commission, they were commanded to preach the Gospel to every creature, and baptism was to be an evidence of their faith, and

not faith the result of baptism. They preached first repentance and faith, and then enjoined the duty of baptism. We read that Lydia was baptized, but not until the Lord had opened her heart. The Jailer was baptized in consequence of his faith. Paul was not baptized until after he had been converted in a miraculous manner. And when the Eunuch said to Philip, see here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized, Philip replied, if thou believest with all thy heart thou mayest.

16. If the doctrine were true that baptism is regeneration, then all those vast hordes of Indian captives that were driven to the baptismal font, by Cortes, Pizarro, and their infamous hosts of plunderers, who held over them the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, must have been suddenly converted from heathenism to the true faith, and been fitted for the kingdom of God, and the world has been unjust in censuring them for crimes, which, however great may have been the tortures they inflicted on their fellow men, were yet the instruments of saving their souls.

17. Thus far we have only taken into consideration the persons of adults, who had been converted and baptized. But the individuals who have adopted these unscriptural sentiments, are, in common with us, advocates of infant baptism. Among the Jews the proselytes from heathenism were baptized as well as their children, and in the New Testament we read that whole families were baptized; witness those of the Jailer at Philippi—of Lydia and Stephanus; and we are no where told that children were excluded. A vast majority of the Christian world has acknowledged a belief in the necessity of infant baptism, and our opponents are equally strenuous with ourselves on this subject. If baptism is regeneration, why does not every child baptized in infancy, henceforth walk with God, and lead a devoted pious life. Now is this the fact? Have we not on the contrary the most unquestionable evidence, from the conduct of thousands of young persons, that their hearts are yet unchanged—that they are still in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity?

18. We have now, we think, conclusively shown, that this doctrine is every where opposed by the letter and meaning of the Scriptures; it may, however, be inquired, is it not countenanced by the creed of our Church, from whence it is pretended to be derived? We answer, let the language of our Confession speak for itself. The following is the whole of our article on baptism:

19. "Concerning baptism, our Churches teach that it is a necessary ordinance, that it is a *means of grace*, and ought to be administered also to children, who are thereby dedicated to God, and received into his favor."

20. Here then it is plainly declared that baptism is only the means of grace, and in conformity to these views, our Churches, both in Europe and America, teach no other doctrine, and feel themselves authorized, from the Scriptures, and the articles of faith, to declare that baptism is not regeneration.

21. The next error which is pretended to be sanctioned by the doctrines of our Church, is, that which the Reformers opposed by all the force of argument, and by all the authority of the plainest interpretations of the word of God. "That in the Lord's Supper the elements become the actual flesh and blood of Christ."

22. This, as well as the last, is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. It is contained in the decision of the Council of Trent, (Concil. Trid. Sess. xiii, cap. iv,) in these words:

23. "If any one shall deny that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there are contained, truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and say that it is only as a sign or figure, or by his influence—he is accursed."

24. According to this doctrine the priest is supposed to possess the miraculous power, by pronouncing these four words—Hoc est corpus meum—(this is my body,) of converting a piece of bread, in the form of a wafer, into the real body and blood, soul and divinity, of Jesus Christ.

Among persons of plain common sense, especially among Protestants, it is scarcely necessary to expose the absurdity of this doctrine by serious argument. Our own senses give us the most positive evidence of its untruth; we see, we feel, we taste and smell, that what was bread and wine before consecration, is bread and wine still. If a man can once bring his mind to believe such a doctrine, he must have arrived at a state of credulity that will render him incapable of deciding between truth and error. "It is a doctrine," as Dean Swift says, "the belief of which makes every thing else unbelievable." And before an audience, like that which has favored us with their attention this evening, it is unnecessary to enter into those arguments which reason suggests, and the evidences with which the Scriptures abound, to prove its absurdity and error.

26. But it will be inquired, what were the sentiments of the early Reformers of the Church on this subject, and especially of Luther who was slow in laying aside the errors in which he had been educated: who commenced writing and publishing as soon

as he discovered the abuses in the Romish Church; but whose mind was for a long time shackled by early prejudices, and trammelled by the education and habits of a monastic life. Let us deal as honestly with Luther as he dealt with himself. He renounced towards the close of his life, several of the doctrines which he had advocated at an earlier period. In an address, written in the evening of his days, he says, "I entreat you to read my writings with cool consideration, and even with much pity. I wish you to know that when I began the affair of indulgences, I was a monk, and a most mad papist. I went seriously to work, as one who had a horrible dread of the day of judgment, and who from his inmost soul, was anxious for salvation. You will find, therefore, in my earlier writings, many things of which I do not now approve." It will, consequently, not be difficult to find in the writings of Luther, previous to 1530, some things in favor of errors, which he afterwards renounced, and which the church to which he was attached subsequently brought nearer to Scripture truth. And this was in conformity to his dying commands. "Many things," said he, "are yet to be made better. We have only made the beginning, and we have retained some customs for fear of giving offence to weak minds. They that come after us we hope will be enabled, by the spirit of God to do more."

27. Let us, however, see what Luther says of a doctrine to which, or to a kindred one, he is said to have been favorable.

28. It will be recollected that Henry VIII, who was then a Papist, made an attack on Luther, for which he received from the Pope the title of Defender of the Faith. His treatise was in Latin, of which we have seen no English translation. We have endeavored to give the literal meaning of a few extracts, as well as a translation of Luther's answer, which was written in German.

29. Henry says, "Doth not he (Luther,) say that he does no violence to the word of God, when he declares that what Christ calls bread, and what he declares to be wine, means no more than wine. We acknowledge that it was bread when he took it, but we deny that it was any longer bread when he made it into his body."

30. To this Luther replies. (See Luther's works, vol. 19th, p. 321–2, Walch's edition, 1740.) "I have established myself on the word of Christ, who speaks by the Evangelist. He took bread and said, take and eat, this is my body; and Paul says, 1st Cor. 10th chap. and 16th verse, the bread that we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? Now, what God calls bread, man ought not to deny that it is only bread." (p. 323): "You say the words are plain, this is my body; they are indeed plain, but they do not say that it ceases to be bread, but on the contrary, that it is bread. For the words "this is," points to the bread, and the words "he took, he blessed, he gave," all refer to the bread which he held in his hand: and of that which he had taken into his hand, which he blessed and brake, and gave to them,—he says, "this is my body." Therefore, that these words in every construction of language, point to the *bread*, is clear to all but the blind sophists, who do no more than pervert the language.

31. Whilst on the subject of this answer to the King, we may be pardoned for a momentary digression. It is said by several writers, that in this reply, Luther forgot the courtesy that was due to royalty. We admit the fact. Luther had no great respect for the character of Henry, and was unfavorably impressed with regard to his religious sincerity, and after events proved that he had not mistaken his character. But we must make some allowance for the age in which the combatants lived, and the provocation which this vacillating and tyrannical monarch gave the Reformer. His book, which was dedicated to Leo Tenth, concludes in these words: "Finally, let us, with all the fury with which we have opposed the Turks, Saracens and Infidels, stand up against this one man, who, though weak in power, holds sentiments far more dangerous than all Turks, Saracens and Infidels."

32. And in a letter to Charles Fifth, he exhorts him "to destroy Luther and his books, by fire, by power and the sword, and to tear out by the roots a pestilence which to all future times shall be hated and accursed."

33. That a man who, in all but truth and talents was weak and powerless, should feel indignant that a foreign king was using all his influence among the monarchs of Europe to cause him to be burnt, as well as the books which contained the sentiments of the Reformation, which he valued more than life itself, cannot surprise those who are acquainted with human nature; and that he should in his turn rebuke the royal theologian in no measured phrases, may be easily conceived by those who are acquainted with the fearless character of the Reformer.

34. But we will return once more to the sentiments of Luther on the doctrine of transubstantiation. In the 17th vol. p. 729, of his works, he speaks of "Den irrthum von der transubstantiation daraus viel abgoetterey gefolgt:" "the error of transubstantiation which is followed by much idolatry:" and in the Smalcaldian Articles, which were written

by Luther himself, and are found in his 16th vol. 2358th page, we find these words:

35. "Of transubstantiation we do not regard the deceitful sophistry of those who teach that bread and wine lose their natural substance, and only preserve the appearance and color of bread, without being real bread. For it accords best with the meaning of the Scriptures, that the bread remains bread, as St. Paul himself says, "the bread that we break," and also, "eat ye of this bread."

36. Whilst, however, all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead, and Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zuinglius, and others, all had their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as obscurity. The language of Christ at the institution being highly figurative. "This is my body," led the majority to adopt the sentiment that the Saviour's spiritual body was present in the Eucharist. What they meant by this spiritual presence, can perhaps be best shown by a quotation from the writings of a learned modern divine.—*Schmucher's Popular Theology, p.* 248–9.

37. "That agreeably to the declarations of the Apostle Paul, all human bodies will experience a very great change at death, and prior to the resurrection in their glorified form. The extent of this change, they regarded as such, that although enough of the old body would remain, to serve as the basis of identity, (its substance or essence,) its properties would be entirely changed, and it would no longer be subject to the laws and limitations which now regulate matter. In this sense they understood the declarations of the Apostle, that the glorified body shall be incorruptible and immortal, yea, so highly refined in its properties of a spirit, and may justly be called a spiritual body. Now it cannot be denied that the body of the Saviour has also experienced the change described by Paul, nay, that it is endowed with properties still higher than those which the glorified body of the Saints will possess; and that it was, therefore, even less restricted by laws which now regulate the matter known to us."

38. "With these premises, their view of this subject may be advantageously stated thus:

"The bread and wine remain in all respects unchanged; but the invisible and glorified body and blood of Christ are also actually present at the celebration of the Eucharist, and exert an influence on all those who receive the bread and wine; not indeed present in that form, nor with those properties which belonged to the Saviour's body on earth, such as visibility, tangibility, &c., for these it no longer possesses, but present with the new and elevated properties which now belong to its glorified state."

39. This then is the extent of Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation, or subpanation as it has been sometimes, but improperly, called. The views of Melancthon were, that the Saviour was merely virtually or influentially present in the sacrament. Many other Lutheran divines believe that, "whilst the bread and wine are merely symbolical representations of the Saviour's absent body, by which we are reminded of his suffering, there is also a peculiar and spiritual blessing bestowed on all worthy communicants. In fact, the Lutheran Church has, for a century past, ceased to agitate this question—leaving its members to follow the dictates of conscience agreeably to the light of Scripture. This we are authorized to do without a departure from the creed of our church, since at our ordination, in this country especially, we only profess to believe, "that the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession."

40. Have we not a right then to appeal to the candor and liberality of our Protestant brethren, between whose faith and ours the difference is so slight that it can scarcely be detected. What if some of our members believe that the spiritual body of their risen and ascended Saviour be present in the sacrament, and after their rejection of transubstantiation, it can only be present in a spiritual manner, does our article differ materially from the creeds of other churches? In the confession of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, we find the following words: "We confess that Jesus Christ nourishes us in the Holy Supper with his true body and blood, and that he really and verily communicates to us what he therein represents." (See Risler's extracts.) Calvin in his Institutes, says, "I therefore maintain that in the mystery of the Supper, by the emblems of bread and wine, Christ is really exhibited to us; that is his body and blood, in which he yielded full obedience, in order to work out a righteousness for us; by which we may, in the first place, become united with him into one body; and secondly, being made partakers of the substance of himself. also be strengthened by the reception of every blessing."—*Calvin's Institut. Lib.* IV, ch. xvii.

41. The Episcopal Church, in her 28th article, holds the following language: "It," (the Supper of the Lord,) "is a sacrament of redemption by Christ's death, insomuch that

to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we take is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ." In the same article she rejects the doctrine of transubstantiation, and then adds, "The body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper, only after a spiritual and heavenly manner." The most strenuous followers of Luther in advocating our creed, even according to the letter—"that the body and blood of Christ are actually present under the emblems of bread and wine"—do not contend for more than this.

42. We proceed to the third, and last error, which has been adopted by those who profess to have derived the doctrine from the creed of the Lutheran Church, viz: "That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation." We have, in discussing the two previous heads, already shown, at least in part, that this doctrine is unscriptural. The Scriptures every where assure us, that the Gospel is the great instrument of regeneration. The Gospel (says St. Paul,) is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Being born again (says St. Peter,) not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God. And we ask, were not Simon Magus, Hymenæus, Philetus, Phygellus, and Hermogenes, all baptized, even by inspired ministers? Were not the gross transgressors in the seven Churches of Asia, once baptized, and communicants?—and did not Judas receive from the hand of the Saviour himself the sacrament, and was he not a devil—and did he not die the miserable death of a suicide?

43. But what say our articles, "Baptism (as we have already shown) is the means of grace." In the 13th article, on the use of the sacraments, we read these words:

"Concerning the use of the sacraments, our churches teach, that they were instituted not only as marks of a Christian profession amongst men, but rather as signs and evidences of the divine disposition towards us, tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them. Hence the sacraments ought to be received with faith in the promises which are exhibited and proposed by them. They, therefore, condemn those who maintain that the sacraments produce justification in their receipts as matters of course, (ex opere operato,) and who do not teach that faith is necessary, in the reception of the sacraments, to the remission of sins."—*Schmucher's Translations.*

The meaning of this article is so evident that it seems to require no further illustration.

44. Brethren, we have detained you long in an explanation of the unscriptural nature and dangerous tendency of doctrines which few of those who now hear us, could have supposed would have found advocates among those who profess to be Protestants. Were we addressing the stated worshippers of this church alone, we should consider these arguments and illustrations as superfluous. But we are surrounded by our ministering brethren, and the delegates from other portions of our church, and by some of those who have had an opportunity of seeing, and who in common with us, feel and lament the demoralizing effects which the dissemination of such unscriptural doctrines are calculated to produce. To them we would say, in the language of the Apostle in our text, "Hold fast the profession of your faith without wavering, for he is faithful that promised." "You have the Bible, and the sentiments and prayers of good men, on your side,—be not dismayed." "The Lord is our defence, and God is the rock of our refuge." He will never abandon his people or his church. In the spirit of your Master, go on fearlessly, but meekly, humbly and prayerfully, in the performance of duty. Let us evince an increased spirit of devotion, of watchfulness and prayer, and the Providence of God may yet overrule these dark and discouraging events, to the benefit of his church and the glory of his name.

45. The remaining doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, seem to require no particular explanation, since the most important and essential ones have been adopted by all other Protestant Churches.

46. We do not believe in the doctrine of unconditional election. We practise the rite of confirmation as a mode of admitting members into the church, accompanied by the profession of faith, but we do not regard confirmation as a sacrament. Our Church Government is of a simple form, corresponding in this respect with the republican institutions of our land. We recognise but one order of clergy, and our laity have an equal right in the administration of the affairs of the church. For the sake of order we are governed by Synods. Our officers are elected by their brethren, and hold their offices during a limited term. We have no objections to the name of a Bishop, as the overseer of the church. For we have such overseers, that go under the names of Bishops, Presidents, or Superintendents; but we have not been able to convince ourselves that any additional powers can be granted him by a re-ordination.

47. Our church has never desired the aid of the State, in support of its ministers. The

cry of danger to our free institutions, in a supposed attempt at a union of Church and State, has sometimes been raised in this country, by the enemies of religion; but it will be easily seen, that from the nature of things, this would be impossible, even if the attempt were made. The different views among the various denominations, and sectional prejudices, would present an insurmountable obstacle; but above all, our Church, from the principles we hold, could never harbor such an idea,—or if it even did, the smallness of our number clearly shows its utter impracticability, and the charge, if ever made in earnest, is too absurd to require a refutation. Nor is it likely that Synods will pass any law oppressive to the people. The Church is represented by an equal number of ministers and lay-delegates—the latter being annually elected by the people. We are governed by a constitution which cannot be altered, but by a slow process—after a considerable lapse of time for deliberation—and not without a final assent by the people. The discipline to which our ministers and members are subjected, is that which they themselves consent to adopt, for the sake of order. This discipline is certainly opposed to vice in every form; but it is not intended to discountenance free inquiry, and it has ever been the practice, both among ministers and people, to communicate their thoughts freely to each other, without the danger of being suspected as heretics. We believe, however, that the best discipline for the walk and conversation of man, comes from a renewed heart, and that without this our strictest rules are unavailing. We do not desire to deprive our people of their rights and liberties; but as order in God's house is necessary, such rules are formed for the government of its members, as the collected wisdom and piety of the church may conceive necessary to its purity and prosperity. In the calls, which we are frequently obliged to make on our people, for pecuniary aid, to support those operations which are deemed necessary to the advancement of religion, we do not seek our own, but the public good. When we ask their assistance in supporting institutions, designed by the blessing of God to prepare Christian laborers in that field, from which we will ere long be removed,—when we solicit them to aid us in supporting Sunday Schools, and to send the Bible and the Missionary to those who are living in darkness, ignorance and sin, we are but acting in accordance with the commission we have received, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which enjoins upon us the duty of remembering the poor and ignorant, and of promoting benevolence and mercy among men. In thus performing our duty, our people will not blame us, for we ask it not for ourselves. From the little that we have, we give it freely to the same objects. The ministers of our church are proverbially poor: we do not complain of our lot; we were fully aware of it when we assumed our offices,—but could our people enter into the details of the anxieties and cares, and the struggles of adversity, of nine-tenths of their clergy, they would, at least withhold the cruel charge, that our profession is chosen, or pursued, for the sake of gain.

48. We have endeavored to give a hasty sketch of the doctrines and discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church—a Church that made the first successful opposition to the corruptions and intolerance of that of Rome: for although Wickliffe, Huss and Jerome of Prague, have inveighed against these corruptions, yet the hand of power had been imbrued in their blood—the minds of men had been left in deeper gloom, and the darkness of error had covered all the earth. It was Luther and his fellow laborers in the great cause of the Reformation of the Church, that came forward fearlessly, armed by the panoply of truth, cheered by the prophecies and hopes contained in the book of God, and pledged in that fearful contest their lives and all that earth holds dear, and all their Heaven. The labors of their gigantic minds, and the fervent piety of their devoted hearts, ended only with their lives. But they lived long enough to witness the dawn of brighter days—to behold deep rooted in the hearts of men those principles, which in the process of time, would give religious toleration to the human race. And can it be denied, that our venerable Church is the Mother of Protestants? That her doctrines and her principles have formed the ground work of the creeds and sentiments which govern our brethren of other denominations, who, although there may be shades of difference in our faith and forms of worship, must still acknowledge, that in the essential doctrines of the Reformation we all agree.

49. We would not be so uncharitable as to believe that our Protestant brethren would intentionally misrepresent our doctrines. A Church which has ever exercised charity and brotherly kindness to its brethren of other denominations, has a right to claim that her doctrines and her principles should be weighed with all that candor which we ought to bring to the investigation of religious truth. Yet from some cause,—probably the want of correct information as to our creed,—we are sometimes charged with entertaining superstitious notions; and in a comparatively recent

work, (Buck's Theol. Dictionary,) which is a standard book, in the hands of all denominations, it is stated that "The Lutherans, of all Protestants, are said to differ least from the Romish Church."

50. Now we would ask in all fairness and candor, whether we are deserving of this charge? And wherein are we more like the Romish Church than any other Protestants? Is it in our doctrines? And would it not be well first to inquire, what important tenet do other Protestants hold which has not been derived from our Church? What is there in the doctrines of the followers of Calvin but his decrees, that has not been borrowed from us? And what are there in the thirty-nine articles, save that on Episcopacy, and in the sentiments of the excellent form of prayer of the Episcopal Church, that has not, in a great measure, come from the same source? Has not one of their most cherished divines, Bishop Laurence, a high dignitary of the Episcopal Church, recently shown in his Bampton Lectures, and acknowledged with pleasure and gratitude, that all their essential articles, as well as many of their forms of devotion were almost literal translations from the writings of Melancthon, Luther, and their coadjutors?

51. The following is his language: "They (meaning their articles,) were neither the productions of Parker nor the convocation"—"they were not borrowed from any Calvinistical or Zuinglian, but from a Lutheran creed." "Their resemblance, (he continues,) was not confined to a mere affinity of idea, or the occasional adoption of an individual expression; but in some cases entire extracts were copied, without the slightest omission, or minutest variation. In the first compilation many prominent passages were taken from the Augsburg, and in the second, from the Wirtemberg Confessions. These were Lutheran."—*Laurence's Bampton Lectures*, pp. 42 and 3.

52. Are we most like the Roman Catholics in the power of our priesthood, and the pomp and parade of our religious worship! Our ministers preclude themselves from holding any offices in the State. We have no overgrown hierarchy—the Church is destitute of wealth or of power—its pastors are chosen by the people—its temples are without images or imposing pictures, and its forms of worship are of the simplest kind. Do we differ least from them in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church? And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance? When the dangerous fanatics of Munster created disturbances in Thuringia, Moravia, and Switzerland, Luther, although he opposed their sentiments, labored to stay the arm of persecution. "It is not right," said he, "to persecute, to murder, to burn and destroy, such poor people, on account of their religious tenets. We should let every one believe what he thinks right!" And to the Council of Nuremberg, he wrote, "I am always opposed to the shedding of blood for the sake of religion, and I shall never give my vote to persecute those whom we suppose to be false teachers."

53. After passing through the most memorable struggle that ever signalised any age, save that at the first introduction of the Christian faith by the Son of God, and after having endured with fortitude, the persecutions of bigotry and power, our Church at last became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden. Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph. She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge. Her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land, there, to this day, their temples and their monasteries remain, as the monuments of the toleration of our Church.

54. Do we differ least from them in withholding the word of God from the common people? He who has ever visited Germany cannot have failed to remark, that every Protestant family, nay, every individual of that family, from the King down to the humblest peasant, possesses a copy of the Scriptures; nor can he easily forget the deep veneration with which that sacred volume, the rule of their faith and life, is regarded. It descends, as a rich treasure, from parents to children, and is often their only legacy. The rest of the Protestant world, in preferring their own language and forms of worship, may perhaps place but a light value on the services of the great Reformer; but the Germans will never forget who it was that translated their Bible, and composed many of those sublime hymns, which have been read and sung for the last three hundred years, in every temple, and in the habitation of every Christian family, from the mountain tops to the lowest valley—that have accompanied the shepherd to the hills, the peasant to his fields, and the emigrant to distant lands. The German does not easily forget his father-land, but should it ever occur that in the lapse of time, and under changes of circumstances, his early recollections of home and country should fade from his memory, yet as long as his language remains, and his Bible and devotional songs are dear to his heart, the memory and services of Luther will not die.

55. Do we differ least from them in advocating their principles? 'Tis true we do not lend a willing ear to every idle tale promulgated by bigotry, against the morals of their priests and people, but we do not countenance their errors. And who would charge the Lutheran Church of all others, with advocating the system of papacy? The persecutions, the trials, and sufferings, of her Reformers, and the labors of their mighty minds will be handed down, by history, to the end of time: nor will her struggles in the cause of truth be ever forgotten, so long as the heroic language of Luther shall be remembered, who when summoned before the diet of Worms, and commanded to recant his opinions, fearlessly refused in the spirit of a willing martyr, declared, in the face of the assembled multitude, that were thirsting for his blood, "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise—God help me."

56. But, it may be inquired, has God in an especial manner favored this branch of the Christian Church with his presence? Have the number of her professors increased? Has she contributed her means in forwarding the benevolent operations of the day, and has she aided in the dissemination of the Scriptures, and in carrying to destitute and desolate regions, the religion of the cross? To this we answer, that the sentiments of our Church have, in Europe, been adopted by Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Lapland, Finland, and parts of France, Hungary and Russia, amounting, according to the computation of a good author, to twenty-seven millions of inhabitants in Europe alone, and embracing in it seventeen reigning sovereigns. (*Schmucher's Popular Theology.*) The number of its members, therefore, is more than twice as great as that of any other Protestant denomination. In the United States, where our number is small, compared with that of other denominations, we have twelve Synods, and a general Synod—four Theological Seminaries—about eleven hundred churches, and fifty thousand regular communing members.

57. In all the benevolent operations of Christians, for the dissemination of the Scriptures, and for the spread of the Gospel, our Church has united with Christian zeal, and borne her share of labor and expense. Her successful missions to the East and the West bear testimony to this truth. It was this Christian spirit that led Balzius, Muhlenberg, Storcke, and others, to bear the standard of the cross to the then deserts of our own land. It was this that cheered and animated the devoted Schwartz, and his fellow laborers in establishing their missions in the withering climate of the East Indies, where exiling themselves forever from their native homes, they wore out their lives in imparting religious truth to the heathen. It is this spirit, which has in this our day, carried the learned and the pious Gutzlaff to the hitherto interdicted regions of China, and where his judicious and enlightened labors are duly appreciated by the whole Christian world. And it is finally this spirit which, when a recent call was made upon us by Renius, and his fellow Missionaries, at Palmacotta, in the East, was an assurance that a door of access to the heathen was now open to us, awoke the slumbering energies of our American Lutheran Churches, and from every quarter of our land the response has been simultaneously made, "We will go forward to their assistance."

58. That we are attached to the altars where our fathers worshipped, and where we have plighted our vows of fidelity to our master in Heaven, will not be regarded as an unreasonable prejudice by others. That we should represent her in as favorable a light as truth will permit is very natural. But in advocating the claims of this eldest branch of the Protestant Church, to which we belong, we disclaim the slightest intention of throwing one shadow of disrespect on the sentiments of our brethren of other churches. We have never boasted of being an exclusive Church, whose doctrines were more Scriptural, or whose professors were purer, than those of other denominations, by whom we were surrounded. We have endeavored to discountenance that spirit of proselytism, which has been the fruitful source of so much dissension in our land. We are willing to unite with every lover of the Gospel of Christ in producing the downfall of sectarianism, though not the obliteration of sects. Our pulpits have ever been open to the ministers of every name. We desire the candid judgment, and the brotherly fellowship of all Christians, and if from their more favored circumstances, they surpass us in zeal and usefulness, we will sincerely rejoice in their success, and endeavor to imitate their example. Brethren we are journeying together to the land of rest and reward. The time is not far distant when our faculties will be enlarged in the regions of light and knowledge. There our differences of sentiment will be lost in the contemplation of the glorious perfection of him that loved us: and there may we sit down with Abraham, with Isaac and Jacob, in the Kingdom of God—Amen.

LETTER I.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

REV. SIR,—A very short time has elapsed since a friend drew my attention to a copy of your "Sermon on the Doctrines and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; preached in this city on the 12th of last November." That sermon was delivered before a Synod of your Church: and it was natural that upon such an occasion you should endeavor to sustain their doctrines, to vindicate their discipline, to protect their character, to maintain their integrity, and to promote their interests. It would appear also from the station which you hold in that Society, "President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in the United States," to have been peculiarly your duty to be foremost in the vindication of their cause. Had you confined yourself within what I view to be the proper limits of that duty, I would consider any expostulation or reproof to be uncalled for, and ungenerous; but as I perceive you have in some places unnecessarily sallied forth to assail those who gave you no provocation, I beg leave to offer some remarks upon that portion of your discourse. In doing so, I shall endeavor to keep in view that excellent principle which you so well describe in the 13th paragraph of your Sermon, viz. "Whilst we contend earnestly for the divine principles of truth in our Master's cause, we should beware lest our zeal, even in a good cause, may lead us to lose sight of those sentiments of charity, which constitute the most important features in the Christian character." "The cause of truth has gained nothing, either by violence or abuse."

In truth, Rev. Sir, I have the less fear of offending in this way, because, for you personally, I entertain considerable respect. I have always regarded you, as I trust I ever shall continue to do, as a lover of literature, a man of mind, who has successfully cultivated a taste naturally correct, and who deserves to be considered a scholar and a friend to science; in society, a gentleman, and with me, this word means very much; differing widely with you in religion, I have however esteemed you as not only quite free from every tinge of hypocrisy, and cant, but as possessing much candor and honesty of purpose, and having as little of the bigot in your composition as most men that I know. And it is because I thus regard you, that I address to you these letters. There are, Sir, in this city, public teachers, of lengthened visage, and of demure physiognomy, from whom you could no more extort a smile, than you could conversation from a statue; men who hate the Catholic Religion, with as virulent rancor as it is possible to cloak under the semblance of zeal; men who make long prayers and speak foul untruths, men who are more holy in their own estimation than they are in mine. These men may preach and publish, and they will be scarcely noticed; for their trade is known, and their efforts are comparatively valueless; but it is because I do not place you in their category, that I address you, not I trust in the spirit of contention or of strife, but in that of sober expostulation.

In the same 13th paragraph of your Sermon, p. 12, you give to your hearers the history of the Hinkelites, whose errors of doctrine, you "regard as dangerous to morals and religion"—they are dissenters from your Church; their publications you describe as "crude, visionary and inflammatory"—in which they state, that the Church in which you preside "had departed from the true doctrines of the Reformation, which he (Hinkel) and his Church attempted to restore." In fact, the principle by which they were led to dissent from you, is exactly that, as described by you in paragraph 8, of your Sermon, upon which "Luther and the other Reformers" professed to act. "They sought not to establish a religion of their own, but to become the blessed instruments in the hands of God, of restoring to its original beauty, the now tarnished glories of the Church of the Redeemer." You farther develop the principle in the extract there given, from the address of the Elector of Saxony and others to the Emperor. "The doctrines of Luther we only receive as far as they agree with the word of God. On this word we ground ourselves, and not on the person or doctrines of a man, let him be Luther or any other person; because all men may err. We will therefore be judged only by the Word of God."

I am not aware of any right which you or the Evangelical Lutheran Church has, upon this principle of Protestantism, to prescribe to those whom you call Hinkelites, the manner in which they are to understand the Word of God, which is equally open to them as it is to you; and in the interpretation of which you are as liable to err as they are, though they be the disciples of "a weak and illiterate man," and they themselves "a declining and unenlightened sect" dwelling in "abodes of obscurity" and needing "prayer that God might enlighten their minds and restore them to purity of faith, and righteousness of life." Upon this principle, which I apprehend you both hold in common, there is not, and there cannot be on earth, any tribunal to determine which of you correctly interprets the Divine Word; and therefore it

is of little consequence that "No Synod in our country has ever acknowledged or given countenance to this sect." Yet, since "their ministers and their doctrines have been introduced into the very bosom of some of your churches which till now have been in regular connexion with your Synod" you, looking upon them to have departed from the word of God, because they give to it a different interpretation from yours, believe "the duty which you owe to the flock over which you are appointed overseers, is enjoined on you to defend the doctrines of your faith, and to preserve your people as far as you can, free from the influence of error."

I acknowledge, Rev. Sir, that the principle laid down here, is exceedingly correct, but the difficulty is in its application; because you must be first assured that their interpretation of the word of God is erroneous and that yours is purely correct; but as you and they are men, and "all men may err," you cannot be certain that they deviate from the truth and that you hold to it; so that when you imagine yourself "contending earnestly for divine truth in your master's cause," you may, very possibly, in your effort "to reform your erring fellow men," be yourself contending for error and opposing truth. Neither is the decision of the Court in North Carolina, evidence that they who were deprived of the property "had departed from the Lutheran Church," though they differed from the Lutheran Synod; because it might just as well have happened, as several eminent lawyers in North Carolina then asserted, that it was the Synod and not the Hinkelites that departed from the original teaching of the Lutheran system.

Hence, Rev. Sir, I would, as not belonging to either party, have left you undisturbed in your contest, having no reason to incline more to the one than to the other, and looking upon you both as equally right, and equally wrong, had you not thought proper to make the Roman Catholic Church an unwilling party in your family quarrel.

It is plain, Rev. Sir, that you do not hold in high esteem "this declining and unenlightened sect," the Hinkelites. Though you have in paragraph 16 made a slight dash at us, it is only in paragraph 22 you show that Hinkel alone is not to satisfy your desire for glorious victory, because in the three following paragraphs you treat the common sense of Catholics as even below that of Hinkel and his adherents. Your tone and manner upon this point seemed to me to call for some examination of the grounds upon which you imagined yourself authorized to treat us with so little ceremony and so much contempt.

Again, Rev. Sir, in your 49th paragraph you complain of being "misrepresented," you hope, not intentionally, "by your Protestant brethren," as to your "doctrines." You say that in Buck's Theological Dictionary, it is stated that "The Lutherans, of all Protestants, are said to differ least from the Romish Church." In page 50, you proceed, "Now we would ask in all fairness and candor, whether we are deserving of this charge?" and you proceed in the next five paragraphs, sometimes in no very measured language, to impute to Catholics a variety of errors and mal-practices of which you say you are not guilty!—And this under the appearance of defending your society from THE CHARGE of differing least of all other Protestant Churches from us. You take occasion hereby to treat the *Romish Church* with no great courtesy. This also, Rev. Sir, has urged me to address you. I am not then, an uninvited intermeddler in the affairs of your Synod; I am not an impertinent assailant of persons quietly engaged in their own affairs;—but as you have thought proper, to go, as I conceive, out of your course, to show to the world that you were not liable to the charge of any greater affinity than other Protestants have to us, and that our absurdity in contradicting common sense was greater than even the erroneous folly of the unenlightened Hinkelites, I consider the defence of that Church to which I have the happiness of belonging, if not a duty to which I am called by any station, yet to be an undertaking in which, I may lawfully and honorably engage, and in the performance of which, within a narrow field, though I may not exhibit the erudition, the prowess and the tact of the Rev. Doctor Bachman, still I may succeed in showing that even he has made some mistakes.

As I do not intend, Rev. Sir, to go beyond the topics which you have voluntarily furnished in your Sermon, I should hope that I may comprise in a very few letters all that the discussion of those topics shall require.

I have the honor to be, Rev. Sir,

Yours, &c.,

B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 1, 1838.

LETTER II.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

REV. SIR,—I concur with you in the statement put forward in commencing your 36th paragraph. "All the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation." Upon the principle of action, which you attribute to them (*par.* 8,) "they must have wished to purify the Church from corruption in doctrine." I do not then assume too much when I suppose the manner in which they sought to effect this purification, was by as-

certaining clearly what Christ had taught, and rejecting whatever was incompatible therewith.—You say, "they sought not to establish a religion of their own, but to become the blessed instruments in the hands of God, of restoring to its original beauty the now tarnished glories of the Church of the Redeemer." These glories, I must presume, were, in their opinion, tarnished, chiefly by the introduction of erroneous doctrine: the restoration to original beauty therefore, must chiefly be the substitution of what they considered to be the original doctrine which Christ taught, for the erroneous teaching by which men tarnished these glories. To drop figurative speech.—The Reformers, as you are pleased to call them, must have known with certainty the doctrine which Christ taught upon any particular point, before they could have correctly pronounced that any received teaching, on that head, was erroneous.

Since they all agreed in rejecting the received doctrines of transubstantiation, as erroneous, we presume they must have all clearly and accurately ascertained what Christ taught to be the nature of the Eucharist; and, as clearly seen that the doctrine of transubstantiation was incompatible therewith. We may then reasonably address them in this way: "You all 'agree in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation.' You reject it because you know it to be erroneous, and incompatible with the doctrine taught by our blessed Redeemer. You 'do not seek to establish,' opinions or 'a religion of your own,' but to restore to us the doctrines of the Redeemer. You, of course, are prepared to show us clearly what the Redeemer did teach on this point; for only thus can you show to us the error of this other teaching, which has during so long a period tarnished the glories of the Church of the Redeemer."

You would not, Rev. Sir, consider this an unreasonable demand. At least, it would have been very reasonable in June, 1530, for you tell us (in *paragraph* 9,) "that it was not until that period that the doctrines of the Reformation can be said to have been clearly defined." At that period, then, they were "clearly defined," and you point out to us the very instrument in which this definition was given; "the memorable Confession of the Reformers presented to the Diet of Augsburg." You also tell us that "it contained twenty-eight articles, twenty-one of which represent the religious creed of the Reformers, and the remainder are levelled at the errors and abuses that led them to a separation from the Church of Rome." Thus having in your view, ascertained the teaching of Christ, they "clearly defined the doctrines of the Reformation," and they of course as clearly ascertained the errors which led them to a separation. It is but fair and natural, then, to ask them—What are the errors, and what is the true doctrine of Christ to which each of those errors is opposed?

From your 12th paragraph we are led to suppose that the doctrine of the Redeemer concerning the nature of the Eucharist is clearly defined in either the 9th or the 10th of those articles, for you tell us—"the 9th and 10th on baptism and the holy supper." In the same paragraph you tell us—"The corruptions of the Church from which the Reformers had separated themselves" include amongst other things, "The communion in one form—the wine among the Roman Catholics being denied to the laity," "the sacrifice of the mass," and farther on you tell us, at the close of the paragraph, that these errors and abuses are now regarded in the same light by all Protestant Christians."

Thus. Rev. Sir, you will, no doubt, admit that if all Protestant Christians know the Roman Catholic Church to teach erroneous doctrine regarding the nature of the holy supper, or the Eucharist, they must necessarily know the doctrine of Christ to which that error is opposed,—and you lead us to suppose that it was well and distinctly known to the Reformers; for in June, 1530, they clearly defined the doctrines of the Reformation, which doctrines were not the establishing a religion of their own, but a restoration of the doctrines of the Redeemer. In your 11th paragraph, you inform us that "the articles of the Augsburg Confession, contain the fundamental principles of (your) faith,—have been made the ground work of the thirty-nine articles of the Episcopal Church, and with some variations, contain the principles of all Protestant denominations." From June 1530, when that confession was presented to the Diet, to November 1837, when you preached, is a period of three hundred and seven years and five months. If then, the doctrines of the Reformation were "clearly defined," at this former period, if the document in which this clear definition was given, "contains the fundamental principles of your faith, is the ground work of the thirty-nine articles of the Episcopal Church, and, with some variations, contains the principles of all Protestant denominations," we are not at this day, Rev. Sir, very unreasonable in putting the following question to the Protestant denominations, who have all agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, and who, upwards of three hundred years since, as you inform us, had in their hands, a "clear definition of the doctrines of the Reformation," that is, according to you, of the doctrines of the Redeemer. "Gentle-

men, what did Christ teach the world concerning the nature of the Eucharist or holy supper?" And as they unanimously say, that it is erroneous to believe in transubstantiation, it is very natural to expect from them the simple testimony of what Christ taught, and which they ought to have known, before they pronounced our doctrine to be erroneous.

Yet, Rev. Sir, what do you give us in paragraph 36? "Whilst, however all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead." Are not your expressions exceedingly at variance with the principle that you said was their maxim? (*par.* 8.) "They sought not to establish a religion of *their own*." "They unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what *they should* SUBSTITUTE *in its stead*." This, Rev. Sir, is not exactly the process which we were led to expect. We thought they would first ascertain what our Saviour had taught, and then reject whatever was incompatible with that teaching; but you very candidly and fairly exhibit what is historically true. You discover them first rejecting a doctrine which they dislike, and then looking for a substitute; and so far from having ascertained what our Saviour taught, they differ among themselves, each striving to *substitute his own opinion* for that doctrine which all Christendom had held as coming from the Redeemer, but which they rejected. Never, have I, Rev. Sir, in any work that fell under my observation, seen a more just or a more happy description of what you call the Reformation, "That all agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, but they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what *they should substitute* in its stead." Your very appropriate description agrees with what I would describe as Protestantism: "The rejection of the testimony of the Church concerning the doctrines of Christ, for the purpose of allowing each individual to substitute his own opinion." You see, Rev. Sir, this is exactly agreeing to reject doctrine, but unfortunately differing as to what opinion shall be substituted; and as a consequence of this difference, leaving each person at liberty to follow his own opinion. We may also describe it, as substituting the private judgment or opinion of each individual, for the one unchanging testimony of an authoritative public tribunal. You perceive, then, Rev. Sir, that this process at once places you and me and Hinkel upon the same level, and enables me to ask with some degree of reason, why you presume to charge him with wanting "purity of faith and righteousness of life," in following his private judgment; and to exhibit me as having "arrived at a state of credulity that will render me incapable of deciding between truth and error," as holding "a doctrine whose absurdity it is scarcely necessary to expose by serious argument," (*paragraph* 25,) merely because I receive the testimony of the bulk of Christendom, concerning the doctrine of Christ.

Upon Dr. Bachman's principle, that is upon the principle of Protestantism, neither he nor I, nor Hinkel can be certain whether either of us, or if either, which of us, knows what the Redeemer taught; for we are only men, "and all men err;"—and I should have expected, Rev. Sir, that, conscious of this liability to error, you would have modestly declined asserting that you knew what Christ taught, and that you would not dogmatically proclaim that Hinkel and the Catholics were in error. Perhaps Sir, the error is with you.

I shall not at present pursue this topic farther. I return to your historical description in paragraph 36,—"they unfortunately differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead, and Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zuinglius and others, all had their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity." Thus, Rev. Sir, whatever success may attend your efforts to harmonise those shades of difference and to shed light upon this obscurity, it may be as well, before proceeding onwards, for us to ascertain what those early Reformers thought of the opinions of each other;—it will be seen, that unfortunately, they were not always so well disposed as you appear to be, (*paragraph* 40,) to find between their irreconcilable "faiths" as you would call what I regard to be irreconcilable "opinions," a "difference so slight as that it can scarcely be detected."

You need not, Rev. Sir, my information, that Luther's first denial of transubstantiation was in 1520; in his book "On the Captivity of Babylon." You are aware also that he, notwithstanding this, continued to hold the doctrine of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. Nor need you be told of the remarkable expression in his Epistle to the people of Strasburg, "that it would have been a great pleasure to him, had some good means been afforded him of denying it (the doctrine of the real presence,) because nothing could have been more agreeable to the design in which he was engaged, of prejudicing the papacy." He however acknowledges that the plain simplicity of the Scripture in teaching the doctrine of the real presence made it impossible for him to deny it.

Carlostadius, however, attacked the doctrine of the real presence, much against Lu-

ther's wishes: and without looking for Luther's consent, he during the concealment of that leader in 1521, threw down images, abolished the elevation of the sacrament, discontinued low Masses, and introduced communion under both kinds in the church at Wittenberg. These proceedings created great jealousy between them: but the sacramentarian war was not fairly waged until the 22d of August, 1524. The history of its origin is given by Luther himself in his own works. It is substantially this:

On his way to Orlemond he preached this day at Jena, in presence amongst others, of Carlostadius, of whom he said some things not very flattering. After the sermon, Carlostadius paid a visit to Luther, who lodged at the tavern of the "Black Bear," where, after defending himself from the charges that Luther had made, he said that he could not bear the opinion of this latter concerning the real presence. Luther defied in a contemptuous way Carlostadius to write against the doctrine, promising him a florin of gold to undertake it. He flung the money on the table, Carlostadius took it up; they shook hands and mutually promised fair play. Luther drank to the health of his opponent and to the fine work he undertook to produce, and in return, was pledged in a bumper. On parting however, Luther expressed the hope of living to see his opponent broken on the wheel; and Carlostadius returned the compliment by praying that Luther might break his neck before he left town. Luther complains that it was by the procuration of Carlostadius he was pelted with stones and nearly smothered with filth at entering Orlemond. Luther, however, subsequently discovered, that his opponent though driven from Saxony had found help in Switzerland, whither he retired. There Zuinglius, former pastor of Zurich, and Œcolampadius, ably sustained him: and Luther declared that he despaired of the salvation of Zuinglius, not only for denying the doctrine of Christ respecting the sacrament, but also for proclaiming that heathens were in heaven.

Carlostadius some time after, sought a reconciliation with Luther, for his own convenience, and to effect it, assured him that what he wrote concerning the Eucharist was not by way of teaching or deciding, but of examining and proposing difficulties.

All this and more was previous to 1530, but I thought it would be useful to trace the differences of opinion to their source, and in doing so, Rev. Sir, we discover that these men styled "Reformers" did indeed, as you inform us, reject the doctrine of transubstantiation without being able to agree amongst themselves what *they should substitute* in its stead. Neither does it appear that they were very anxious to come to an agreement; nor does their process of inquiry seem to have been the most evangelical. It is quite unnecessary for me to exhibit any more of the history until we come to the year 1530. It suffices to say that they contradicted each other and could not preach truth, for truth is single.

From your 9th paragraph it would appear to the otherwise uninformed reader, that the Reformers presented only one confession of faith to the Diet of Augsburg. In making this remark, I am far from imputing to you any design of concealment, but I wish to state the fact, that besides the Lutheran Confession, which alone you notice, and which, by eminence, is known as the "Confession of Augsburg," and which, as we shall see, teaches the doctrine of the real presence, there were two others presented, viz.—one called the Confession of Strasburg, or of the four towns, because it was presented in the names of Strasburg, Meiningen, Lindau and Constance, then four towns of the empire; and a third, [which] was presented in the name of Zuinglius, who though not belonging to the empire, nor subject to the Diet, had his confession sent thither. Both the latter confessions denied the real presence by proclaiming only the figurative meaning to be intended in the words of Christ. The four towns refused to sign the Augsburg Confession, precisely because of its 10th article, which regarded the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and their confession was drawn up by Bucer, who vainly sought to approximate the differing parties; but the contradiction was too plain, and each regarded the error of the party to be fatal. Zuinglius would not equivocate; he gave a plain and open exhibition of his opposition to the then Lutheran opinion of the real presence.

Thus, Rev. Sir, I think I am warranted in asserting that even at this period of June, 1530, if the doctrines of the reformation were "clearly defined," they were also on the subject of the Eucharist clearly at variance, and irreconcilable, and if the Reformers "agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed among themselves as to what *they should substitute* in its stead." Surely, Rev. Sir, you will not call this "clearly defining the doctrines of Christ." And, though three centuries have elapsed, the difficulty still remains. Thus it is clear that previous to rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Reformers had not themselves ascertained what the Saviour had revealed upon the subject; and you very fairly say that "in their peculiar views there may be traced considerable shades of differ-

ence, as well as obscurity." Yet, Rev. Sir, you say that at this period "the doctrines of the Reformation can be said to have been clearly defined," and you taunt Roman Catholics with an absurdity which it is scarcely necessary to expose by serious argument!

I have shown that the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession on the Eucharist, was not that of all the Reformers in 1530. For, though it was subscribed by the leaders of the Lutheran party, its tenth article was not received by the four imperial cities, nor by Zuinglius, nor by his followers.

Let us proceed to consider this tenth article. And here indeed, Rev. Sir, a difficulty presents itself which I cannot overcome.—Where shall I find an authentic copy of the confession itself? There are many copies, but they differ materially from each other, and I am at a loss to know which of them is authentic. Even of this tenth article, there are various readings. We have one piece of evidence in the Book of Concord, (p. 728,) which, I am inclined to believe, you will admit to be good Lutheran authority; it says "It was then expressly designed to reject the error of the Sacramentarians, who at the same time presented their own particular Confession of Augsburg"—that is the confession of the four cities and that of Zuinglius, who denied the doctrine of the real presence, and which denial Osiander and his colleagues designate to be error. We have from a variety of other sources abundant evidence that the tenth article was specially framed to sustain the doctrine of the real presence of our blessed Saviour in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist.

In the Geneva collection we have the tenth article as it was printed at Wittenberg in 1540, in presence of Luther and Melancthon, the first the leader under whose auspices the second wrote that document. In that copy it is said, that "with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly given to those who partake of the supper." In another copy in the same collection, and of equal alleged authenticity as the former, and with this additional circumstance in its favor, that it agrees with the copy found in the Book of Concord, there is no mention of bread and wine, but it is said that the Protestants "believe that the body and blood are truly distributed to those who eat; and disapprove those who teach the contrary." Now, Rev. Sir, the first of these gives us the doctrine of consubstantiation the second is favorable to transubstantiation, but declares plainly against the sacramentarian principle. Which of them is the authentic article?

You are aware, Rev. Sir, that the Book of Concord also contains the apology or defence of the Augsburg Confession, written by that same Melancthon, who drew up the confession itself: and in this we have the phraseology of the tenth article. "In the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly and substantially present, and are truly given together with the things that are seen, that is with the bread and wine, to those who receive the sacrament." This appears to be plain, distinct consubstantiation; but, what shall we say of the following, taken from the same Book of Concord? (*Apol. Conf. Aug.* Conc. p. 157.) "The article of the supper is thus taught from the word of God, in the Augsburg Confession: that the true body and the true blood of Jesus Christ, are truly present, distributed and received in the holy supper, under the species of bread and wine; and those are disapproved of who teach the contrary."—Now, it is plain to any person who maturely examines the expressions and is capable of judging of them, that a Catholic could lawfully, so far as the natural meaning of the word is concerned, without hesitation subscribe this latter declaration;—and the French translation of the Confession of Augsburg, printed at Frankfort in 1673, conforms in the tenth article fully to this form. Now, Sir, though I agree with you in the assertion that all the persons, whom you call reformers, did unite in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, yet I am by no means prepared to admit that in the Confession as presented to the Diet at Augsburg, in June, 1530, wherein, "the doctrines of the Reformation were clearly defined," they did declare transubstantiation to be erroneous doctrine, but I incline to the opinion that the authentic copy of the Confession taught this very doctrine in the words last given.

I shall state some of the reasons which have caused greater men and better critics than I can pretend to be, to hold to this opinion.

In the first place, Hospinian states distinctly that this last is the exact copy of the original; and I scarcely think you will consider an historian of your own party and a writer of such note therein, an authority to be easily rejected on such a point. He states that the article was thus printed in 1530, in Wittenberg, under the inspection of Luther and of Melancthon. He states that it was subsequently changed, because it too openly favored the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Hence we see it differently printed in that same place under the eyes of those same persons, ten years later.

When the Confession was presented to the Emperor he engaged some Catholic divines to write its refutation. Now Sceidan and Melancthon as well as others of your writers have always proclaimed that the Catholics

never contradicted the tenth article; nor would they if it was expressed in this way that is testified by Hospinian.

Without going farther into the evidence that could be adduced to sustain this proposition, I think it is exceedingly probable that this confession which "clearly defined" the doctrines of the Reformation in 1530, did not reject, in its tenth article, the doctrine of transubstantiation. If this, Rev. Sir, was really the case, we poor credulous Catholics, who are incapable of deciding between truth and error, will have men whom you consider very respectable as our companions in absurdity!! I acknowledge it to be equally true that in their own writings, they rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation,—but, Rev. Sir, this is not the only point on which they teach, and in which that confession teaches contradictions. It is a little curious also, that the princes and states that subscribed the Book of Concord in 1580, when they give to the world quite a different reading, not only of this tenth article but of other parts of the confession, do not venture to affirm and testify, that what is there given is an exact copy of the original; but merely affirm and testify, that, "having compared it with the archives of their predecessors and those of the empire, they found the copy to be wholly and throughout *of the same sense*, with the Latin and German originals."

In the apology for the Confession, drawn up by Melancthon, we have an explanation still more clear and precise, stating that in the sacrament, Christ was "corporeally given to us,"—affirming that this was the "ancient and common" belief, not only of the Roman, but of the Greek Church, and quoting in proof thereof, passages of the liturgies, and the very words of Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, that the bread is *truly changed* into flesh.

Zuinglius plainly contradicting the Lutheran doctrine of real and substantial and corporal presence, wrote in his confession that Christ was really, and substantially and corporally present in heaven, and *could be no where else since the ascension*. Bucer, who equivocated and quibbled, endeavored to hold with both sides, at length found that he was trusted by neither; and most of the towns that sustained his confession, returned to the Lutheran belief of the real presence. Thus the line of distinction was plainly and finally drawn between those who held that Christ was really and substantially present, and those who held that he was not, but that the bread and wine were *only figures* of his *absent* body and blood. Of the former, the Catholics believed that at the consecration, the substance of the elements gave place to that of the body and blood of Christ, which new substance retained the appearance of that which had passed away, and therefore there happened a transition of substance without any change of appearance,—the new substance, by the power of God, producing the same impression on the senses of the beholder or of the receiver, as if the old substance still continued there; and this is transubstantiation, or [the production of] the body and blood of Christ under the species of bread and wine.

The other, or Lutheran division, who held the real and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ, generally stated that the body and blood were really in the sacrament, together with the bread and wine, which latter substance alone produced any impression upon the senses; and this was consubstantiation, or the one substance being present with the other. The Lutherans had various modes of explaining the manner of this presence, nor were they all agreed as to whether Christ was present only at the moment of receiving or of using the sacrament, or from the moment of consecration. For instance, suppose the consecration to take place half an hour before the eating: some said that the body was present from the moment of consecration, and continued so during the half hour which intervened up to the moment of communion; but others said that it became present only at the moment of eating.

Thus, the difference between the early Lutherans and Zuinglians, who were both Protestants, was greater than that between those Lutherans and the Catholics. I regret, Rev. Sir, that the statement of this fact gives you pain or offence, but neither of us can deny its truth, of which I intend to supply my readers with more ample evidence. It is true, however, that since that period, very great bodies of the Lutherans have gone over to the Zuinglian opinion, but originally all Lutherans opposed the Zuinglians or Sacramentarians.

I have, I believe, succeeded in showing that the first Protestants, viz. Luther and his cotemporaries, condemned the Catholics as being in error, respecting the doctrine of the Eucharist, before they had themselves discovered what they would fix upon as the original doctrine. And from the period of their separation to the present day, it is a notorious fact, that they have no certainty upon the subject. The attempt to learn their doctrine upon this point, from the Confession of Augsburg, in which you state that the doctrines of the reformation were "clearly defined," would baffle human ingenuity; and even did we ascertain the exact words of the original document, it would not in this coun-

try be a mode of ascertaining the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, because even its ministers "only profess to believe that the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession:" and we should first be assured that the belief respecting the Eucharist "is a fundamental article of the word of God."—Who is to decide this? And, next who is to ascertain and decide when there is a "substantial incorrectness," or deviation from the doctrinal article of the confession?

This uncertainty, Rev. Sir, furnishes an exceedingly safe ground of retreat, and I trust that as you have linked me to your Hinkelites, I will not act improperly in drawing them and myself within its shelter, notwithstanding your effort to keep us out and to cover us with your contempt.

I remain, Rev. Sir,

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 7, 1838.

LETTER III.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—I have 1. developed the truth of your statement (*paragraph* 36,) "That though the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they could not agree what to substitute in its stead." 2. In doing this, I have shown that it was not because they had ascertained the doctrine of the Redeemer, they rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation. 3. That at the present day it is impossible, or at least very difficult, to ascertain what was the precise doctrine, touching the Eucharist, contained in the 10th article of the Confession of Augsburg, as delivered to the Emperor Charles V. 4. That it is exceedingly probable this Confession was not incompatible with the doctrine of transubstantiation. 5. That Bucer did not at the period of making his Confession agree with the Lutherans on this point. 6. That Zuinglius and his followers were in open and irreconcilable opposition to the Lutherans upon the question of the real presence. And, 7, that the Lutherans then held at all events, the truth of the real, substantial and corporeal presence of Jesus Christ, in the sacrament of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, as distinctly as Catholics do, though they differed from Catholics as to the mode of that presence, as they said it was not by transubstantiation.

I now proceed to ascertain, as precisely as I can, the teaching of the Sacramentarians or adherents of Zuinglius on this subject.

In the first place, they denied the doctrine of the real presence, and one may naturally be led to suppose their opinion would be expressed by the simple statement, "That when a blessing was pronounced over the bread and wine, we were led in receiving them, to recollect that Christ died for us, and so loved us that we may hope for pardon of our sins through his merits, and, that he ordained this rite of eating bread and drinking wine, as a token of that love, and a memorial by means of which we might be excited to that hope." This, Sir, would be plain, intelligible language, adapted to the most humble capacity. But this would not satisfy the Zuinglians. They found, as Luther told them, that the scriptural expressions were too strong and too full, to be confined within the limits here prescribed: they found that all Christendom had always looked upon its most mysterious rite to be that connected with the Eucharist or Lord's Supper:—but here, there was no mystery. They were placed in a difficulty, from which they could not well extricate themselves; but to combat which, they had recourse to phrases that often appeared to admit the truth of the real presence; and when pressed upon this result, they sought to explain away the force of those very phrases, and to show that they meant nothing. In simple language, Rev. Sir, they appeared not only to be contradicting themselves, but scarcely to understand what they said or what they wrote upon the subject. This you well describe in paragraph 36, when you tell us, "All had their peculiar views, in which may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as of obscurity." Nor will you blame me, if, after having read your own Sermon, with as much attention as I was capable of bestowing upon any production, I am unable to conjecture what is your own belief upon the nature of this sacrament. Thus I am persuaded that the investigation and reflection of three centuries have not taken away the shades of difference nor diminished the obscurity of your writers on this subject.

In his Confession delivered at Augsburg, Zuinglius declared, "That the body of Jesus Christ, after his ascension, was no where else but in heaven, nay, could be no where else: that truly in the supper it was, as it were, present by the contemplation of faith, and not really or by its essence." Yet in a letter that he wrote to the emperor, he admits that there is present a sacramental body, but not a natural and substantial body. I know not, Rev. Sir, whether you have been more fortunate than I am, for I cannot understand what is meant by a body which is not substantial. I can clearly perceive that a body may be substantial and sacramental, though not in its natural mode of existence, but I can not conceive what is the idea in-

tended to be expressed by *a body not substantial;* for I do not know what a body is, if it be not a substance. It is quite another question, to consider what are the properties of that substance. Yet the words of Zuinglius are, speaking of the Protestants by whom he was opposed, that is, of Luther and his adherents, that in the Supper they would have "a natural and substantial body," he "a sacramental body." However, he subsequently sent another confession of faith to Francis I, in which he explains "This is my body," to mean "a symbolical, mystical and sacramental body," "a body by denomination and signification," to use an illustration of his own, "just as a queen showing among her jewels, her nuptial ring, says *this is my king*, that is, the ring of the king my husband wherewith he espoused me." Indeed, Sir, it is a mighty quaint expression, and only one of many very curious specimens, an abundance of which may be drawn from the writings of those gentlemen. In plain truth, Zuinglius proclaimed that Luther was guilty of a fatal error in teaching that Christ was really, substantially and corporeally present in the Eucharist; because he was not so present. That the supper contained no substance save those of bread and wine. Still Luther and his associates pressed Zuinglius with the plain words of Scripture, and he, in the effort to escape from his opponents, wrote and said those curious things which I cannot understand, and which you have not even attempted to explain, but of which you avow that they have considerable obscurity.

You are aware, Rev. Sir, of what occurred in 1529, at the Conference of Marpurg, but as all my readers may not be as deeply read as you are, in the history of your church, I shall briefly allude to it.

Very soon after the gentlemen who are dignified with the name of "Reformers," obtained the present more usual appellation, from protesting against the decree of the Diet of Spires in 1529, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, procured a meeting to be held at Marpurg, for the purpose of adjusting in a conference, the differences by which the "Protestants" were estranged from each other. Luther, Osiander and Melancthon, were on one side, apparently in harmony; and on the other side, were Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and Bucer. In fact, the whole conference, if it may be so called, was an altercation between Luther and Zuinglius; chiefly, upon the nature of the Eucharist; Luther plainly maintaining the doctrine of the real presence, and Zuinglius as openly denying it. When Zuinglius and his companions found that Luther could by no means be induced to favor the figurative sense, for which they contended; they begged to be, at least, considered as brethren: Luther replied, "What fraternity do you ask of me, if you persist in your belief: it is evident you doubt its truth, since you ask to be admitted as brethren by those who reject it." They then asked mutual charity. Luther promised such charity as was due to enemies, not to those of the same communion. "They were indignant," says Luther, "to find themselves treated as heretics." From this account, Rev. Sir, given by Luther himself, (*Ep. ad Jen. Præp. Bremen,*) we find that he did not consider it an unimportant difference. And this was five years after the scene of the Black Bear in Jena.

Hence it was, that the adherents of Zuinglius and Bucer, in the next year, excepted to the tenth article of the Confession of Augsburg, and as they would not be permitted to sign with that exception, withheld their signatures and presented their own confessions. Zuinglius, therefore, was considered by Luther to be in a lost state, and Zuinglius proclaimed Luther, upon this head, not indeed "to differ less from the Romish Church than the other Protestants," but to teach a greater absurdity than the Catholics did.

I have now, Rev. Sir, shown that both Luther and Zuinglius could not teach the truth, for they taught contradictions. I shall proceed to show the subsequent efforts for procuring a reconciliation,—and the first I shall exhibit Bucer, who in his confession, whilst he desired to be considered holding with Zuinglius, really seemed to approach nearer to Luther. At all events he contrived to avoid the introduction of any word denying the real presence, though he refused to subscribe the 10th article of the Lutheran Confession. The following are among his expressions in the Confession of Strasburg: "When Christians repeat the supper which Jesus Christ made before his death, in the manner that he instituted it, he gives them by the sacraments, his true body and blood to eat and drink, truly to be the food and drink of our souls." So far then as this expression goes, even a Catholic would subscribe it,—Bucer, however, was most fertile in devices, and ingenious in equivocation. Under the pretext of moderation and humility, he avoids any explicit and plain declaration, but adds, "Keeping themselves at a distance from all dispute and all curious and superfluous inquiry, they bring back their mind to that only which profits, and by which our Saviour was alone regarded, to wit, that feeding on him we may live in him and by him." Still further they declare, "They are calumniated when they are accused of changing the words of Jesus

Christ, and of mutilating them by human interpretations, or of administering nothing in their supper but bread and wine, or of despising the Lord's Supper; for, on the contrary, we exhort the faithful to give ear to the words of the Lord with a simple faith by rejecting all false comments and all human inventions, and by adhering closely to the sense of the words, without hesitating in any way; finally by receiving the sacraments for the food of their souls."

This, Rev. Sir, is as good a specimen as can be easily found, of saying nothing in many words, and this too, is the origin of a system which has widely diffused itself.

We shall subsequently see what Luther and Melancthon said of it.

Zuinglius fell, sword in hand, in no rearward part of the Protestant host, in the war which unfortunately was kindled between the Catholic and Protestant Cantons of Switzerland: Œcolampadius soon after died, some say of grief; but Luther informs us (*Tract. de abrog. Miss.*) that he was beaten to death by the Devil. The peace of Nuremberg gave Germany some repose, but the Lutherans were equally averse as were the Catholics to admit the Zuinglians to its benefits. The elector, John Frederick, refused to admit them into the Protestant league, until they would agree with Luther in the article of the real presence. Bucer undertook the negotiation. He explained and equivocated until he adopted the very words of Luther, and said, that heretofore they had not understood each other, that they quarrelled about words only.

Luther, however, was not to be thus deceived; he said the Sacramentarians "made a devilish game with our Lord's words." Melancthon said, "The presence which Bucer admits is but a presence in word and a presence of virtue. But we require a presence of the body and blood, and not of their virtue. If this body of Jesus Christ be no where else but in heaven, and is not with the bread, nor in the bread,—if finally, it is not to be found in the Eucharist, but in the contemplation of faith, it is nothing but an imaginary presence."—(*Ep. Mel. apud Hosp.* 1530.)

The Protestants of Basil sent out their Confession in 1532, in which, though evidently denying the real presence, yet they tell us that "our souls are nourished with the body and blood of Jesus Christ by a true faith." This, Rev. Sir, may be intelligible to you, but I avow my inability to understand it. Those of Zurich, reproached Bucer for asserting that it was only a verbal difference.

Bucer continued to approximate to Luther, and at length they appear in 1536 to have been reconciled by the granting to Luther the six articles in the conference at Wittenberg, on the part of Bucer and the ministers who represented the German Sacramentarians.

The Agreement of Wittenberg and its Six Articles.

1. "That according to the words of St. Irenæus, the Eucharist consists of two things; the one terrestrial, and the other celestial: and by consequence, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly and substantially present, given, and received with the bread and wine."

2. "That, although they had rejected transubstantiation, and did not believe that the body of Jesus Christ was contained locally in the bread, or had with the bread any union of long continuance out of the use of the sacrament, it ought, however, to be acknowledged that the bread was the body of Jesus Christ, by a sacramental union; that is, that the bread being present, the body of Jesus Christ was at the same time present, and truly given."

3. They add, however, "That out of the use of the sacrament, whilst it is kept in the ciborium, or shown in processions, they believe it is not the body of Jesus Christ."

4. They concluded by saying, "That this institution of the sacrament has its force in the Church, and depends not on the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister, nor of him who receives."

5. "That as for the unworthy, who, according to St. Paul, truly eat the sacrament, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly presented to them, and *they truly receive them*, when the words of Christ's institution are observed."

6. "That however they take it to their judgment," as says the same St. Paul, "because they abuse the sacrament, by taking it without repentance, and *without faith*."

Bucer, however, found a way of escape, (*Bucer Decl. Conc. Vit.*) by proclaiming to his party that there were two sorts of faith, and that they who received Jesus Christ truly in the sacrament, without faith, and to their damnation, were those who had not a saving faith, though they had a faith which could not benefit them. It is not for me to attempt any explanation, I only record a fact. Calvin knew Bucer well, when he writes of him, (*Ep. Calv.* p. 50) "There was nothing so embarrassed, so ambiguous, so intricate, in even Bucer himself." But Bucer was not the only one of those gentlemen who could act in this way, Calvin gives him a companion. Writing (*Ep.* p. 38,) of the attempt made at Ratisbon, in 1541, to reconcile Catholics and Protestants, he says, "Melancthon

and Bucer composed, on transubstantiation, equivocal and deceitful forms of faith, in order, if possible, to satisfy their adversaries without the concession of any thing."

At Wittenberg, still one point remained, upon which there was for some time no agreement to satisfy both parties. Bucer admitted the real presence at the communion as in art. 2, but as in art. 3, he obtained permission to say that out of use (that is, not at communion) the Eucharist is not the body of Christ. Luther at this very time had the sacrament out of use, adored, as being the really present body and blood of Jesus Christ. To reconcile this difficulty a concession was made by Bucer and accepted by Luther, as in art. 2, "that the body had not with the bread *any long continuance and union*, out of the use of the sacrament." It is not my task to reconcile this clause of the 2d to the 3d article, nor to answer the question, "what is the duration of this *not long continuance?*" Suffice it to say, that both parties celebrated the supper together in token of agreement.

Bucer in vain endeavored to bring the Swiss over to this union; but three of the towns for which he drew up the Confession of Strasburg, became Lutheran, and adopted the opinion of the real presence. Melancthon, however, now began to incline to the very opinion from which Bucer appeared to recede. How truly did you write, Rev. Sir, "whilst however, all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed among themselves." You might almost add 'and each with himself,' "as to what *they should substitute* in its stead!" Luther, Melanethon, Calvin, Zuinglius, and others, all had their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity!

I am not disposed to extend my observations unnecessarily; but I cannot avoid remarking in this place, the consistent inconsistency of Bucer, who also signed a Calvinistic confession of faith, stating that the manner in which the body and blood of Jesus Christ, were received in the supper was, by the Holy Ghost therein uniting those things that were separated in place.

But the year 1537 gives us a new confession of faith, on the part of the Lutherans, who assembled at Smalcald, upon occasion of Pope Paul III having convoked a council. Luther was not satisfied with the Confession of Augsburg; nor did its apology or defence by Melancthon sufficiently meet his views, neither did he think the Zuinglian errors were met in a sufficiently explicit manner upon the question of the supper. Melancthon says that Bucer on this occasion expressed himself strongly and explicitly in support of the real presence, that "he satisfied even those of our people (the Lutherans) who were the most difficult to be pleased." And in the sixth article, they declare: "As to the sacrament of the altar, we believe that the bread and wine are the true body and true blood of our Lord; and are not only given and received by pious Christians, but also by the impious."

Hitherto the expressions were, in general, that the body and blood were really present "in" "with" or "under" the bread and wine, but now the two terms, bread and body, are identified. I make no comment farther than to state, that the expression was used for the purpose of destroying all room for cavil or sophistry on the part of those, who whilst they affected to agree with the Lutherans, yet sought to establish only a mere moral or figurative presence. In his smaller catechism it was taught that the body was given under the bread; in the larger catechism it is said to be given in the bread and under the bread; but in the article of Smalcald, the bread is declared to be the body.

My object is to keep fully in the view of my readers, that subsequently to the "doctrines of the Reformation" having been "clearly defined" in the council of Augsburg in 1530, the doctrine of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist or supper, was by Luther and his adherents, considered to be so fundamental, that they refused to hold communion with those who denied its truth. And I prefer being somewhat tedious to leaving any doubt upon this subject. I am writing for those who are not so deeply read upon the subject as you are; and therefore I enter into detail upon points to which, if I wrote for your eye alone, I need only advert.

You are aware that in 1542, after much exertion, the Landgrave of Hesse prevailed upon Luther to abolish altogether, in the Church of Wittenberg, the elevation of the sacrament with the ringing of the bell. The Landgrave's object was, to try and obtain the union of the Swiss Zuinglians in the confederation of Smalcald, by removing some of the ceremonies which they most strongly detested. As soon as the abolition took place, the Sacramentarians triumphed and proclaimed that Luther was now giving up the doctrine of real presence and coming over to an understanding with them. The printer who had for sale, subsequently, however, to this, the translation of the Bible made by Leo of Juda, a famous Jew who embraced Zuinglianism, sent to Luther from Zurich a copy of the work as a compliment. The Swiss kept and showed the letters which the bookseller received in return from Luther,

forbidding to send anything to him from the people of that place, "for they were damned men, who dragged away others into hell; and the churches could no longer communicate with them, nor consent to their blasphemies, and he had resolved to oppose them by his writings and his prayers, to his very last breath."

In the year 1544, he published his "Little Confession of Faith," in which he styles those who adhered to Zuinglius "mad-men, blasphemers, miserable wretches, damned souls for whom it is no longer lawful to pray;" he declared that he would hold no communication with them "by letters, nor by words, nor by works," until they would confess "that the bread of the Eucharist was the true natural body of our Lord, which the impious and even the traitor Judas received by the mouth, no less than St. Peter and the rest who were faithful." He also states that the Eucharist "may be retained with piety, as a testimonial of the real and corporeal presence in the bread, since by this action the priest said, 'Behold Christians this is the body of Jesus Christ which was given for you.'" And this was two years after he had abolished the elevation. In the year 1545, in his Positions against the Doctors of Louvain, he calls it "the adorable sacrament." This expression caused Calvin, in a letter to Bucer, to declare of Luther, "that by this decision he had raised up an idol in God's temple."

Luther died on the 18th of February 1546, and within less than a month previous thereto, he wrote the letter from which I shall make my last extract. He had declared that he held the Zuinglians to be heretics, and shut out of the pale of God's Church. They had called him an unhappy wretch; and on the 25th of January he writes, "They have afforded me a great occasion of pleasure. I therefore, the most unhappy of all men, esteem myself happy for one thing only, and covet no other beatitude than that of the Psalmist. Happy is the man that hath not been in the council of the Sacramentarians, and hath never walked in the way of the Zuinglians, nor sat in the chair of those of Zurich."

I believe, Rev. Sir, I have now fully shown 1. that an irreconcilable difference of doctrine regarding the Eucharist existed to the moment of his death, between Luther with his adherents on the one side, and the followers of Zuinglius on the other. 2. That the Confession of Augsburg was drawn up and presented by the adherents of Luther. 3. That it contained the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of our Saviour in the Eucharist.—4. That this was the reason why the Zuinglians refused to sign it. 5. That, therefore, for upwards of fifteen years after the period assigned by you as that when "the doctrines of the Reformation" were "clearly defined in this Confession," the doctrine of the Reformers, whose declaration that confession was, continued to be that of the real presence, as taught by Luther. Now, Sir, if, as you state, (*par.* 39,) "the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession," the belief of the real presence in the Eucharist in the manner in which all who held to that Confession during fifteen years after its compilation, and amongst whom were its compilers themselves, is a substantially correct, fundamental article of the word of God.

The Hinkelites and the Catholics both believe in that real presence. The Catholics certainly believe that the body is there by transubstantiation, which I have explained in my second letter: until I read your Sermon I thought Hinkelites believed the body to be there by consubstantiation; but you inform us, (in *parag.* 21,) that they state "that in the Lord's Supper the elements become the actual flesh and blood of Christ." I am free to confess that it reads exceedingly like transubstantiation. Yet I should like to know whether they call it by that name.

You inform us in this paragraph that "this error," by which I suppose you mean transubstantiation, "which is pretended to be sanctioned by the doctrines of (your) Church, is that which the Reformers opposed by all the force of argument, and by all the authority of the plainest interpretations of the word of God."—Perhaps not! The sixth article of Smalcald says "the bread and wine are the true body and true blood of our Lord." It is clear that this is the doctrine of the Reformers, as you call them, and you tell us (in *parag.* 36) that "all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation." Melancthon who drew up the Confession of Augsburg, when writing in its defence, uses language of which Doctor Maclaine says in his note (*a*) on Mosheim's History, (*Cent.* xvi, *Sec.* iii, *Book* ii, c. 1,) "In the edition of that defence that some Lutherans (and Chytræus among others) look upon as the most genuine and authentic, Melancthon makes several strange concessions to the Church of Rome: whether through servile fear, excessive charity, or hesitation of mind, I will not pretend to determine. He speaks of the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist in the very strongest terms that the Roman Catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation; and adopts those remarkable words of Theo-

phylact, that 'the bread was not a figure only, but was truly changed into flesh.' He approves that canon of the Mass, in which the priest prays that the bread may be changed into the body of Christ. It is true that in some subsequent editions of the defence or apology now under consideration, these obnoxious passages were left out, and the phraseology that had given such just offence, was considerably mitigated."

In his note (*b*) on the same chapter, Doctor Maclaine says, "The articles mentioned here were drawn up at Smalcald by Luther, on occasion of a meeting of the Protestant electors, princes, and States, at that place. They were principally designed to show how far the Lutherans were disposed to go, in order to avoid a final rupture, and in what sense they were willing to adopt the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, and though the terms ('the bread and wine are the true body of our Lord') in which these articles are expressed be somewhat dubious, yet they are much less harsh and disgusting than those used in the Confession, the Apology and the Book of Concord."

I apprehend, Sir, that the expressions of the Hinkelites are not a whit stronger than those used by Melancthon in the defence of the Confession, and commented upon by Doctor Maclaine: words read in what Mosheim calls a "standard book" or formulary of those doctrines which the Lutheran Church believes to be found in the Bible, which bible that Church states to be the only source whence we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or practice. Yet, Sir, you tell us that the compilers and the adherents to that defence, rejected transubstantiation. Why not then give to the Hinkelites the same benefit of speech that you allow to Luther, to Melancthon, and to so many of your noted Reformers?

I am quite ready, Rev. Sir, to correct a mistake, if I make one, and I shall consider your plain deliberate assertion of what you know to be a fact, as sufficient for that correction. You have not asserted that the Hinkelites hold, and avow that they believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation: you merely quote their words which are not stronger than those of men, who you say rejected that doctrine; and whilst you say that Luther and Melancthon reject our doctrine, you say of the expression of the Hinkelites, (*par.* 22,) "This as well as the last is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church," and you exhibit a canon of the Council of Trent, to show that it is what you describe it to be, "a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church." Now, I should suppose the proper conclusion to be, that if Hinkel held that doctrine, so did Luther; so did his associates: and, I shall immediately show you, that neither Luther, nor Melancthon, nor Hinkel, holds any thing at variance with the doctrine taught in that canon which you have quoted.

Not only do I see no reason for drawing any distinction between Luther and Hinkel on this head, but, if my memory is not seriously impaired, I see very good reason why no such distinction should be allowed.

You tell us, in paragraph 13, that the Hinkelites were by a decision of the court, excluded from some of your churches in North Carolina, as having departed from the Lutheran doctrine. I recollect well, conversing, at the time of the litigation, with an eminent lawyer of North Carolina* upon the subject: it was one upon which he was much interested: and of the nature of the Eucharist doctrine no man is a more competent judge. The impression on my mind is as distinct and as vivid as of any fact of which I did not take at the time, a written note, of his having told me that their doctrine was the real presence by consubstantiation. I am the more confirmed in this recollection being accurate, from the circumstance of his having remarked to me that they held, what he always knew to have been the original doctrine of the Lutheran Church; and from my having stated to him, that I had met other Lutherans in Georgia, who held the same opinions, and that I considered in this, that there was no cause of surprise, for that they only adhered to the original Lutheran teaching, whilst a large portion of those who were called Lutherans, had actually fallen into the opinion of either Calvin or Zuinglius. Now, to me, and to the gentleman with whom I conversed, it would have been matter of very great surprise indeed, to discover a Lutheran congregation, at that day, in North Carolina or in Georgia, holding the doctrine of transubstantiation. I apprehend then that the Hinkelites hold only the doctrine of the real presence, as taught by Luther and Melancthon and that the statement of their holding the doctrine of transubstantiation, is but a conclusion of your own, not an avowal of theirs.

I am the more inclined to suppose that this is an inadvertence of yours, from the fact that you have (in your *paragraphs* 22, 23, and 24,) exhibited an oversight of a similar kind. You must, Sir, have written in great haste, for otherwise so many mistakes could not have been crowded into so small a space. You quote, (in *paragraph* 22,) as from the

[* Probably, Judge Gaston.]

fourth chapter of the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent,—and you call it a decision. There is no such paragraph in that chapter. I need not inform you that in the records of the sessions of that council, there are doctrinal chapters, which are explanations, not decisions; and disciplinary chapters, which regulate ecclesiastical matters; but the decisions are found in the canons. Now it is true that the fourth doctrinal chapter of the session thirteenth does indeed explain, but does not decide, the doctrine of transubstantiation. The fourth disciplinary chapter regulates the manner of degrading criminal clergymen. The fourth canon decides that the presence in the sacrament, is not only at the moment of communion, but exists there before, and continues therein after. The second canon decides, that the presence is by transubstantiation. The canon you have given us is the first, and is precisely the one in whose doctrine, above all others, except the eighth, deciding against mere spiritual presence and mere spiritual eating, the Lutherans, properly so called, and the Catholics are perfectly agreed. It is a decision in support of the doctrine of the real presence without describing the mode of that presence. "If any one shall deny that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there are contained truly, really and substantially the body and blood together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore whole Christ, but shall say (you print "and say") that he is there only as in a sign (you print "that it is only as a sign") or figure, or by his influence: Let him be anathema." You perceive, Sir, that I have given St. Paul's phrase, "let him be anathema," which the Church uses after his example, (*Galat.* i, 8, 9,) for the "he is accursed"—that some persons are so fond of printing, for their own purpose. Now, it is clear, that Luther and Melancthon, and all their associates, as well as Hinkel and his associates, agree with the Catholics in the doctrine here delivered. So does the Confession of Augsburg. So does its apology. So does the Confession of Smalcald. So do the catechisms. So does Luther's last confession against Zuinglius. So do all the standards enumerated by Mosheim. I believe then, that your friends, if you will permit me so to call the Hinkelites, are, so far as regards their doctrine on the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, by this time pretty well covered by your own declaration; for they find that the doctrine of the real presence is one of "the fundamental articles of the word of God," and that it is "taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession," to wit, in the tenth article of the said document, in all the forms in which that article is given, in its several varieties.

There, Sir, I leave them under the protection of this ægis, altogether secure, as they do not hold this presence by the mode of transubstantiation; whilst I proceed to point out the mistake which you made in your 24th paragraph, where you say that "According to this doctrine," that is to say, the doctrine of the first canon of the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent, or that of the real presence, "the priest is supposed to possess the miraculous power, by pronouncing these four words—'Hoc est corpus meum'—(this is my body,) of converting a piece of bread in the form of a wafer, into the real body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ." Now, I beg to inform you, that what you undertake to describe here is transubstantiation, whereas the doctrine of the canon goes no farther than the real presence. Luther believed the body, &c. to be really present, but denied that it was by *conversion*. Again, they who say that the conversion takes place, do not say that it is by the mere power of the priest, but by virtue of the institution of Christ, and by the direct and immediate power of God. Neither do they say that it is effected by pronouncing the above four words, but by saying and doing what Christ directed to be said and done, for that purpose.

This letter has been extended to a length far beyond what I had expected; I must therefore leave the Hinkelite where I have placed him, whilst I as yet continue outside,—but should you eject him for discovering that he holds transubstantiation, I trust that he shall not be long ousted, before he and I shall enter and keep lawful possession under the authority of a very sufficient *habere*.

Meantime, Rev. Sir, I have the honor to be.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 15, 1838.

LETTER IV.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D.D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—In my last I sought to establish these positions: 1. That the Confession of Augsburg, taught the doctrine of the real presence. 2. That this was the doctrine of Luther and of his associates. And, 3. That such continued to be their doctrine down to the time of his death. I stated my belief that the Hinkelites held only this opinion, and therefore, so far as their doctrne on the nature of the Eucharist is concerned, that they are protected by the Confession of Augsburg.

I now proceed to show that upon your statement of the manner in which at your

ordination in this country, (*parag.* 39,) you receive the doctrinal articles of that confession, you cannot dogmatically assert that the doctrine of transubstantiation is inconsistent with "the fundamental articles of the word of God."

You profess to believe "that the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession."—(*Parag.* 39.)

In *parag.* 12, you exhibit to us the first twenty-one articles, as treating of doctrine; the remaining seven as treating of Roman Catholic corruptions.

Amongst those twenty-one, the tenth regards the Eucharist,—and, whatever might have been the opinions of its compilers, this article does not reject the doctrine of transubstantiation. Neither is this doctrine rejected by any of the articles; but several critical theologians teach, as Maclaine does, as stated in my last letter, that the plain natural meaning of the tenth article favors the doctrine. "In that edition of its defence that some Lutherans look upon as the most genuine and authentic, he speaks of the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist in the very strongest terms that the Roman Catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation." The omission of the expressions alluded to by this writer, in subsequent editions, does not blot them from the original work. I am not now examining whether the formularies of any portion of the original Lutheran section of what are called Reformers, condemn transubstantiation, but I am confining myself to the expressions of the Confession delivered to Charles V and the Diet at Augsburg.

We have seen what Dr. Maclaine said of the defence. Let us again look to the form which Hospinian and others exhibit to us as the most authentic. "That the true body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly present distributed and received in the holy supper under the species of bread and wine." Now I really do not know any stronger expression that I could use to convey my full and perfect belief of transubstantiation. I am far from saying that Luther believed in the doctrine, at the time the formulary was drawn up, or that Melancthon did; but I say the words express my belief, and that belief is in the doctrine of transubstantiation. I then say that this doctrine is not censured by the article which is thus expressed. But the article does not stop there; it goes farther, for it adds: "And those are disapproved of who teach the contrary." So far then, from condemning my belief, the article in plain words condemns those who teach what is contrary thereto. Thus the Confession of Augsburg will cover me as well as the Hinkelite from your censure; but it will disapprove of the Zuinglians and perhaps of the Calvinists.

Now what does the Book of Concord say of this article, thus expressed?—It prefaces the article with this observation (*Apol. Conf. Aug. Conc. p.* 157.) "The article of the supper is thus taught from the word of God in the Augsburg Confession." Yes, Rev. Sir, these are the very words of Melancthon. So that I have his support for asserting that I am protected against you by the declaration "that the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession." This protects me from the charge that transubstantiation is contrary to the word of God!

But you tell me, and I admit, that Luther and Melancthon rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation. I know that they did, but that rejection was not inserted in the doctrinal articles of this Confession which "clearly defined" "the doctrines of the reformation." And I do not mean to say that they agree with me, but that the Augsburg Confession does not condemn me on this point. And this is still farther confirmed by the fact that I stated in my second letter, that the Catholic Divines who were employed to refute the Confession found nothing on this head to employ them.

You state in *paragraph* 39, "The views of Melancthon were, that the Saviour was merely virtually or influentially present in the sacrament." It is with great reluctance that I venture to controvert any statement which you deliberately make; but I will ask if such were his views when he wrote those passages, did he not take a very strange mode of expressing them? However, perhaps your statement and mine may refer to two different periods. The passages above quoted were written in 1530 and 1531, or perhaps both in the first named year. Subsequently to this, writing of Bucer's efforts he says, as I quoted in my last letter: "The presence which Bucer admits is but a presence in word and a presence of virtue: but it is the presence of the body and blood and not of their virtue, which we require." In 1535, however, he began to waver on the subject. He then collected from the Fathers many passages in support of the real presence. He was no very erudite divine, though a very great Reformer, and he stumbled over what, at this day, would form no difficulty to a theological tyro. He desired in 1536 that an assembly should be held to treat the subject of the supper "without passion, without

sophistry, without tyranny." (*Lib.* ii, *Ep.* 40, iii, *Ep.* 188.) How true is your description! "whilst, however, all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead."

The history of Melancthon is very unlike that of Luther. They were very different men. Melancthon was a better classical scholar, a man of far more taste, of a more affable disposition, but much less skilled in ecclesiastical lore, though Luther, through admiration for whom this mild man was insensibly led away, had very little Theology to spare. Melancthon fell into none of the paroxysms or excesses of the mighty lion of the Reformation, but he was not without his uneasiness. His own expressions in his doubts, and uncertainty, are (*Lib.* ii, *Ep.* 202,) "The Elbe with all its streams would not have furnished water sufficient to weep for the sorrows of the divided Reformation." In this frame of mind he continued more or less doubting and unsteady, during the rest of his life. In 1541, at the conference of Ratisbon, he with the Catholics acknowledges the real and substantial presence, but he confines it to the moment of communion. In 1551, at the desire of Maurice the Elector of Saxony, he drew up a new confession, known by the name of Saxonic, to be presented to the Council of Trent:—he calls it a repetition of that of Augsburg, but instead of giving the doctrine of the Eucharist in two or three lines, as at Augsburg, he endeavors to mystify it in twice as many pages; the conclusion of which would be, that "in the established use of communion Jesus Christ is truly and substantially present, truly given to those who receive the body and blood of Jesus Christ; whereby Jesus Christ testifies that he is in them, and makes them his members." I apprehend this is more than saying that the Saviour was merely virtually or influentially present in the sacrament. In 1557, at the conference at Worms, where it was again essayed to reconcile the Catholics and the Lutherans; at the previous conferences between the Lutherans alone, the first proposal of the ambassadors of the Protestant princes, to the Doctors was, that the error of the Zuinglians ought to be condemned. Their teaching was that "the Saviour was merely virtually or influentially present in the sacrament." Melancthon, on this, agreed "that the Zuinglians deserved to be condemned as well as the Papists." This is the first time that we find him openly "condemning" the Papists. Yet you perceive that he equally condemns what you in paragraph 39, call his own "views."

In 1558, for the first time, the Lutherans at the assembly of Frankfort synodically, if I may use the term, reject transubstantiation. They begin, of course, by stating that they only repeat the doctrine of the Confession of Augsburg,—which in its tenth article stated that the body and blood are truly present under the species of bread and wine, and which expressions were found as the genuine and authentic words of the original, in the French translation used by the Lutherans of that very city of Frankfort. Yet the assembly now stated that Jesus Christ was given in the use of the sacrament, truly, substantially and in a vivifying manner; and that this sacrament contained two things, viz: "the bread and the body; and that it is an invention of the monks, unknown to all antiquity, to say, that the body is given to us under the species of bread."

Now, if the "doctrines of the Reformation" were "clearly defined" in the year 1530, in the Confession of Augsburg, the tenth article of which stated that "the true body and blood of Jesus Christ were truly present, distributed and received in the holy supper, under the species of bread and wine, and those are disapproved of who teach the contrary"—can we say that "it is an invention of the monks unknown to all antiquity, to say, that the body is given to us under the species of bread?" I apprehend that the Catholic doctrine is better protected by the Augsburg Confession than is this teaching of the Doctors at Frankfort in 1558, that is, twenty-eight years after the "doctrines of the Reformation were clearly defined," and after those who taught contrary to having the body under the species were disapproved!

As in paragraph 26, you state that "in the writings of Luther, previous to 1530, it would not be difficult to find some things in favor of errors which he afterwards renounced, and which the church to which he was attached subsequently brought nearer to Scripture truth:" I have hitherto abstained from making any such references; hence I shall not produce his reasons, if so I may call them, for teaching that the body of Jesus Christ is every where, and consequently that it is in the Eucharist. This is, as you know, called the doctrine of Ubiquity. It is astonishing to observe what various efforts that were made, during some centuries, to escape on one side from admitting the truth of the Catholic doctrine; and on the other, to try and avoid palpably contradicting the plain meaning of the words of Christ. In 1559, many of the leading Doctors of the Lutherans taught this doctrine of the real presence by Ubiquity. Melancthon was shocked at it, as well he might be, and exposed its perfect

absurdity. It was indeed in this moment, that your remark was fully applicable "having rejected transubstantiation, they could not agree what they should substitute in its stead," and Melancthon wrote to Calvin upon the subject. There were many points on which they could not both agree. Though Melancthon was now strongly inclined towards the Sacramentarian doctrine, by force of the process that I have described; still we have no documentary evidence of his own, nor any act of his to set up against all his former acts, professions and writings. Calvin, however, claims him, though he repeatedly complains that Melancthon never would sufficiently express himself upon the subject. Peucer, son-in-law to Melancthon, who became a convert from Lutheranism to Calvinism, however distinctly states that his father-in-law was a Calvinist,—yet he is claimed by his old party. He died in 1560, I believe, from all that I could see, in a state of perfect doubt and uncertainty; a consequence of living as he had done, for as he well expresses it himself, "In too much disputing, truth escapes."

At the period of Melancthon's framing the Saxonic Confession, Christopher, Duke of Wirtemberg, procured that another should be drawn by Brentius; this was done in 1552, for the purpose of being presented to the Council of Trent. It's author was considered only second to Melancthon in the Lutheran body at that period. Christopher states that he only confirms and repeats the Augsburg Confession, but the article on the Eucharist is quite in a different style. It says "that the true body and the true blood of the Saviour are distributed in the Eucharist, and rejects those who say that the bread and wine are signs of the body and blood of Jesus Christ absent," "that it is in the power of God to annihilate the substance of bread or to change it into his body; but that God does not exercise this power in the supper, and therefore that true bread remains with the true substance of the body," "that although Jesus Christ be distributed whole and entire, as well in the bread as in the wine of the Eucharist, yet still the use of both parts ought to be universal."

This confession shews that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not the expression of an absurdity, but recognises the possibility of its truth, by the very means which Catholics teach to be the fact, viz. that God by his power either annihilates or removes the bread, placing the body of Christ where it was, and by occasion of this new substance, producing on the senses of those present, the same effects as if the original substance of bread yet remained.

You are aware also that Hospinian produced a letter of Melancthon, dated in 1534, in which he states, and as matter at which he is not pleased, that Luther allowed some Italian Churches to which he wrote, to hold the doctrine of transubstantiation.

You have brought under our view what I already have alluded to, the caution given by Luther in the evening of his days: "I entreat you to read my writings with cool consideration, and even with much pity. I wish you to know that when I began the affair of indulgences, I was a monk and a most mad Papist, I went seriously to work as one who had a horrible dread of the day of judgment, and who, from his inmost soul was anxious for salvation." One would imagine it to be impossible for any person to have better dispositions for pursuing an honest course in examining a theological question,—and the following part of the sentence is scarcely the conclusion for which we would be prepared, after such an introduction. "You will find therefore in my earlier writings, many things of which I do not now approve!" You therefore tell us, that "it will consequently not be difficult to find in the writings of Luther, previous to 1530, some things in favor of errors which he afterwards renounced, and which the church to which he was attached subsequently brought nearer to Scripture truth."

Now Sir, I am about to make a few quotations from his writings previous to 1530, but I apprehend that they only express what he continued to hold and to defend, in and after 1530, and down to the period of his death; and in doing so, I but imitate your example. Your thirtieth paragraph is an extract from Luther's answer to Henry VIII, King of England, written in 1522, and expressing Luther's adherence to the opinion of consubstantiation, and his rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In his book On the Captivity of Babylon (t. ii, f. 66,) he does not condemn the doctrine of transubstantiation, but he prefers the opinion, that the bread is not changed, but that it remains with the body, which is introduced by the consecration. "I permit both the one and the other opinion, I only take away the scruple." This was subsequently to his having written on indulgences and when he had ceased to be "a mad Papist," for it was in 1520. Shall I say that he had then ceased also to have the dread of the day of judgment, and ceased to be anxious for his salvation? In a subsequent writing (*Resp. ad. act. extra.* t. ii, 172) he states, when charged with asserting that the bread remains in the Eucharist, that certainly he does so assert, but, "I do not condemn the contrary

opinion, I only state that it is not an article of faith."

These passages were written previous to that quoted by you against transubstantiation, and I adduced them merely to show the process of his change. Henry answered his book "On the Captivity of Babylon," and dwelt very forcibly on the error of denying transubstantiation. Luther in his rejoinder (*Contra Regem Angl.*) says, "I have taught that it was a matter of no importance whether bread remained in the sacrament or not; but I now transubstantiate my opinion; I say it is an impiety and a blasphemy to hold that the bread is transubstantiated!" this was written in 1523. I believe it was in the same year that he wrote to the Vaudois; "it is true that I believe it to be erroneous to assert that the bread does not remain, although, hitherto this error appeared to me of little importance; but now that we are too much pressed to admit this error, without the authority of Scripture, I am determined, in order to annoy the Papists, to believe that the bread and wine do remain." These passages though written before 1530 were clearly not written when he was "a most mad Papist."

These are not passages "in favor of errors which he afterwards renounced," but they develop the progress from a belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation to denying that it was an article of faith; then, preferring the opinion that the substance of bread remained with the body;—next denying that the opinion of the bread being changed, was innocent or indifferent; and lastly declaring, as he did in the book against "Henry, no longer King, but sacrilegious wretch," "fool" "idiot" "most brutal ass," anathematizing, or, if you prefer it, "cursing him" and all who believe in transubstantiation. It was in the following year that he defied Carlostadius to write against the doctrine of the real presence; to the truth of which he firmly adhered to the day of his death. Yet in 1530 neither he nor any of his associates condemn transubstantiation in the Confession presented at Augsburg.

I therefore repeat, that however the compilers of that document may have opposed the doctrine, it is left untouched by the Confession.

I now proceed, Rev. Sir, to protect our doctrine against the assaults of both Lutherans and Sacramentarians, by using for that purpose, their own united aid. The early Lutherans held the doctrine of the real presence as firmly as the Catholics do. They said however that besides the Saviour's body and blood, the substance of the bread and wine remained in the Eucharist. In a word, they held the opinion of consubstantiation.—We have seen how firmly Luther held to it and condemned the Zuinglians to the end of his life. Fourteen years after his death, and in the very year that Melancthon died, 1560, a Synod held at Jena, in which, I think it was Illyricus who presided, condemned the Zuinglians for their denying the real and substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Calvin called their Lord's supper, on this account, a supper of Cyclops, "at which may be witnessed a barbarity fitting Scythians." (*Opuscul.* pp. 798, 803, 837.) I may easily extend my proofs, and continue them to a much later period. Now Luther states that he found this doctrine in the Scripture, and of his competency to make the discovery, whatever doubts may be entertained by others, he had none, himself; for he tells us in 1525 (*Ad. maled. Reg. Ang.* t. ii, 498.) "I have the Pope in front: I have the Sacramentarians and Anabaptists in my rear; but I will march out alone against them all; I will defy them to battles; I will trample them under my feet." * * * "I will say it without vanity, that for these thousand years, the Scripture has never been so thoroughly purged, nor so well explained, nor better understood than it is at present by me."

I shall now advert to some few of his observations in answer to the arguments of the Zuinglians. He says that to attempt to make such precise and simple words as the Saviour used at the institution of the Eucharist, be looked upon as only figurative, under the plea that there are other expressions in the Scripture which are acknowledged to be figurative, was to open a way to make the whole Scripture, and every statement it contains be reduced to a figure, according to the caprice of every or any individual, and thus would every mystery of religion and every truth of revelation be carried away. This, Rev. Sir, is very like making a prophecy of what we now know to be history, in the Rationalism of Germany, which is but a legitimate consequence of the principle that he sustained for himself, and combats, in others. He says, that we must receive the mysterious doctrine of the Eucharist with the same submission that we receive the other mysteries, not attending to human reasoning nor to the laws of nature but to Jesus Christ and his words only. He then shows that at the institution of the Eucharist, our Saviour did not speak of faith, nor of the Holy Spirit; but said "This is my body," and not, that faith will make you partakers of this body: that the eating of which he speaks is not a mystical eating, but a real eating with the mouth; that without using any sacrament, the union of faith is consummated. (*Serm. de Corp. et Sang. Christi, defens. Verbi Cœna.*

t. vii, 277, 381.) He says that it is not to be believed, that Jesus Christ by such emphatic words as he used did not give to us some thing quite peculiar; that it is evident his intention was to assure us of his gift by giving to us his person: that in desiring us to remember his death or to commemorate him, he does not exclude his own presence: but that he obliges us to receive the body and the blood of himself as of a victim immolated for us: that this victim became ours by eating, that then indeed faith should exist in order to make it profitable for the receiver; but that the word of Jesus Christ would produce its effect independently of the existence of faith in the communicant. He refers to the communion of the unworthy. And he has recourse to the testimony of St. Paul, who after [citing] the words "this is my body" severely condemns those unworthy persons who did not discern that body of the Lord, and who rendered themselves guilty of his body and his blood. He remarks that St. Paul clearly spoke of a "true body" and not of a figurative body, for he censures those persons for having insulted Jesus Christ, not by merely abusing his gifts; but by ill-treating his person.

He took up the objections of the Zuinglians then, to dispose of—"The flesh profiteth nothing!" He asked why they would apply to that flesh which the Saviour took and by which he redeemed the world; those expressions used to censure the carnal sense of persons who did not comprehend the sublime truths of God, of persons who mistook the manner in which Jesus Christ was to give his flesh to be eaten; words that should be understood of those evil Christians who indeed receive the flesh not to their profit, because they receive it without that faith by which they would be truly joined therewith, and by which they would partake of the spirit and life with which that sacrament abounds.

They objected, by asking, What did it profit to receive this flesh by the mouth? He asked what did it profit that the word was made flesh? Could not God have devised other means? Why did he select this mode? He said it was not for us to be God's counsellors, but to be taught by him. We know not his secret ways. It is not for us to prescribe to him the manner in which he will confer his favors, but it is our duty to receive them when offered. They asked, how could the same body, be at the same time in many places? How a perfect human body could be in so small a space? He asked them to explain the other mysteries. The Trinity; the creation; the incarnation; the resurrection of the dead. They objected, that all the miracles of Jesus Christ were obvious to the senses, but that this was not. He asked them where they had learned, that because miracles obvious to the senses had been performed, none not so obvious would ever be wrought. He enumerated several that were not obvious. The conception of Jesus in the womb of the Virgin; Mary would not have known what she bore in her womb, had not the Angel announced to her the miraculous mystery!—When the Saviour walked on the earth as other men did, who could tell that the divinity was personally and corporally united to him! We know that he is now at the right hand of his Father, yet this does not fall under our senses.

They said that they could not comprehend how Jesus Christ could literally execute what he said, if those words of the institution were to be taken in their plain and obvious meaning. Luther answered, that this only showed that human sense is not equal to divine wisdom; that it would be a novelty to discover that nothing could be true, except we should discern it by merely opening our eyes, or finding that it was within the compass of human reason. (*Serm. quod verba stent.*)

Luther felt that his arguments were strong and therefore he gave himself full credit; for he writes (*Ep. Luth. ap. Hosp.* 2, *part. ad an.* 1534, f. 132) "The papists themselves are obliged to give me the credit of having defended the doctrine of the literal sense much better than they did;—and in truth, I am certain that if they were all melted down into one mass they would never be able to maintain it with the strength and power that I do."

I believe then, that it will not be denied that the greater portion of the Reformers, as they are called, during their first half century, or to be more distinct, during the sixteenth century, held with Luther the doctrine of the real presence. They refused to receive into their communion those who denied it; though they charged the Catholics with error in belief, as to the mode of that presence, viz. by transubstantiation, yet they regarded them as holding that doctrine which Christ revealed and which the true Church had always taught, in sustaining that the body and blood of the Saviour were really, truly and substantially present in a mysterious manner in the holy Eucharist.

Were the question then to have been put to the general vote of the Protestants, during the eighty years that elapsed from the denial of transubstantiation by Luther, to the end of that century: "Is the Roman Catholic Church in error, when she teaches that Christ is really, truly and substantially present in the sacrament of the Eucharist?"—the decision

of a very great majority would have been that she was not!

In 1631, whilst the Lutherans still held the very same doctrine, the Synod of Charenton, in France, which was Calvinistic, made a decree, "That the Germans and others who follow the Confession of Augsburg, since the Churches of the Augsburg Confession agree with the others in the fundamental principles and tenets of the true religion; and that in their worship, there is neither idolatry nor superstition, may, without making any abjuration, be received to the holy table, also to contract marriage with the faithful of our Confession, and to present as godfathers, children to baptism, in promising the consistory, that they will never solicit them to act counter, directly or indirectly, to the doctrine received and professed in our Churches, but will be contented with instructing them in the principles wherein we agree."—Thus, at the end of a century after the Lutherans had professed and taught the doctrine of the real presence, and after they had during that century refused to receive into their communion, any persons who would not subscribe their assent to this belief, and still continued that refusal; we have the formal declaration of this Synod of Calvinistic Reformers, that in this belief there is neither idolatry nor superstition; and the persons who hold that doctrine are admitted to their communion. I do not think it going too far then to state that the Calvinists of France did not believe this doctrine of the real presence to be in contradiction to the pure word of God. The Sacramentarians of Zurich had more than a century before made a similar overture at Marpurg and have continued to exhibit the same sentiments ever since. Thus we have the majority of the Protestants testifying that this doctrine is the revelation of Christ; and a very considerable and respectable portion of the minority declaring solemnly, that in this belief there is nothing either idolatrous or superstitious, or that forms an obstacle to those who hold it, being admitted to a full participation of religious ministrations. Thus, at all events, the Church cannot be assailed by those who adhere to the Reformation of the first hundred years for teaching the doctrine of the real presence.

This position being established, I proceed to ascertain the sentiments of large bodies of Protestants of that same century, supposing the truth of this doctrine, for the purpose of examining whether Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation is, in their view, more congenial to Scripture and to reason. Of course I shall not quote Lutheran authority.

Zuinglius and his associates, as early as 1527, proclaimed to Luther that if the literal sense of the words of the institution was sustained, transubstantiation must be a necessary consequence, (*Hisp. ad an.* 1527, f. 49, &c.) They remarked, that Jesus Christ did not say, "my body is here," nor "my body is with this, or under this," nor "this contains my body," but only "this is my body." Hence that what he is to give the faithful is not a substance which contains his body, or which accompanies his body, but it is his body, without any extraneous substance. Neither has he said, "this bread is my body," which was another of Luther's explanations, but by an indefinite term he has said, "this is my body," to show that the substance which he gives is no longer bread, but is his body.

That they were quite right is very obvious, for when Luther attempted to explain the words "this is my body," to mean "this bread is really and without figure my body," he actually destroyed the meaning of words. They showed that it could not be his body, if it was bread, neither could it be bread if it was his body; though his body might have the appearance of bread, and be denominated from its appearance to be, not what it really was, but that which it seemed to be. It may also be said that bread becomes the body, as at Cana water became wine by a substantial change. Zuinglius and his associates, however, proved against him that it was a senseless effort at reasoning to assert that bread being really what it appeared to be, was also really and truly the body of our Lord, and concluded that he must admit with them only a mere moral change, or admit a change of substance with "the Papists," for, Rev. Sir, they were accustomed to call nicknames!

Beza, at the conference of Montbeliart, also tells the Lutherans that of the two explanations which hold to the literal sense, "that of the Catholics departs least from the words of the institution of the supper, when they are to be expounded word for word." "The transubstantiators say, that by virtue of the divine words, that which before was bread having changed its substance, becomes immediately the body of Jesus Christ, so that in this manner the proposition, *This is my body*, may be true. But the explanation of consubstantiators saying, that the words *This is my body*, signify my body is essentially in, with or under this bread! does not inform us what that bread has become, and what that is which is the body, but merely where it is." Hence Beza concluded, that there is far less difficulty of understanding the Catholic expressions, and that they fully sustain the literal sense, if that must be pre-

served.—(*Conf. de Month. imprim. a Gen.* 1487, p. 52.)

In the Synod of Czenger, in Poland, the decision of the Zuinglians (*Lit de Cœna in Syn. Gen. part* 1,) was of course against transubstantiation, but the Synod proceeds to show the Lutheran consubstantiation to be indefensible, "because as the rod of Moyses was not a serpent, but by transubstantiation; and, as the water was not blood in Egypt, nor wine at the marriage feast of Cana, without a change; so the bread of the supper cannot be substantially the body of Christ, unless it be changed into flesh by losing the form and the substance of bread." Thus, if the body of our Lord be really present, it must, according to them, be by transubstantiation.

Amongst the Lutherans themselves, Melancthon clearly saw that the doctrine of the real presence could not be sustained without admitting transubstantiation. He, on that account at last came to say, but in his usual hesitating manner, that as Jesus Christ instituted the Eucharist for man, we must look, not to what was done for the bread, but what was done for man. And, hence, it was supposed that his belief ended in stating that what was in the sacrament was bread, but that at communion the body and blood were really found not in the bread but in man himself, who received them. Hence, in the Assembly that was held at Dresden, in 1561, the Divines of Wittenberg and Leipsic, who were chiefly his disciples, affirm that, if Jesus Christ be present in the bread at the supper, "it would be much more easy for the monks to establish their transubstantiation, than for those to impugn it, who, rejecting it by words, affirmed notwithstanding that the bread was the essential body, that is, the proper body of Jesus Christ." However, after another struggle with themselves, Wittenberg and Leipsic broke through the difficulty without solving it, and held firmly to the teaching of their first master. They professed to believe in the real presence in the bread.

Thus the great body of the Protestants proclaim that Jesus Christ taught the doctrine of the real presence; and, the bulk of the remainder declare that if he did, he must have instituted transubstantiation.

You may look upon this doctrine to be absurd, but it is possible that you have not examined it with sufficient accuracy before you formed this opinion. There are at present in the Roman Catholic Church, in the United States, men respected for their sound judgment, their deep research, their habits of calm investigation, and their acute and accurate powers of discrimination. I do not allude to its clergy, nor to its professed Theologians, I allude to men of other learned professions—to men of science, and to men of common sense. I have the happiness of an intimate personal acquaintance with many of this description, who believe in the truth of that doctrine, as firmly as they do in their own existence: and some of them have adopted it upon close examination, after mature reflection, though they had previously thought of it as you appear now to think. They all understand clearly and distinctly, the precise terms of the doctrine, the meaning of those terms, and also the plain and simple fact, whose truth they believe. It is, Rev. Sir, a little hazardous to assert, that men of this description "have arrived at that state of credulity, that renders them incapable of deciding between truth and error." It is scarcely modest to say this of the first judicial officer of the United States, of one of the most distinguished jurists upon the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, and of several more that I could name. You are rather unfortunate in relying upon the authority of Dean Swift, who, though gifted with genius, was at all times eccentric, and who died after years of confinement in a Lunatic Asylum.

But cast your eyes over the rest of the world and behold the millions who believe this doctrine—you may honestly imagine that they err, but how will you venture to class them with idiots? Look back upon the ages that have passed away:—see the sages and the philosophers and the saints who have held this doctrine, and do you not hesitate to call them fools?—I shall ask you only as to one—and I shall place him by the side of yourself.—Will you claim a precedence over Fenelon? And yet—you have been so thoughtless as to place him in the category of *fools*. There is an unfortunate exhibition of self-sufficiency in the authors who assail us. They write and they speak as if all the genius and information which God bestows upon the human family were on their side, and all the folly, the imbecility and ignorance were with us.

I believe, that we are equally gifted; and the question is not which of us has more or less sense, or information; nor which of us has made best use of the gifts we have received; but it is, whether the Roman Catholic Church, in teaching the doctrine of transubstantiation, has departed from the revelation made by Jesus Christ to his Apostles.—You say that we have, and that Luther and his associates substituted the original truth for the errors of our introduction. I have already afforded some grounds to doubt that they have. You have yourself stated, that having rejected our doctrine, they differed amongst themselves as to what they should

substitute in its stead.—I shall continue the inquiry and remain, Rev. Sir,

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 22, 1838.

LETTER V.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—I did intend exhibiting in my fourth letter the evidence which I was compelled to reserve for this. I shall proceed then to show, that you not only were fully authorized to use the language that you did respecting Calvin, in your 40th paragraph, but much stronger if you thought fit.

Your 40th paragraph is the following—

"Have we not a right then to appeal to the candor and liberality of our Protestant brethren, between whose faith and ours, the difference is so slight that it can scarcely be detected. What if some of our members believe that the spiritual body of their risen and ascended Saviour be present in the sacrament, and after their rejection of transubstantiation it can only be present in a spiritual manner, does our article differ materially from the creeds of other Churches. In the confession of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, we find the following words: 'We confess that Jesus Christ nourishes us in the Holy Supper with his true body and blood, and that he really and verily communicates to us what he therein represents.' (See *Risler's Extracts.*) Calvin in his Institutes, says, 'I therefore maintain, that in the mystery of the Supper, by the emblems of bread and wine, Christ is really exhibited to us; that is his body and blood, in which he yielded full obedience, in order to work out a righteousness for us; by which we may, in the first place, become united with him into one body; and secondly, being made partakers of the substance of himself, also be strengthened by the reception of every blessing." (*Calvin's Institut. Lib.* IV., ch. xvii.)

Now, Sir, if the Hinkelite also rejects transubstantiation, as I presume he does, has he not an equal right to appeal to the candor and liberality of his Lutheran Evangelical brethren?

But leaving him and you to settle that point, as may be most agreable to yourselves, I proceed to show that John Calvin in many places, used language which is fully calculated to sustain the doctrine of the real presence, yet that he reprobates the opinion of consubstantiation, and plainly shows it to be his opinion, that if Christ be really, truly and substantially present in the Eucharist, the doctrine of Transubstantiation is more reasonable than that of Consubstantiation.

The passage, which you quote, is indeed very strong: and if taken by itself without reference to any other part of his writings, would seem to be conclusive. Yet, Sir, you and I know full well, that this great leader in the religious changes of the sixteenth century, not only combated transubstantiation, but also consubstantiation, and the real presence. He also combated Zuinglianism; and it is perhaps one of the most curious inquiries, and one of the most intricate, to search for his opinion respecting the Eucharist. He wrote much on the subject, and at one moment his reader imagines that he has fully comprehended and accurately discovered what Calvin would teach, but at the very instant that this flattering expectation is indulged, the writer by one or two expressions as vague as they are unlooked for and unwelcome, eludes the grasp, and is again abroad upon a wide and pathless plain.

Calvin was, unquestionably, a man of great abilities, who knew the use of words, who wrote well, whose mind was acute, restless, refining and subtle, nor did he undervalue his own qualities. In one of his works he writes, (*Resp. ad Bald.* p. 370.) "To all France is known my irreproachable faith, my integrity, my patience, my watchfulness, my moderation, my assiduous labors for the service of the church; things that from my earliest youth stand proved by so many illustrious tokens. With the support of such a conscience to be able to hold my station to the end of my life, is for me enough." Luther had more genius, more vehemence, more coarseness; but Calvin had more system, more taste, more acrimony; but so far from expecting to find any acknowledgment of this latter quality, we find him assert, after having written with unusual bitterness, "That he was so far from having any gall when he penned those abusive reproaches, that upon perusing his production, he was perfectly astonished how so much harsh language could have escaped him, when he knew his heart to be void of all bitterness." But he imagines that he accounts for it very naturally, when he says, "that it was the heinousness of the subject which furnished him with all those words of reproach, which so spontaneously came forth, that they were ready to break out at every moment: nor is he displeased that those stupid creatures have smarted under his lash, as indeed it may tend to their improvement."

Such was the man, who, viewing the three existing modes of explaining the nature of the Eucharist, undertook to condemn them all, for the purpose of substituting a new one of his own.

In the fourth book of his Institutes, chap. xvii, n. 12, he misrepresents the Catholic doctrine in the following words, "In the first place we must be careful not to dream of such a

presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as the ingenuity of the Romanists has invented; as if the body of Christ were exhibited by a local presence, to be felt by the hand, bruised by the teeth and swallowed by the throat." I shall not now enter upon my explanation. In his next paragraph, n. 13, fully aware of having misrepresented us, he changes his ground. "Deterred by a horror of such barbarous impiety, the schoolmen have expressed themselves in more modest language, yet they only trifle with equal fallacy, and greater subtility. They admit that Christ is not contained in the bread and wine, in a local and corporeal manner." Still, through this whole paragraph, he labors to misrepresent us. In the next paragraph, n. 14, he proceeds,—"Hence proceeded that pretended transubstantiation, for which they now contend with more earnestness than all the other articles of their faith," *** "not that the body is properly made of the bread, but that Christ annihilates the substance of the bread, and conceals himself under its form." Though in his description he has great ingenuity to disfigure and abuse, as well as to misrepresent our doctrine, this last expression may be taken as sufficently accurate. He adds, "It is astonishing that that they could fall into such ignorance, and even stupidity as to promulgate such a monstrous notion in direct opposition to the Scripture and to the doctrine of the primitive Church."

Of the Lutherans, he says, in the same chapter, n. 16, "Others who perceive it to be impossible to destroy the analogy of the sign, and the thing signified, without subverting the truth of the mystery, acknowledge that the bread in the sacred supper is the true substance of that earthly and corruptible element and undergoes no change in itself, but they maintain, that it has the body of Christ included under it." This, is, I believe, a sufficiently fair exposition of the Lutheran opinion. He proceeds to show a sense in which he would not object to this expression, but he says that this is not their sense of the words. He says, "they suppose it to be impossible for them to partake of him any otherwise, than by his descending into the bread." "It is because they cannot conceive any other participation of his flesh and blood, except what would consist in local conjunction and contact, or in some gross enclosure." And in the next paragraph he says of them, n. 17, "They are constrained to confess that the body of Jesus Christ is visible in itself, while, at the same time they say that it is invisibly concealed under the symbol of bread. And yet the promulgators of such monstrous absurdities are so far from being ashamed of their disgrace, that they stigmatise us with unprovoked and enormous calumnies, because we refuse to subscribe to them," by refusing to subscribe to the tenth article of the Confession of Augsburg.

Thus Calvin rejected both Catholics and Lutherans. Let us see what he says of the Zuinglians. Though all who were known by this appellation denied the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, yet they were not all agreed among themselves as to the nature of the Eucharist; and Calvin, therefore, distinguishes them.

In the same chapter, n. 5, he says, alluding to both those who denied the doctrine of the real presence, viz.—the Zuinglians, and to those who taught it, viz. Catholics and Lutherans: "Here it behoves us to guard against two errors: that on the one hand, we may not, by undervaluing the signs, disjoin them from the mysteries with which they are connected: nor, on the other hand, by extolling them beyond measure, obscure the glory of the mysteries themselves. That Christ is the bread of life, by which the faithful are nourished to eternal salvation, there is no man, not entirely destitute of religion, who hesitates to acknowledge: but all are not equally agreed respecting the manner of partaking of him." He then exhibits to us one division of Zuinglians, "For there are some who define in a word, that to eat the flesh of Christ and to drink his blood, is no other than to believe in Christ himself." This will by no means satisfy him, for he immediately adds: "But I conceive that in that remarkable discourse, in which Christ recommends to us to feed upon his body, he intended to teach us something more striking and sublime; namely that we are quickened by a real participation of him, which he designates by the terms of *eating* and *drinking*, that no person might suppose the life which we receive from him, to consist in simple knowledge. For as it is not *seeing* but *eating* bread, that administers nourishment to the body; so it is necessary for the soul to have a true and complete participation of Christ, that by his power he may be quickened to spiritual life." Thus he considers the teaching to be erroneous: but I must avow, that when in the sequel, he proceeds to mark the difference between their doctrine and his own, his expressions are to me exceedingly enigmatic.

In the next paragraph, n. 6, he introduces another division of Zuinglians. "I say nothing at present of those who maintain the Lord's Supper, to be a mere mark of external profession; because I think I have sufficiently refuted their error when treating of the Sacraments in general." He speaks of a third division in the same chapter, n. 7. "Nor am I satisfied with those persons, who, after

having acknowledged that we have some communion with Christ, when they mean to describe it, represent us as merely partakers of his spirit, but make no mention of his flesh and blood, as though there were no meaning in those and other similar expressions: 'That his flesh is meat indeed; that his blood is drink indeed; that except we eat his flesh and drink his blood we have no life in us.' "

From these passages, it is manifest, that Calvin did not believe with the Catholics nor with the Lutherans in the real presence, either by transubstantiation or by consubstantiation, nor did he believe with those Zuinglians, who considered that in eating bread and drinking wine, in the celebration of the Sacrament, they were eating Christ, by believing or having faith:—nor did he believe with others that it was an external profession of faith and confidence in him and in his redemption of us by his death; nor with others, that by partaking of the elements we partook of his spirit, and were enlivened by his faith and animated by his love: but he required that we should eat his flesh and drink his blood, though neither his flesh nor his blood was present in what was eaten and drunk. Thus Calvin introduced a new explanation.

But it is much easier to understand what he did not believe, than what was precisely his doctrine. That he acknowledges some presence of Christ in the Sacrament, we should suppose from his expressions, n. 19. "It is necessary for us to establish such a presence of Christ in the sacred supper, as neither, on the one hand to fasten him to the element of bread, or to enclose him in it or to circumscribe him, which would derogate from his celestial glory." Catholics do not enclose him in it, nor circumscribe him, nor do they fasten him to the element of bread, because they say the bread ceases altogether to be there, at the moment of his arriving where it was. He proceeds, "nor on the other hand to deprive him of his corporeal dimensions, or to represent his body as in different places at once, or to assign it an immensity diffused through heaven and earth which would be clearly inconsistent with the reality of his nature. * * * These absurdities being disclaimed, I readily admit whatever may serve to express the true and substantial communication of the body and blood of the Lord, which is given the faithful under the sacred symbols of the supper; and to express it in a manner implying not a mere reception of it in the imagination or apprehension of the mind, but a real enjoyment of it as the food of eternal life." I know of no words stronger to declare the real and true and substantial presence of Christ than those here used, if the first particle, or what he calls disclaiming the absurdities be omitted. And on the other hand, I know the impossibility of two persons in different places communicating at the same moment, if the real, substantial and true body be present in the communion, unless it be present in different places at the same time. Has Calvin attempted to solve this difficulty? He has in n. 8, told us that Christ was from the beginning the fountain of life: that the life was manifested by his assuming flesh; that man alienated by sin from God, lost the participation of life; that to receive the hope of immortality, he should be received into communion with the incarnate word "resident in our flesh," openly exhibiting himself to our participation. I shall now give his own words. "He also makes the very flesh in which he resides the means of giving life to us, that by a participation of it, we may be nourished to immortality. I am the living bread, says he, which came down from Heaven. And the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world. In these words he shows, not only that he is life, as he is the eternal word, who descended from Heaven to us, but that in descending he imparted that power to the flesh which he assumed, in order that it might communicate life to us. Hence follow these declarations. That his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed, meat and drink, by which the faithful are nourished to eternal life."

In the next paragraph, n. 9, after showing that the flesh of Christ had not this power by nature, but is endued therewith by its union with the divine nature, he proceeds to say "therefore he showed that the fulness of life dwelt in his humanity, that whoever partook of his flesh and blood, might, at the same time, enjoy a participation of life." * * * * * "So the flesh of Christ is like a rich and inexhaustible fountain, which receives the life flowing from the Divinity, and conveys it to us. Now, who does not see that a participation of the body and blood of Christ is necessary to all who aspire to heavenly life?" The remainder of this paragraph continues a sort of a general description of the union of Church with Christ as a portion of his body.

The next paragraph, n. 19, commences—"We conclude, that our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ, just as our corporeal life is preserved and sustained by bread and wine. For, otherwise there would be no suitableness in the analogy of the sign, if our souls did not find their food in Christ; which cannot be the case unless Christ truly becomes one with us, and refreshes us by the eating of his flesh and the drinking of his blood. Though it appears incredible for the flesh of Christ from such an immense local

distance to reach us, so as to become our food, we should remember how much the secret power of the Holy Spirit transcends all our senses, and, what folly it is to apply any measure of ours to his immensity. Let our faith receive, therefore, what our understanding is not able to comprehend, that the Spirit really unites things which are separated, by local distance." * * * * "For which reason the Apostle said 'the cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' Nor, is there any cause to object that it is a figurative expression by which the name of the thing signified, is given to the sign. I grant indeed that the breaking of the bread is symbolical, and not the substance itself: yet, this being admitted, from the exhibition of the symbol we may justly infer the exhibition of the substance, for unless any one would call God a deceiver, he can never presume to affirm that he sets before us an empty sign. Therefore, if by the breaking of bread, the Lord truly represents the participation of his body, it ought not to be doubted that he truly presents and communicates it. And it must always be a rule with the faithful, wherever they see the signs instituted by the Lord, to assure and to persuade themselves that they are also accompanied with the truth of the thing signified. For to what end would our Lord deliver into our hands the symbol of his body, except it be to assure us of a real participation of it? If it be true that the visible sign is given to us to seal the donation of the invisible substance, we ought to entertain a confident assurance that in receiving the symbol of this body, we at the same time truly receive the body itself."

In his next paragraph, he concludes the description of his opinion of the nature of this Sacrament. In it, we find the following expressions: n. 11, "When I intend to give a familiar view of this truth, I am accustomed to state three particulars which it includes: the signification; the matter or substance which depends upon the signification; and the virtue or effect which follows from both. The signification consists in the promises, which are interwoven with the sign. What I call the matter or substance is Christ, with his death and resurrection.—By the effect, I mean redemption, righteousness, sanctification, eternal life, and all the other benefits which Christ conferred upon us." Thus, we at length would seem to have arrived at a declaration, that Christ is the substance of the Eucharist—and this by the secret power of the Holy Spirit. He then proceeds to say, that although Christ is received by faith, he does not thereby mean that he is received merely in the understanding and imagination, and concludes that paragraph with the passage which you have quoted, 40.

I must acknowledge that I do not understand what Calvin teaches or believes, save that it is something between Zuinglius and Luther. Indeed, he tells us himself, n. 7, "If, however, it be possible, in any words, to unfold so great a mystery, which I find myself incapable of comprehending, even in my mind; and, this I am ready to acknowledge, that no person may measure the sublimity of the subject by my inadequate representation of it. On the contrary, I exhort my readers not to confine their thoughts within such narrow and insufficient limits, but to endeavor to rise much higher than I am able to conduct them: for as to myself, whenever I handle this subject, after having endeavored to say every thing, I am conscious of having said but very little, in comparison with its excellence. And, though the conceptions of the mind can far exceed the expressions of the tongue; yet, with the magnitude of the subject, the mind is oppressed and overwhelmed. Nothing remains for me, therefore, but to break forth in admiration of that mystery which the mind is unable clearly to understand, or the tongue to express."

In considering this and similar passages in Calvin's works, I am led to think that this writer had no precise notions upon the subject,—that he neither knew what to believe, nor what to teach respecting the nature of the Eucharist. I do not mean respecting the object of its institution, nor respecting its effects: for upon those two points there is not so much difference, but concerning what was the nature of the sacrament, that is, whether it was mere bread and wine, or if not, what substance did the communicant actually receive. The Catholic plainly said, that it was only the substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, but producing upon the senses the same impression, as if it was bread and wine. The Lutherans of that day, said that it was not only the substance of the body and blood of Christ, but also the substance of bread and wine; but that the latter substances alone made any impression on the human senses. The Zuinglian said that the only substances which were present were those of bread and wine. He said that there was no miracle, but that this observance was instituted for a special purpose, and produced certain spiritual effects. The Catholic and the Lutheran both said that an exertion of the miraculous power of God was necessary, but the Lutheran required probably one miracle more than was required by the Catholic. Calvin rejects the Catholic

doctrine, he rejects that of the Lutheran, and also that of the Zuinglian. What does he say is the substance received? I have deeply read; I have closely examined; I have reflected as well as I could, and I cannot tell.—Nor do I believe he could tell himself, and if any of his admirers can inform me, it certainly will be an addition to the little stock of knowledge that I possess. You tell us that whilst the Reformers agreed in rejecting transubstantiation, they differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead. But Calvin goes still farther, for he rejects consubstantiation and the mere figurative sense, and he appears to me to differ not only with others but with himself as to what he shall substitute in their stead. He too requires miracles to be wrought in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. (*Same chapter*, n. 24,) "But the infamy of this falsehood cannot be entirely effaced, without repelling another calumny: for they accuse us of being so devoted to human reason, as to limit the power of God by the order of nature, and to allow him no more than our own understanding teaches us to ascribe to him. Against such iniquitous aspersions, I appeal to the doctrine which I have maintained; which will sufficiently evince that I am far from measuring this mystery by the capacity of human reason, or subjecting it to the laws of nature. * * * * We say that Christ descends to us, both by the external symbol and by his spirit, that he may truly vivify our souls with the substance of his flesh and blood. He who perceives not that many miracles are comprehended in these few words, is more than stupid; for there is nothing more preternatural, than for souls to derive spiritual and heavenly life from the flesh which had its origin from the earth, and was subject to death; nothing is more incredible than for things separated from each other by all the distance of heaven and earth, notwithstanding that immense local distance, to be not only connected but united, so that our souls receive nourishment from the flesh of Christ. Let those fanatics, then, no longer attempt to render us odious by such a calumny, as though we in any respect limited the infinite power of God; which is either a most stupid mistake or an impudent falsehood."

In n. 31, he writes of Catholics and Lutherans,—"They are exceedingly deceived, who cannot conceive any presence of the flesh of Christ in the supper, except it be attached to the bread. * * * * * * The only question between us, therefore, respects the manner of this presence; because they place Christ in the bread, and we think it unlawful for us to bring him down from Heaven. Let the reader judge on which side the truth lies. Only let us hear no more of that calumny, that Christ is excluded from the sacrament, unless he be concealed under the bread. For as this is a heavenly mystery, there is no necessity to bring Christ down to the earth, in order to be united to us." (No. 32.) "If any one inquire of me respecting the manner, I shall not be ashamed to acknowledge, that it is a mystery too sublime for me to be able to express, or even to comprehend; and to be still more explicit, I rather experience it than understand it. Here therefore, without any controversy, I embrace the truth of God, on which I can safely rely. He pronounces his flesh to be the food, and his blood the drink of my soul. I offer him my soul to be nourished with such aliment. In his sacred supper he commands me, under the symbols of bread and wine, to take and eat, and drink, his body and blood: I doubt not that he truly presents, and that I receive them."

I could multiply quotations not only from his Institutions, but from his Catechisms and other works, placing in a more forcible way his declarations leading to believe a real, true and substantial presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, by the mysterious and miraculous power of God, at the time of communion. I could adduce a great many of his arguments and vituperations against consubstantiation. But this letter has already swollen too much. I shall therefore only exhibit one or two of his declarations upon this latter subject.

In the same chapter, xvii, n. 16, he says of some Lutherans, "by placing the body itself in the bread, they attribute ubiquity to it, which is incompatible with its nature."—After remarking on this he says, n. 17: "Some plead with a little more subtility, that the body of Christ which is given in the sacrament, is glorious and immortal, and that therefore it involves no absurdity, if it be contained under the sacrament in various places, or in no place, or without any form." Calvin assails their position only by an effort to distinguish the glorious and the mortal body into different substances. The only difference between this division of Lutherans and Catholics on this head is, that the former say that the substance of bread and wine remain, whilst the latter state, that the substance alone of Christ remains, producing the same sensible impressions, as if bread and wine continued.

In n. 20: Calvin again assails the Lutherans on their effort to hold to the words of the Institution. "Those who acknowledge the continuance of the bread in the supper, and affirm that it is accompanied with the real body of Christ differ considerably among

themselves. Those of them who express themselves more modestly, though they strenuously insist on the literal meaning of the words, *This is my body*, yet afterwards depart from their literal precision, and explain them to import that the body of Christ is with the bread, in the bread and under the bread. * * * * But if they object to every trope, and insist on taking the words in a sense strictly literal, why do they forsake the language of Christ and adopt a phraseology of their own so very dissimilar? For there is a wide difference between these two assertions, 'that the bread is the body,' and that 'the body is with the bread.' But because they perceived the impossibility of supporting this simple proposition, 'that the bread is the body,' they have endeavored to escape from their embarrassment by those evasions. Others more daring, hesitate not to assert, that in strict propriety of speech, the bread is the body; and thereby prove themselves to be advocates for a truly literal interpretation." You will observe that Catholics and others who teach the doctrine of transubstantiation, hold that there being no bread, the proposition which Calvin here combats is absurd, but the argument which follows, of course, has no application to their doctrine. Calvin continues—"If it be objected then that the bread is Christ, and Christ is God, they will deny this, because it is not expressed in the words of Christ. But they will gain nothing by their denial of it, for it is universally admitted that the whole person of Christ is offered to us in the sacrament. Now it would be intolerable blasphemy to affirm of a frail and corruptible element, without any figure, that it is Christ. I ask them whether these two propositions are equivalent to each other: *Christ is the Son of God*, and *Bread is the body of Christ*." It was after a similar train of argument that he concludes, n. 23, by the following observation—"at the same time, as if their victory consisted in obstinacy and calumny, they charge us with accusing Christ of falsehood, if we inquire into the true meaning of his words."

"Now it will be easy for the reader to judge how unjustly we are treated by those syllable-hunters, when they persuade the simple to believe that we derogate from the authority due to the words of Christ, which we have proved to be outrageously perverted and confounded by them, but to be faithfully and accurately explained by us." Luther in order to sustain, better as he thought, the doctrine of the real presence by consubstantiation, maintained in 1527, the doctrine of Ubiquity, or that the body of Christ is every where, though invisible, except in heaven: hence, that it was present in the sacramental bread,—though upon this principle, it was equally present in any bread or any meat. This was strenuously upheld in 1559, by Illyricus, Westphalus, James Andrew, Smeidelin, Chytræus and other eminent Lutherans. It was his dislike of ubiquity that caused Melancthon to seek an union with Calvin. It was then the doctrine of a large portion of Lutherans when Calvin wrote as follows in the same chapter of his Institutes, n. 30: "It is evident that some persons would rather incur the greatest disgrace by betraying their ignorance, than even relinquish the least particle of their error. I speak not of the Romanists whose doctrine is more tolerable, or at least more modest: but some are so carried away with the heat of contention as to affirm on account of the union of two natures in Christ, that wherever his divinity is, his flesh, which cannot be separated from it, is there also." Thus, supposing the truth of the real presence, Calvin saw that the doctrine of the Catholics was more conformable to the letter of the Institution, and to the true nature of Jesus Christ than was that of the Lutherans.

We are not, however, to expect constant and consistent adherence to such or similar declarations. I repeat then, that although I can understand the teaching of the Catholic Church, that of the Lutherans, and that of the Zuinglians, yet I am perfectly unable to form any distinct and clear notion of Calvin's opinion, nor whether he had any precise, positive notions on the subject of the Eucharist himself.

Thus in n. 10 he writes—"We conclude, that our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ, just as our corporal life is preserved and sustained by bread and wine." It is certainly by receiving food into our bodies, and its being as it were transfused through them, that our life is sustained; hence he says: "Now that holy participation of his flesh and blood, by which Christ communicates his life to us just as if he actually penetrated every part of our frame, in the sacred supper he also testifies and seals, and that not by the exhibition of a vain and ineffectual sign, but by the exertion of the energy of his spirit, by which he accomplishes that which he promises." Whereas in n. 31 he writes, "I candidly confess that I reject that mixture of the flesh of Christ with our souls, or that transfusion of it into us which they teach: because it is sufficient for us that Christ inspires life into our souls from the substance of his flesh, and even infuses his own life into us, though his flesh never actually entered into us."

I believe, Rev. Sir, that I have now made

it sufficiently plain, that at the period that those gentlemen whom you call Reformers, rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, they could not say, if our Saviour did not teach that doctrine, what it was that he did really teach concerning the nature of the Eucharist.

I have, Rev. Sir, the honor to be,
Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 1, 1838.

LETTER VI.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—Protestants frequently boast that their religion existed before Luther, not only, as some of them have said, in the Bible; but, as others say, in the Confessions of Faith of various Churches, whose existence may be traced for centuries before Luther was born. Indeed, we are furnished with a few specimens, which, if we were less acquainted with the laws of criticism, and had most of our historical documents destroyed, would seem to show that the Confession of Augsburg was not the first good Protestant enumeration of doctrinal propositions: and, our sympathies are enlisted on behalf of a variety of sufferers, whom the tyranny and bigotry of the Roman Catholic Church, it is said, had persecuted for professing the true doctrine of Christ, during centuries before either Luther or Zuinglius saw the light.

I am not, Rev. Sir, one of those who would strip persons claiming such ancestry of all their pretensions. I am perfectly ready to admit the force of their demand, to a considerable extent. Do they say that before the days of Luther there were separatists who charged the Church of Rome with error and apostacy? I acknowledge that there were. And, if I attempted to deny it, I should be easily refuted and exposed. Do they assert that these separatists held the same doctrines which Protestants teach at present? I am free to avow that there are very few tenets in which Protestants differ from the Catholic Church, for which difference one or the other of these sects could not be claimed as a predecessor. But, if you ask, did any one of them hold exactly the same tenets that are now held by any division of Protestants? I answer: Certainly no! And, I go farther, and say, that neither Luther, nor Zuinglius, nor Calvin, either undertook or intended to find any Church in existence, to which he would unite himself. Thus, though Protestants did not, in leaving the Catholic Church, unite themselves to any that was in existence, but formed new societies, still all their teachings were not new. They agreed in many of their opinions with the Church that they had left; they revived many which seemed to have been abandoned, and they agreed in others with some remnants of existing sects that still survived in opposition.

I propose, then, at present, as we have glanced at the history of the doctrine regarding the Eucharist from the dispute at Jena, between Luther and Carlostadius, in August, 1524, to the close of that century; to go back and trace an outline of the teachings against transubstantiation, from the beginning of the Christian era to the period of Luther's secession from the Church.

Be not alarmed, Sir, the review will not be tedious! I assume, as I trust I shall at a future day demonstrate, that the teaching of the Saviour was the doctrine of Transubstantiation. I shall not, just now, dwell upon the fact, that its truth was contradicted even before the institution of the Sacrament, by those persons of whom it is related by the Evangelist, (*St. John* vi, 53,) "The Jews, therefore, disputed amongst themselves, saying, how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" 61, "Many of his disciples hearing it, said, this saying is hard, and who can hear it?"—and, 67, "Many of his disciples therefore from this time left him, and went away, and walked no more with him." I shall look for incredulous disciples, after the period of his ascension and of the descent of the Holy Ghost.

You are aware that from a very early period in the schools of Asia, of Egypt, and of Greece, men were led away by a vain philosophy into a variety of systems, which bewildered the human mind, and carrying man into the regions of fancy, subjugated the understanding to the power of the imagination. Amongst the first professors of Christianity, in the very days of the Apostles, were men of this description, the first efforts of whose speculative and restless minds were to explain the doctrines of the Saviour by the principles of their systems, and to substitute their own opinions for the simple testimony of their religious teachers. Proud of their supposed knowledge, they gloried in the name of *Gnostics*, and undertook to demonstrate by philosophy what the body of believers received as mysterious truths, delivered by God for their information, not for their discussion. A considerable portion of those persons looked upon bodies to have been created by the principle of evil, they forbad marriage, and they considered Jesus Christ to be so perfectly pure and holy, that they taught that nothing which appertained to him was the production of the evil one—therefore that he had no body, but that in a phantasmatic appearance he showed himself to men, as if he had flesh. They denied the truth of the Incarnation. Of them, St. John

wrote, (*Ep.* 1, ch. iv, 1–4)—"Dearest, do not believe every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they be of God: for many false prophets are gone into the world. In this is the spirit of God known; every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ came in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that dissolveth Jesus is not of God: and this is Antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh and he is now already in the world."

It was against them also the same blessed evangelist subsequently testified in his Gospel, (i, 14,) "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." Of those same persons, St. Ignatius the Martyr, writes in his epistle to the people of Smyrna—"They admit not the eucharist, nor oblation, for they do not believe the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins and which the Father in his benignity raised from the dead." Their first error was the denial of the reality of Christ's flesh, upon the principle that bodies were the production of the evil principle. They consequently denied the reality of its presence in the Eucharist; they rejected its oblation in the mass—and they had neither Eucharist nor oblation. They considered the use of marriage criminal, as tending to the procreation of bodies, they consequently forbad to marry. They regarded some creatures as the products of the evil principle, and commanded a perpetual abstinence from some meats, as also from wine, not looking upon them to be the creatures of the good principle, whereas the Apostle St. Paul informs us that they are created by God, and to be used with thanksgiving, for *every creature* is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer. (1 *Tim.* iv. 4, 5.)

We shall find this philosophy extending its influence in various regions of the Christian Church during many ages. This was its first development amongst the disciples: but in the persecutions which the Church had soon to endure, heresy made but little havoc whilst the Gentiles raged.

Manes, from whom the Manicheans are called, was born in Persia, in or about the year 240 of the Christian era; his education was good; he was one of the Magi or philosophers of the country, well versed in the principles of Zoroaster; though indeed for upwards of three centuries before, many of those who professed to follow the teaching of this patriarch of ancient science, lost sight of his great principle; for, by the *Zend-Avesta*, it is plainly seen, he taught that the principle of good and the principle of evil were created, being produced by *the unbounded time*, that is, *the eternal God*—and were not themselves eternal, self-existent gods, one of whom was essentially good, and the other essentially evil. Manes received many of his principles from the works of an Arab named Scythian, or his disciple Buddas, perhaps from both: some writers assert that he became a Christian and was ordained priest; but St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, who flourished but little better than half a century after his day, dissents from this assertion.

Be that as it may, he studied the Christian Scriptures deeply, and having adopted the opinion of the existence of two eternal, independent beings, one infinitely good, the other infinitely evil, he ranged a goodly number of Bible texts in formidable array to support this position. We have still the record of a public dispute upon the subject in the year 277, between him and Archelaus, Bishop of Charcar or Cascar, in Mesopotamia. It was printed in Rome in the collection of Zacagni, in 1698, and was evidently the document from which Socrates, the historian, drew his information. Manes, after the conference, finding his lofty pretensions destroyed, retired from Mesopotamia; and in Persia had many disciples, who carried his teaching to India, Egypt and Syria, to which places it was for some time confined. It would be as difficult to say into how many sects the Manicheans divided, as it would be now to enumerate the divisions of sub-divided Protestantism: and their divisions and distinctions created so great a diversity of opinions as soon to become as perfect contradictions as we have seen to exist, so far as regarded the Eucharist, between Zuinglianism and original Lutheranism; hence we do not pretend to say that all Manicheans held what one division of Manicheans taught, any more than we would pretend to say that all Protestants teach the doctrine of Consubstantiation.

Many of them held the principles of the Phantasmatics, whom St. Ignatius denounced. Indeed, your own historian, Mosheim, lays it down as a grand principle of Manes himself. (*Century* iii, *part* ii, *chap.* v. § vi.) "In obedience to his divine command, Christ appeared among the Jews, clothed with the shadowy form of a human body, and not with the real substance." He also shows that the *elect* of the sect were, in consequence of the supposed production of many creatures by the evil principle, placed under that interdict which the Apostle St. Paul describes in his first Epistle to Timothy, iv, 3. (*Cent.* 3, *part* ii, *ch.* v, *sec.* x.)

"The elect were obliged to a rigorous and entire abstinence from flesh, eggs, milk, fish, wine, all intoxicating drink, wedlock, &c."

Thus the real presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was denied by the greater number of the Manicheans, though several of them often were found to present themselves even in Catholic Churches to receive the Eucharist under the form of bread only, which made it, for a time, necessary to order that communion should be refused to those who would not also receive it under the form of wine, unless they were persons well known to the clergyman, and that he was satisfied their declining to receive the chalice did not arise from Manichean error.

Most of the Manicheans, upon the same principle, detested images; they considered such representations to be contrary to the statement that Christ had no real body. One division of them substituted for the Eucharist some rite which is called "abominable." Others said that Jesus Christ was the bread of life, according to his own declaration; that he also said, man lives not by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God, and thus, that eating his flesh and drinking his blood, meant only receiving the doctrine which proceeded from his teaching, and believing in him or having faith.

The beginning of the seventh century saw Mohammedanism commence, and before the lapse of fifty years it was formidable. The Mussulman hated and destroyed the images which he found in Christian lands. The Jew united in this hatred and reproached the Christians with idolatry. The Manichean entered fully into their sentiments. Iconoclasm or the breaking of images commenced. Leo, the Isaurian, a rough, unpolished soldier, springing from the ranks to the throne, was also ambitious of being a legislator for the Church, and his successor, Constantine Copronymus, followed in his steps. In 754, in the midst of the violences of this turbulent oppression, a number of bishops were forced to assemble at Constantinople and to sustain the edicts of Leo and of his son. The decisions of this assembly were rejected by the Church. In 787, by the exertions of the Empress Irene, and by the authority of Pope Adrian, the Second Council of Nice was assembled. In the sixth action of this council, the proceedings of the assembly of 754 were read by Gregory, Bishop of Neocesarea, who was admitted upon repentance, he having been one of the great leaders of the delinquent party at that assembly. The extract read by him as the last in Tom. iii, exhibited the Eucharist as the only proper image of Jesus Christ, Την ἀληθὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα, so that the Eucharist was said by them not to be the flesh of Christ, but the image of Christ. The refutation of the passages by the council, was read by Epiphanius, the Deacon, in which we find the following, οὐκ εἶπε: λάβετε, φάγετε τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματός μου. *He does not say, take and eat the image of my body, &c.* But the council, after quoting the words of the Saviour and of St. Paul, proceeds to advert to the testimony of the fathers in the preceding ages, and condemns the Iconoclasts.

In the seventh century, the Paulicians, who had a Manichean origin, became remarkable in Armenia for their denial of the real presence, or rather their rejection of the Eucharist.

But in the next century, about the year 810, this sect, driven from Episperis, took refuge in Antioch, and were after a time divided under Sergius and Baanes, by whose names they were known, and made a bloody war, each against the other, until they were reconciled by the intervention and exertions of one Theodotus, or Theodore. They had now spread over a large region and were specially acceptable to the Mohammedan Saracens, who began to grow at this period into great importance. The chief cause of this attachment was the hatred which the Paulicians bore to the use of images among the Christians and their iconoclast fury, which was also cherished and encouraged by the Mussulman, as we have seen before. The Paulicians were with great severity persecuted by Theodora in 841; great numbers of them perished, but Cerbas, one of their leaders, exasperated by the death of his father, collected about 4000 of the remains of the sect and joined the Saracens, in union with whom he made dreadful ravages upon the Greek territory, and often caused Constantinople to tremble. At length, Chrisochir, the leader of this band, was, after many years, slain in a bloody and disastrous battle, and the wreck of this force took refuge in Bulgaria.

About the beginning of the 10th century, a considerable number of them passed from Bulgaria towards the West, and entering Italy, made settlements in many spots of Lombardy. Here they did not so openly proclaim their principle of two Gods, but taught freely their opinions regarding the incarnation, the Eucharist, images, &c. They also introduced criminal habits, whose nature is known by the very name of the region whence they migrated into Europe.

In the process of that century, their opinions were carried into many parts of France, so that in 1020, some Canons of Orleans were found steadily attached to them. They prevailed most in Provence and Languedoc, but they spread even into England and penetrated Germany.

Having traced the progress of the Gnostic opinion, I now come to see other persons, who, without any connexion with the Manicheans, contradicted the doctrine of the Church on this head. The first I can find is John Scot Erigena, the preceptor of Charles the Bald, in the latter part of the ninth century. This, you are aware, is not the celebrated John Duns Scot, but one infinitely beneath him in talents and information. He had but few adherents, nor did his authority weigh much.

We have, a little after, the work of Ratram or Bertram, in the time of Charles the Fat, 886—which was refuted by Paschasius Rhadbert, Abbot of Corbie. Upon this occasion, there was much discussion even amongst those who believed the doctrines of the Church, as to the precise accuracy of an expression of Paschasius.

Berengarius or Berenger, Archdeacon of Angers in France, reading the work of Paschasius, got perplexed, and in the year 1047, denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, though he appears to have admitted that of real presence. He frequently retracted and relapsed—but he appears to have died in the communion of the Church.

Guitmond, Archbishop of Aversa, who wrote against him, informs us, respecting his followers, "They all agree in saying that the bread and wine are not essentially changed; but they also differ, in that some of them deny that there is present anything of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, but that the Sacrament is only a shadow, a figure; others, yielding to the reasons of the Church, yet without quitting their error, say that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are in fact contained in the Sacrament, but concealed by a sort of impanation, so that we may be able to receive them; and they say that this is the most subtle opinion of Berenger himself: others believe that the bread and wine are changed in part: some sustain that they are changed entirely, but that when they who are unworthy present themselves for communion, the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ take back the nature of bread and wine." (*Bilioth. PP. contra Bereng.* p. 327.)

Thus we have exactly the same exhibition of confusion, contradiction, doubt and perplexity as we found in the 16th century.

It is now quite unnecessary to enter farther upon the subject, save summarily to give the names of those whom history exhibits, as special leaders of the Manicheans that we have seen spread in Europe. Peter, the Abbot of Cluni, informs us of the opinions of Peter de Bruis about the year 1140; from him some of them were called Petrobrussians. Many of them who were examined upon the subject at Lombez, a little town near Alby, in 1176, clearly exhibited their Manichean principles. In truth they rejected the Eucharist altogether, as did the division which was examined at the Council of Oxford, in England, in 1160. "Sacrum baptisma, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes." Is it said that they erred concerning the Eucharist? No, Sir, but as the most of the Manicheans of the latter five centuries, they rejected it altogether—and few, if any, held the opinions of Berenger in the year of which I write.

The Albigenses were also Manicheans, and rejected the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

John Wickliff, in 1370, denied transubstantiation, held the real presence, is supposed to have subsequently denied it and retracted. Whether sincerely or hypocritically, he again embraced the doctrine of the Church and died in its communion.

Some persons state that Wickliff's writings induced many of the Bohemians to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation even previous to the days of Luther, but I believe there is no evidence of the fact that they did so deny it; when the point shall be established, it will be time enough to seek the cause. Neither did the Vaudois err on this point.

And now, Rev. Sir, I come down to that period when, in the midst of a variety of disorders, the best and greatest men avowed, that from a variety of causes, great relaxation of discipline had prevailed in the Church, many disorders needed powerful and speedy remedy, gross crimes were left unpunished, scandalous vices were connived at, and the prevalence of a worldly spirit in the sanctuary, loudly proclaimed the necessity of a great moral reformation; but the faith of the Church was uncontaminated: and Luther and his associates, instead of confining their efforts to the correction of the acknowledged evil, by leaving the doctrine untouched and exerting themselves to cause the practice to conform thereto, united together to break down the barrier which separated truth from error, and added their own speculations to the floating mass of error, so that from that day to this, many well disposed persons are rendered unable, amidst the confusion which surrounds them, to discover any mode of being extricated from the mazes and the uncertainty of their wanderings.

May we, Sir, be aided to seek for truth and not for victory, is the prayer of your obedient,

B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 15, 1838.

LETTER VII.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

REV. SIR,—I shall now proceed, without entering very extensively upon the proofs, to lay before you some of the reasons why the Roman Catholic divines teach, that the body and blood, soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ are really, truly and substantially present in the holy Eucharist, and are so present by transubstantiation:—that is:—that though the sensible qualities continue unchanged, yet that a substantial change takes place, by the substitution of the body and blood of Christ for the bread and wine.

As a Catholic, I have one, to me very sufficient reason, which is as conclusive as it is short and simple, viz. We know the nature of this sacrament only from the teaching of Christ. He taught its nature to those who were the first members of that tribunal which he established to testify his doctrine to all ages and nations. He appointed that tribunal to be the witness of what he thus taught; that witness still subsists and testifies: I receive its testimony; through that I learn from Christ, the nature of the sacrament. Upon his authority, I believe in the real presence by transubstantiation.

But however, this may suffice for me, it will not be perhaps amiss, to show to others, that the foundation upon which our divines rest their teaching, is not so utterly ridiculous as you desired to exhibit it, when you wrote, (*par.* 25):

"Among persons of plain common sense, especially among Protestants, it is scarcely necessary to expose the absurdity of this doctrine by serious argument. Our own senses give us the most positive evidence of its untruth: we see, we feel, we taste, and smell, that what was bread and wine before consecration is bread and wine still. If a man can once bring his mind to believe such a doctrine, he must have arrived at a state of credulity that will render him incapable of deciding between truth and error. 'It is a doctrine,' as Dean Swift says, 'the belief of which makes every thing else unbelievable.' And before an audience, like that which has favored us with their attention this evening, it is unnecessary to enter into those arguments which reason suggests, and the evidence with which the Scriptures abound, to prove its absurdity and error."

I have already shown that the senses give evidence only of the sensible qualities of bodies, but that they give no evidence of the nature of the substance itself. You have, as many others have done, confounded the evidence which they give, with the inference which you make from that evidence.

I have already shown, that amongst Protestants, nothing is more correct than what you wrote, (*par.* 36,) that having rejected transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead,—and that from the days of the Apostles to the present day, it would be useless to go to Gnostics, Manicheans, Berengarians, Petrobrussians, Wickliffites, or any division of Protestants, to learn what is the nature of this sacrament, for "they had all their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity."

I have also shown that as little philosophic difficulty is to be found opposed to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, as to Schmucher's doctrine of consubstantiation. So that the absurdity with which our doctrine is charged, is not a whit greater than may be found in that which appears to merit your own approbation.

Catholics have, at all events, a doctrine which is plain and intelligible, precise and consistent. Now we shall see what they consider to be its scriptural evidence.

One of the doctrines which Catholics proclaimed against the Manicheans, was, that the same God was the author of both Testaments; the old and the new: for the Manicheans taught that the Old Testament and the Mosaic institutions emanated from the evil principle, but that the New Testament and the Christian institutions were derived from the good principle.

Hence the Apostle St. Paul tells us, (*Coloss.* ii, 17,) respecting the Mosaic institutions, that they "are a shadow of things to come," which he more fully explains in *Heb.* x, telling us "the law hath a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things,"—and to the same intent he writes of some occurrences stated in the history of the Hebrew people, (1 *Cor.* x, 6,) "Now these things were done in a figure of us," and, in the same chapter, again, ver. 11. "Now all these things happened to them in figure." Thus it has been, from the beginning, a doctrine of the Church, that a vast portion of the occurrences of the old law, and nearly all its observances were typical, not only of the redemption by the Saviour, but also of the institutions of Christianity.

Thus the enslavement of Israel in Egypt, typified the subjugation of the human race to the enemy of our God:—and the liberation of this people shadowed forth our redemption. The Paschal lamb of a year old, figured Christ in the perfection of his age: as this lamb was without blemish, so was the Saviour without sin; this lamb was slain on the 14th day of the first month towards evening, which corresponds with the day on

which the Saviour was put to death;—the lamb was to be slain without breaking a bone thereof:—the evangelist relates, (*John* xix, 33, 36,) that when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs,—and he further says, "these things were done, that the Scripture might be fulfilled: You shall not break a bone of him," and this passage is found in Exod. xii. 46, directing the mode in which the lamb was to be slain. The blood of the lamb exhibited upon the door posts, saved the Israelites from the destruction which the Angel inflicted upon the Egyptians, who were not partakers of the saving effects of this blood;—thus clearly showing, how by the efficacy of the blood of Jesus the redeemed people are saved from the ruin that must come upon those who are not made partakers of its benefits. Need I follow up the figure, by exhibiting the people redeemed from bondage, signifying the enlargement of the children of Adam from the thraldom of Satan; their going out loaded with the spoils of Egypt, significant of the enrichment of the Christian people by the spiritual favors conferred upon them as they proceed to that true region of their eternal inheritance, concerning which it was promised, that they should therein obtain a lasting and glorious habitation?

Many similar instances to this may be adduced.

Now the Catholic divines teach that this Paschal lamb was a figure of Christ, and St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, v. 7, makes a beautiful allusion to this belief, where having reference to the rite which accompanied the observance of the Jewish solemnity, by which all leaven was cast out from the houses during the celebration, he says, "purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new mass, as you are unleavened: for Christ our Pasch is sacrificed."—And they further say, that unless we do really eat the true flesh of Christ, this figure never has been carried out to its fulfilment:—because the children of Israel were commanded to eat of the flesh of that lamb, by whose blood they were saved. (*Exod.* xii. 8.)—"And they shall eat the flesh that night roasted at the fire, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce."

Thus they say the figure is; that the Israelite was saved by the blood of a lamb slain on his behalf, without a bone being broken in its body, and he was to eat the flesh of that lamb by whose blood he was saved. This observance of eating the flesh of the lamb was to continue a perpetual ordinance as long as the law of this religion should be in force;—and the Israelite upon the recurrence of the solemnity, was to eat the flesh of the lamb that was slain and sacrificed, and the flesh was to be eaten, amongst other reasons, in remembrance of the redemption. (*Exod.* xii, 14.) "And this day shall be for a memorial to you: and you shall keep it a feast to the Lord in your generations, with an everlasting remembrance." The fulfilment is: that Christ is the true lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world, (*John* i, 29.) That he was slain for our sins, without a bone being broken in his body, xix, 33. That we are redeemed by his blood, and that we are commanded to eat the flesh of that lamb by whose blood we are saved, (*Matt.* xxvi, 26)—of that lamb that was slain and sacrificed on our behalf. (*Luke* xxii, 19.) And that this is a law to be observed as long as the Christian religion shall continue. (1 *Cor.* xi, 26.) That his flesh is to be eaten, amongst other purposes, in remembrance of the redemption which has been achieved by his death and sacrifice. "Then Jesus said to them; unless you eat of the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day, for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As the living father hath sent me and I live by the father; so, he that eateth me, the same also shall live by me." (*John* vi, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.) "Take ye and eat: This is my body." * * "Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins." (*Matt.* xxvi, 26, 27, 28.) "And taking bread, he gave thanks, and brake and gave to them saying: This is my body which is given for you: Do this for a commemoration of me." (*Luke* xxii, 19.)

The reasoning of Catholic divines then is as follows: The Paschal lamb was a figure of Christ in his atoning death and in the redemption of his people. It was also a figure of the Eucharistic institution.—However some of our opponents say that it was not a figure of the Eucharist: but that the Eucharist is also like the lamb, a figure of Christ's death, and of the redemption of his people.—Nothing could be a more vivid and striking figure of that death and of this redemption than the slaying of that lamb and the saving of the people from destruction by its blood. Now let us suppose the Eucharist to be only a figure. That figure consists in eating bread and drinking wine, and recollecting that Christ died for us.—Which is the better, the more vivid, the more striking, the more instructive, the more significant ceremony?—Will any one hesitate to prefer

the Mosaic to the Christian?—Yet such cannot be the case; because a fundamental principle of the Christian religion is, that the Mosaic rites were but faint emblems of the Christian institutions.—"Now all these things happened to them in a figure:" they are only "a shadow of things to come." "The law having a shadow of the good things to come not the very image of the things." The Mosaic institution here would be the very image, whilst the Christian institution would be scarcely the shadow. Thus, if the Eucharist be only a figure of Christ and of his redemption, we must abandon one of the most clearly established, and one of the most universally admitted, and one of the most uniformly received and unquestioned principles of Christianity, viz. that the figures and the institutions of the old law were but imperfect and shadowy emblems of the institutions of the new law.

Again, one of the principal actions of the Mosaic rite was that of eating the flesh of the lamb, by whose blood salvation was obtained. Unless the Paschal lamb was a figure of the Eucharist, this action had no object. The slaying or sacrificing of the lamb had its object in the death of Christ, by which he was sacrificed upon the cross:—the salvation by blood had also its appropriate object in the effect produced by the blood of Christ applied to the souls of men. But take away the Eucharist in which Christ tells them "Take and eat: this is my body,"—and where are we to find the object of that figurative action which consisted in eating the flesh of the lamb slain and sacrificed for the purpose of redemption?

It would be an useless display to quote the list of early and eminent writers in the Church who have proclaimed that the Paschal observance was a figure of the Eucharistic institution. I shall not exhibit that array but shall content myself with shortly explaining what is exhibited in the Gospel to sustain this point. Indeed it may be done in one line; Jesus Christ substituted the Eucharist amongst Christians for the Paschal lamb of the Hebrew. For on the night that he was betrayed, he told his disciples to prepare for the celebration, and informed them how ardently he desired to eat this Pasch with them before he suffered, (*Luke* xxii, 15,) because that typical observance was now to be fulfilled in the new institution which it prefigured and which he there substituted for the Egyptian rite, by giving to them in the new banquet, the flesh of that lamb sacrificed for the redemption of the world, by whose blood the sins of that world were taken away and his chosen people saved from the destroying angel. "Take ye and eat; This is my body."

Thus unless the Christian did, in the Eucharist, receive, to be eaten, the flesh of Christ the lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world, this ancient figure has not been by any means, fulfilled.

Thus if in the Eucharist there be only a figure to show forth the death of the Saviour, that figure is far inferior to the one possessed by the ancient Hebrew.

But if in the Eucharist, there be truly, really, and substantially the flesh of the lamb by whose blood we are redeemed, of that lamb that was slain without breaking a bone in his body, of that lamb without blemish that was sacrificed for our deliverance; and we are commanded to eat that flesh; then is the reality substituted for the shadow, the figure is fulfilled to the utmost perfection, and the Christian institution surpasses that of the Israelite to an inconceivable extent.

Thus, Rev. Sir, we believe that as the evangelist declared, they did not break his legs, "that the Scripture might be fulfilled: You shall not break a bone of him," (*John* xix, 36,) so we should have his true flesh in the Eucharist, that the Scripture might be fulfilled. "And they shall eat the flesh." (*Exod.* xii, 8.) For though the heavens and the earth should pass away, that word will not fail. (*Matt.* xxiv, 35.)

Thus St. Augustin, bishop of Hippo, said in his second book against the letters of Petilian c. 37: "One thing is that Pasch which the Jews celebrate in the flesh of a sheep: another that which we receive in the body and blood of the Lord."

This however is not the only figure given to us in the Old Testament, though it be a principal and a striking one. There is another, bearing a considerable similitude thereto; and to which St. Paul draws our attention in chapter ninth of his Epistle to the Hebrews. In that place he, in a full and forcible manner, exhibits that principle to which he gave expression in his Epistle to the Colossians and in the 10th chapter of this same to the Hebrews: that the occurrences and rites of the old law shadowed forth and prefigured the facts and the institutions of the Christian religion. Beginning at the 18th verse, we read as follows: "Whereupon, neither, was the first indeed dedicated without blood. 19, For when every commandment of the law had been read by Moses to all the people, he took the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop; and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people. 20. Saying, this is the blood of the Testament which God hath enjoined unto you. 21. The tabernacle also, and all the vessels of the ministry, in like manner, be

sprinkled with blood. 22. And almost all things, according to the law are cleansed with blood; and without the shedding of blood there is no remission. 23. It is necessary, therefore, that the patterns of heavenly things should be cleansed with these: but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these."

Thus St. Paul shows us that the blood which was sprinkled upon the book of the law and on the people by Moses, was far inferior to what it prefigured,—was but a pattern of heavenly things, that indeed, it shadowed forth the "blood of Christ, who, through the Holy Ghost offered himself without spot to God to cleanse our consciences from dead works, to serve the living God." (*Heb.* ix, 14.) It was not the figure of a figure, but it was the type of the reality, that is of the blood of Christ with which "he entered into the sanctuary, having obtained eternal redemption,"—(*verse* 12,) viz. the remission of sins.

The Apostle has reference in this place chiefly to the transaction related in Exod. xxiv, 4. "And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rising in the morning he built an altar at the foot of the mount, and twelve titles, according the twelve tribes of Israel. 5. And he sent young men of the children of Israel, and they offered holocausts, and sacrificed pacific victims of calves to the Lord. 6. And Moses took half of the blood and he put it into bowls: and the rest he poured upon the altar. 7. And taking the book of the covenant, he read it in the hearing of the people: and they said; all things that the Lord hath spoken, we will do; we will be obedient. 8. And he took the blood, and sprinkled it upon the people: and he said: This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words." Thus, this blood of the Old Testament in which the covenant was established between God and his people, and in which consecration was made, (*Exod.* xxix,) showed forth, figuratively, the blood of Christ by which remission of sins was to be obtained.

We now turn to the Gospels to discover the Christian institution, and in Matt. xxvi, we read that the Saviour at the institution of the Eucharist, 27, "taking the chalice, he gave thanks; and gave to them saying: 'Drink ye all of this: 28. For this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins.'" Thus does the Saviour himself distinctly exhibit the object which this figure shadowed forth, viz. the blood of the New Testament, which should be shed for the remission of sins, and which he then gave in the Eucharistic institution. That is, the blood of himself who alone is the propitiation for our iniquities. St. Mark thus relates it, (xiv, 23:) "And having taken the chalice, giving thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. 24. And he said to them: This is my blood of the New Testament which shall be shed for many." St. Luke thus relates it, (xxii, 20.) "In like manner the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the New Testament in my blood which shall be shed for you." As the Old Testament was confirmed in the blood of calves, and other victims, so the New Testament which was shadowed by the rites of the old, was confirmed in the blood of Christ which was shadowed by the blood of those victims.

Our early witnesses carry out the comparison to this effect. Moses published the law as God's precept to the people, and then sprinkled them with the blood of the victims. The Saviour, on this occasion, publishes his new commandment, (*John* xiii, 34:) "I give you a new commandment: that you love one another; as I have loved you that you love one another:"—and he scatters his blood amongst them, by giving it to them to drink from the chalice. The blood of the Old Testament was that of calves and goats; the blood of the New Testament is that of Christ, our true victim. The Mosaic law is the Old Testament, the shadow and the type in the figurative blood; the Christian law is the New Testament, the substance and the reality, in the true blood of the Redeemer.

They farther remark, that a testament was always made before death, but it is only by death, as the Apostle writes that it becomes of force. (*Heb.* ix, 16.) "For where there is a testament, the death of the testator must of necessity intervene. 17. For a testament is of force after men are dead: otherwise it is not yet of force, whilst the testator liveth." Hence the ancient figure of the testament in blood referred to the Eucharistic institution, where the Saviour yet living and free, before many witnesses, leaves in this sacrament the most precious legacy to his children—which New Testament of the Saviour is made of force by his death, thereby confirming to us for ever and irrevocably, the legacy of this institution which is our most valuable inheritance.

In this view every thing is consistent; all the parts are in harmony; the ancient figure is far beneath the modern institution. But let us say that in the Eucharist, we have not the blood of the New Testament: we shall have only emblematic wine as a token that Christ shed his blood for us. How far inferior this to the ancient figure in which a victim was slain and blood was shed, and

sprinkled upon the people, to signify that by it they were cleansed?

But the Saviour by his own expression shows that the blood of the Old Testament foreshowed the Eucharistic institution. He calls that his blood of the New Testament—or the New Testament in his blood. Then upon the Protestant supposition the former blood is a type of the modern wine and the wine is a figure of the blood of Christ, and is a better figure of it than was that ancient blood!—And of this wine the Saviour says, it is my blood which shall be shed for the remission of sins. If it be not the blood of Christ, the Saviour has in the most solemn manner used most inappropriate expressions; he has given to us a more inadequate figure than was given to the ancient Hebrew people; and the shadow which to them exhibited in this case, a good thing to come, has never been produced by a substance, but had reference to another shadow,—even less perfect than itself. And for what purpose are we to destroy the analogy which so beautifully pervades both testaments? Merely to be able to say, that when the Saviour declared "This is my blood," he really meant "This is not my blood, but it is wine!" And what will be gained by this assertion? Nothing. For when you deny the truth of transubstantiation you are absolutely at a loss to know what you shall substitute in its stead, and your leaders, your confession-makers, your doctors, and your preachers, have exhibited to the world, upon this topic, a mass of expressions, generally unintelligible, frequently contradictory, seldom having any definite meaning; and in those of them which can at all be grappled with, there may be traced considerable shades of difference and of obscurity.

I shall now exhibit another of those ancient occurrences that manifestly shadowed forth the Eucharist itself—omitting the testimony of a host of the most venerated witnesses during the first ages of our religion; I shall open the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians,—and begin the tenth chapter. "1. For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud and all passed through the sea: 2. And all in Moses were baptized in the cloud, and in the sea." Thus does he show again the application of that principle to which I have previously adverted, and which he lays down in the 6th verse of this chapter, and finely establishes in so many instances. After having shown the figures of baptism, he proceeds to show those of the Eucharist. 3. "And they all eat the same spiritual food. 4. And they did all drink the same spiritual drink." In this place he alludes to the manna, and to the water which flowed from the rock (Christ) which was stricken, and this is but a preparation for his treating of the doctrine of the Eucharist, which he does in the subsequent part of the chapter, (v. 15, &c.,) and thus the Apostle shows us that the manna was a figure of the Eucharist. 1. The manna was given to those who had been under the cloud and who had passed through the sea; the Eucharist is given only to those who have been baptized. 2. The manna was given to the children of Israel, whilst they sojourned in the desert, on their way to the land of promise; the Eucharist is given to Christians during their pilgrimage through this world to the regions of bliss promised to them by the Saviour. They who gathered the manna had sufficient when they gathered less and no residue when they gathered more, (*Exod.* xvi, 18.) In the Eucharist that which is received, is the same, whatever may be the apparent size of the sacrament that you feed upon. The pious and learned men of the early days of Christianity dwell upon many other points of similitude, such as, that both were miraculously produced. That both were a subject of doubt and of contradiction to the carnal man. Thus (*Num.* xx, 13,) &c., the waters which are by the Apostle joined in the same figure with the manna, are called "the waters of contradiction," and (*Num.* xxi, 5:) The people say, "our soul loatheth this very light food,"—but their murmuring and unbelief are more clearly exhibited in the account given in Psalm lxxvii, 19. "And they spoke ill of God: they said: Can God furnish a table in the wilderness?" And concerning the Eucharist we read in John vi, 53: "The Jews therefore debated among themselves saying: How can this man give us his flesh to eat." 61. "Many therefore of his disciples hearing, said: This saying is hard and who can hear it."

We, however come to view what the Saviour himself teaches. After the miraculous multiplication of the five loaves, related in John, chapter vi, the Jews refer in ver. 31 to the manna: saying of it, "He gave them bread from Heaven to eat." 32. "Then Jesus said unto them: Amen, Amen, I say unto you: Moses gave you not bread from Heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from Heaven." 33. "For the bread of God is that which cometh down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the world," v. 49, "Your fathers did eat manna in the desert; and they died." 50, "This is the bread descending down from Heaven: that if any one eat of it, he may not die." 51, "I am the living bread which came down from Heaven." 52, "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever: and the bread which I will give

is my flesh for the life of the world." Now, when we consider the above, in connexion with the other passages of this chapter previously quoted, there can be no question but that the Saviour himself, even more distinctly than St. Paul did, announces that the Eucharist was foreshadowed by the manna; and was as infinitely superior to the manna, as that which has a heavenly origin is to that which has not.

Let us then, for a moment, suppose the Eucharist to be merely bread and wine, figuring the body and blood of Christ. It will be manifest to the plainest capacity that the Eucharist is far inferior to the manna.

1. The manna if not formed by Angels, was at least said to be their food, for in the Psalm lxxvii we read 21, "And he rained down manna upon them to eat, and he gave them bread from Heaven." 22, "Man ate the bread of Angels: he sent them provisions in abundance." (*Wisdom*, xvi, 20,) "Instead of which things thou didst feed thy people with the food of Angels, and gavest them bread from Heaven prepared without labor: having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste." Whereas, upon the Protestant supposition, the Eucharist is substantially no more than bread produced from corn, and wine expressed from the grape.

2. The manna came from Heaven, not indeed the place of God's glory, from which the Saviour descended, but from regions superior to this earth, and probably was furnished by Angelic ministration. Upon the Protestant supposition, the Eucharist is a product of this earth, fashioned by bakers and by brewers.

3. The manna miraculously accommodated its taste to the gratification of every palate of the obedient Israelite. Whilst upon the Protestant supposition, there is no miracle in the Eucharist, nor is it substantially more than ordinary food.

4. Now if we look to signification, there can be no question, but that the manna descending from a higher region for the purpose of nourishing the Israelite, better represents the descent of the Son of God from Heaven, to nourish the true believer, than upon the Protestant supposition, the same is figured by eating bread produced by the culture of the soil.

I shall follow it up no farther, because I am convinced that what I have written is sufficient to show that upon the supposition that the Eucharist is substantially bread and wine, and not the body and blood of Christ, the figure of the manna, the figure of the blood of the Old Testament and the figure of the Paschal lamb are infinitely more noble, more expressive, more significant, more striking and more instructive than is the figure of bread and wine. But neither the testimony of St. Paul, nor the spirit of Christianity, nor the manifest object of the Mosaic rites, nor the express declaration of the Saviour would permit this conclusion; therefore the principle which inevitably conducts thereto must be false. But that principle is, that the Eucharist is but a symbolic representation, which contains substantially only bread and wine and not the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

I shall proceed, Rev. Sir, in my next to examine other ancient types of this holy sacrament.

I have the honor to be,

Yours, &c., B. C.

LETTER VIII.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—I proceed to the consideration of another type of the Eucharist; under the impression which exists in the minds of many Catholic theologians, and commentators on the holy Scriptures, that the figure exhibited by God, in this case, has never, and can never have its completion, except the Saviour has left us his body and blood, soul and divinity, truly, really and substantially, under the appearance of bread and wine, in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist.

We read in the 14th chapter of the book of Genesis, according to our version, the following passage: "18. But Melchisedech the King of Salem, bringing forth bread and wine, for he was the priest of the Most High God, 19, blessed him and said: 'Blessed be Abram by the Most High God, who created heaven and the earth. 20. And blessed be the Most High God, by whose protection the enemies are in thy hands.' And he gave him tithes of all." This is all the account of Melchisedech in the records of the Old Testament. Nor does his name again occur therein, save in one passage of the Psalm cix, which we shall have subsequently to consider.

The question which in the first instance presents itself to us, is, whether the above translation is accurate. The English Protestant versions have, in the latter part of the 18th verse, the word *and* where we have *for*, thus, "bringing forth bread and wine, *and* he was a priest." The importance of the point arises from the question, as to what was the object of producing the bread and wine. Was it merely to refresh Abraham and his troops on their journey? Or was it, also, for the purpose of sacrifice? In the first supposition, the bread and wine would have no connection with the priestly character of Mel-

chisedech; and we may say, he brought out bread and wine to refresh the soldiers: it would matter nothing to read, *and* he was a priest, or, *and* he was not a priest; for his character of priesthood would be immaterial in that case. In the second supposition, there would be an intimate connection between the bringing of the oblation and the character of the offerer; for the bread and wine would be brought out not only to refresh the troops, but also to be offered by Melchisedech in sacrifice, *for* he was a priest; and this was his oblation or victim.

So far as regards the sacrifice, I believe it matters very little which expression we use, because there will be abundant evidence thereof, whether the particle be *and* or *for*. Yet it is well to see upon what ground the word *for* is retained.

The Syriac Bible is not the original, but a version of considerable authority; it gives us the passage "Melchisedech, the King of Solim brought out bread and wine: and this person was the priest of the Most High God." Thus, this which is an ancient version, though it asserts the fact of bringing out the bread and wine, and the fact of the priesthood, yet does not use the particle which shows the connexion between both facts, but neither does it deny their connexion.

The Arabic is a paraphrase, and is in many places loose in its expressions. In this place, it does not give us the proper name of the priest, but it gives us the interpretation for the name. "And, the King of Justice, King of Solim, brought out food and wine to him, 'and he was himself a priest of the powerful High One." This does not give us a connecting causal particle, nor does it deny such a connexion, though it appears more favorable to the object of the bringing out the bread and wine to be food, for the purpose of refreshment. The fact, however, of the priesthood of Melchisedech is plainly asserted, nor is there any denial of the sacrifice.

The Chaldaic paraphrase is like the Arabic, rather loose, and does not assume to be a literal translation. It has not the causal connecting particle, but it does not deny such a connexion, and it also gives us the two principal facts. "And Melchisedech, the king of Jerusalem, brought thither bread and wine; and he was a minister before the High God."

I need not, Sir, I suppose, remind you, but it may be necessary to inform most of my readers, that this Chaldaic paraphrase was made after the Babylonish captivity, when the people had lost the knowledge of the ancient language of their fathers, and therefore, that it is not, upon your principles, an original work, but a loose translation. I respect it, however, very highly.

The Arabic is generally considered by the Easterns to be a very early and excellent paraphrase, but of course is not an original—perhaps it is not very easy to trace a copy of it higher than the third or even the fourth century of Christianity.

The Syriac is the most ancient of the above, and would be of great weight, were we certain of having an exact copy of the older version, which is said to have been made by Solomon, or under his inspection, for Hiram, King of Tyre, so far as the Pentateuch and some other books are concerned: other books of the Old and some of the New Testament are said to have been translated under the inspection of the Apostles, especially of Thaddeus.

We now look to a few other copies: and first to the Vulgate, or ancient common Latin version, in use from the earliest days of Christianity, and that which the Church has considered to have been the best preserved. This version coming down from the Apostolic age, gives us the causal particle—"for he was the priest of the Most High."

We have the same, equivalently in the Septuagint, or ancient Greek copy, taken in the time of Eleazer, for Ptolemy Philadelphus. In this we read, ἦν δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου. "but he was a priest," &c.

The Hebrew, or what has come down to us for the Hebrew original, has the particle, which, according to St. Jerom, and the best and most erudite of those who give its perfect meaning is "for he was the priest," &c.

The Samaritan translation is by many considered to be one of the best preserved and most authentic of those early copies, made about 770 years after Moses, and about the same number of years before the Christian era. This has the causal particle in the very strongest form. "But Melchisedech, the King of Salem, brought out bread and wine, because he was himself the priest to the Most High God."

Thus, Rev. Sir, we have no evidence against the fact of his bringing out the bread and wine because of his being a priest, but we have evidence of his doing so for that cause. It is, then, going a little too far, as some Protestant writers do, to assail us for preserving that mode of expression which from the beginning has been found in what we received as the genuine word of God, from the hands of the Apostles.

Having said so much respecting the particle, I shall now examine the facts related. The kings who carried off Lot and the victuals, and other substance of the kings of

Sodom, &c. (*Gen.* xiv, 10, 11, 12,) having been overcome by Abram, he brought back all the booty and the prisoners (16) and was met by Melchisedech, who was a priest of the Most High, as was Abram himself; the only facts related of this priest are, 1. That he brought forth bread and wine; 2. That he blessed Abram; and, 3. That Abram gave him tithes of all. There is a peculiarity of this man, also, which it is necessary to remark, viz. that no mention is made of his lineage, nor of his genealogy. In what, then, did his priesthood consist? St. Paul informs us, (*Heb.* v, 1,) "For every high priest taken from among men, is appointed for men in the things that appertain to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins." Melchisedech's priesthood, then, must have consisted in "offering up gifts and sacrifices"—not merely in blessing, which is the prerogative of parents, rulers and others besides priests; nor in receiving tithes, which were also partaken of by the Levites, who were not priests; and which were not received by our great high priest, Jesus Christ. What other act of Melchisedech's then remains? None other than the bringing out of bread and wine. Either then his priesthood must have consisted in offering this only as a sacrifice, which we find to have been peculiar to him, amongst all the priests of those ancient times, or it must have consisted in his making similar offerings to those of Abram or Aaron and of his descendants; which, if true, would give no peculiar character to his priesthood. But the whole context of the Scripture requires that there must be for his priesthood a character essentially peculiar, and in striking contrast with that of Aaron, and of Abram himself. Their offerings were in blood. Our divines say that his was in bread and wine; such was the testimony of the whole host of early Christian expositors of the Sacred Scriptures.

Now, the word which is translated "bringing out," as referred to the bread and wine, is used in many places of the Old Testament to describe, bringing out for sacrifice. It is therefore asserted, that the fair, natural meaning of the passage is, that Melchisedech bringing out bread and wine for the sacrifice, for he was a priest of the Most High God, made the offering, and then blessed Abraham, and received from him his gift of tithes. This, indeed, would be a strong peculiarity, distinguishing the priesthood of Melchisedech from every other. Nor does this contradict the assertion, that the soldiers partook of the offering; for it is, on the other hand, natural to suppose that they did; and probably they did: because, on such occasions, they who attended at such a sacrifice, especially if it was offered on their account, became communicants therein, by partaking of the victim or of the oblation.

That Abram needed not refection for his soldiers, is evident from two passages of the context: the first showing that they had abundance of provisions; the second showing that they had partaken of them. In the sixteenth verse we see that all the booty was recovered; and in the eleventh we find that all the provisions of the Sodomites, and of the Gomorrhites formed a part thereof: and again in verse 24, we find that Abram, whilst he refuses to accept from the King of Sodom any compensation, yet states that he will make no payment for the provisions which his soldiers had eaten. They had, therefore, abundance of provisions, and had partaken of them; and had no need of the provisions of Melchisedech, as mere food, for ordinary refreshment. This, our divines, after the example of the ancient Christian expositors, exhibit as the correct meaning of this passage in Genesis, xiv. But Melchisedec brought out the bread and wine for sacrifice.

We next come to Psalm cix, or according to you, cx. The royal prophet, David, writes, "The Lord said to my Lord: sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool." In Matt. xxii, 44, Mark xii, 36, and Luke xx, 42, the Saviour shows that this Psalm regarded himself. The 4th verse of that Psalm is, "The Lord hath sworn and he will not repent. Thou art a priest forever, according to the order of Melchisedech." Thus, it was manifest that Christ was a priest according to the order of Melchisedech, and that his sacerdotal action must be exhibited in that peculiarity which distinguished this priest from all others. I have already shown what that peculiarity was. But, as several Protestant writers, fully aware of the force which this reasoning has, have sought to destroy its foundation, I shall go through the difficulties which they have endeavored to raise, previously to my winding up the argument by its full application. I have already adverted to the effort made to sever the connexion between the priesthood of Melchisedech and the fact of his bringing out the bread and wine, by destroying the causal particle. I have shown, that whatever that particle may be, there is no denial in the relation there given, of the fact of sacrifice, and I have shown, moreover, that in the greater number of readings and in those entitled to the highest consideration, the particle establishes the connexion: and I have also shown that there was no necessity for bringing out food for refreshment, though on such occasions eucharistic sacrifice was almost a matter of course, as is known to every one at all acquainted with the customs of the age and

of these regions. I may add to these considerations the fact, that amongst the early Christian writers upon the subject, there is a mass of evidence to show that the offering of the bread and wine in sacrifice by Melchisedech was considered to be as certain as was that of his existence.

St. Paul, in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews, referring to the same passage of the Psalm, informs us that Christ is called by God a high priest, according to the order of Melchisedech; and in vv. 11 and 12, he says of this same Melchisedech, "of whom we have great things to say and hard to be intelligibly uttered: because you are weak to hear. For whereas for the time you ought to be masters; you have need to be taught again what are the first rudiments of the word of God: and you are become such as have need of milk, and not of solid food."

Thus the Apostle shows that he is unable to explain fully to those to whom he writes, all that regards this personage, and the difficulty arises from their imperfect knowledge of the Christian law: so that he can only treat with them of its rudiments, which he calls milk, and not of its higher mysterious truths, which he calls solid food. We are not then to expect from the Apostle, in this place, the full development of those more sublime doctrines which were hard to be intelligibly uttered; yet we will see that he proceeds by several topics to establish what he sought to prove, viz. that the priesthood of Christ, according to the order of Melchisedech, excels the Aaronitic priesthood. This he effects in the seventh chapter. His first topic is, because Abraham paid tithes to Melchisedech, therefore the latter is greater, (vv. 2, 4, 5, 6.) His second topic is, that Melchisedech blessed Abraham, (v. 7.) His third topic, that Melchisedech is emblematic of an eternal existence, (vv. 3, 8, 16, 24.) His fourth topic, that Christ was made priest with an oath, (v. 21.) His fifth topic, that the Saviour, by one oblation, perfected all, (x, 14,) as we read of but one bringing out, made by Melchisedech. These topics show, indeed, a superiority, but with the exception of the fifth topic, not even one of them alludes to what was the sacrifice offered by either Melchisedech or by Jesus Christ. And, St. Paul informs us, not only in the fifth chapter, to which I have previously referred, but also in chapter viii, 3, "For every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is necessary that he also should have something to offer." The sameness of their priesthood is found in the similarity of their offering. And, St. Paul does not advert to this topic throughout his entire Epistle. This is then that "great thing" which he had to say, and "hard to be intelligibly uttered," and, therefore, he avoids entering upon its explanation to this weak people, though he adverts to it, by saying, that they are not fit to receive this solid food being "unskilful in the word of justice"—being "as little children"—and thus manifestly shows that he does not give a full explanation, nor enter upon the higher topics, but upon such as they who were "unskilful in the word of justice," could easily understand and appreciate: he is, then, satisfied with giving them milk, that is, proving the superiority of Christ's priesthood over that of Aaron, by the lesser topics which I have enumerated; and which contained very little that required more than the mere rudiments of the Christian doctrine, to comprehend their force; but he does not give them the solid food of the more sublime and mysterious truth, "because they were become weak to hear," and, "had need to be taught again what are the rudiments of the word of God."

Calvin acknowledges, of course, that "this mystery," or the high priesthood of Christ, "had long before been prefigured in Melchisedech, whom the Scripture has introduced once as 'the priest of the Most High God,' but never mentioned him afterwards, as if there had been no end to his life. From this resemblance, Christ is called a priest after his order." (*Institut.* b. iv, c. 18, s. 2.) Calvin does not tell us any thing here which is great or hard to be intelligibly uttered; on the contrary, he tells us what is very simple, and easily conveyed to the most humble capacity. He states a little further on, "Melchisedech gave bread and wine to Abraham and his companions, to refresh them when they were fatigued on their return from battle." * * "Moses praises the liberality of the pious king: these men (Catholics) presumptuously fabricate a mystery of which the Scripture makes no mention." I am under the impression that the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews is a portion of Scripture, and a portion of that Epistle referring to Melchisedech is, "of whom we have great things to say, and hard to be intelligibly uttered;" and this is certainly making mention of a mystery! Calvin proceeds, by stating that the Catholics "varnish their error with another pretext, because the historian immediately after says, 'and he was the priest of the Most High God.' I answer, they misapply to the bread and wine, what the Apostle refers to the benediction, 'For this Melchisedech, priest of the Most High God, met Abraham and blessed him,' from which the same Apostle, than whom it is unnecessary to seek for a better expositor, argues his superior dignity, 'For without all contradiction the less is blessed by the better.' But, if the offering of Mel-

chisedech had been a figure of the sacrifice of the Mass, is it credible, that the Apostle, who discusses all the minutest circumstances, would leave forgotten a thing of such high importance?"

In the first place, I think the Apostle himself gives the reason for his not discussing the sameness of the priesthood, when he discusses the rudiments, "because it was hard to be intelligibly uttered," because there was a necessity of teaching these persons "rudiments," instead of "great things."

Again, Calvin flies from the passage in Genesis to that of the seventh chapter of St. Paul, which he affects to quote, but which is garbled in his exhibition. He quotes the passage as describing a perfect and complete act, whereas, in the original such is not the meaning. The whole passage is this: "1, For this Melchisedech, (King of Salem,) priest of the Most High God, (who) met Abraham (returning from the slaughter of Kings,) and blessed him; (2, to whom also Abraham divided the tithes of all; who, indeed, first by interpretation, is King of Justice, and then also King of Salem, that is King of Peace; 3, without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but likened to the Son of God)." I have here marked within crotchets those parts which Calvin omits. The reader will then perceive that, by garbling the text, he gives some of the words but not the meaning of the Apostle; for he makes a perfect sentence where the Apostle had not concluded his description; and he causes that perfect sentence to convey to the reader the notion that this priest showed his sacerdotal power, merely in blessing Abraham; whereas, the blessing is but one of a number of circumstances which enter into the description of Melchisedech; and, the whole of what I have thus given, is still but an unfinished sentence, which is concluded and made perfect by the following verb and object, "continueth a priest for ever;" so that the passage of St. Paul is not "Melchisedech blessed him," but "Melchisedech, who blessed him, continueth a priest for ever."

But, it may be asked, why Calvin fled from the text of Genesis? I would answer, that he abandoned it for the very same reason that he garbled the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The text of Genesis is, "18. But Melchisedech, the King of Salem, bringing forth bread and wine, (and) (for) (because) he was the priest of the Most High God, 19, Blessed him, and said," &c. Calvin writes, "because the historian immediately after says, 'and he was the priest of the Most High God,' I answer that they misapply to the bread and wine, what the Apostle refers to the benediction." We have seen that the Apostle did not refer it to the benediction. Now, to show that our divines do not misapply it to the bread and wine, it will perhaps be sufficient to observe that at the termination of what is given as the 18th verse, the Hebrew has that mark which shows the close of the sense, or the completion of a paragraph; and thereby it applies the fact of the priesthood to the bringing out of the bread and wine, by placing both in the same sentence; and it separates the same from the blessing, by placing the statement thereof in a separate sentence. Nor is it the Hebrew only which does this; the same is the case in the Septuagint, in the Chaldean paraphrase, in the Latin of St. Jerome, in the Arabic, and in the Syriac. I will not undertake to assert that it was the consciousness of this, which made Calvin fly from the book of Genesis to the clipping of St. Paul; but, I know that the Polyglot of Le Jay, and other editions, afford evidence of the fact which I state. I trust that I have sufficiently met the efforts to destroy the testimony which the sacred volume furnishes, that Melchisedech offered bread and wine in sacrifice; that this was the principal distinctive character of his priesthood; and that this his priesthood was figurative of that of Christ, not only in his exhibition of its duration, and in having made but one offering, but also in that offering having been made in bread and wine; and that it was greater than the priesthood of Aaron, as was proved by his blessing the progenitor of Aaron, who was himself a patriarch and a priest, and who bore Levi, the parent of the Aaronitic priesthood, in his loins; by his receiving also from him the homage of tithes; and by the other circumstances to which I have adverted.

The whole of the ancient writers concur in this with St. Clement of Alexandria, who, in lib. 4, Strom., writes, "Melchisedech, the King of Salem, the priest of the Most High God, who gave sanctified bread and wine as refection, in type of the Eucharist:" they agree with St. Cyprian, who, in lib. 2, Epist. 3, ad Cœcil, writes, "for who is more a priest of the Most High God, than our Lord Jesus Christ; who offered sacrifice to God the Father, and offered that same which Melchisedech had offered, that is, bread and wine; to wit, his own body and his blood?"

Thus, our divines say, that Christ must be a priest according to the order of Melchisedech, whose priesthood consisted in offering bread and wine only, in contradistinction to the Aaronitic priests, whose chief offerings were slain victims, and whose sacrifices were perpetually continued by the immolation of distinct and separate victims; whereas, the

Saviour, by offering only one victim, consummated all—Heb. x, 14. "For by one oblation he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." The one oblation, they say, is no other than his own body and his blood, because it is only by their sacrifice that we have the means of redemption. How, then, is he a priest according to the order of him who offered bread and wine? Clearly, because by placing his flesh and blood under the appearance of bread and wine, he makes the oblation only of his body and his blood, but they being under the appearances of these elements, he is a priest according to the order of Melchisedech. His own words are related by the Evangelists. St. Matthew thus records the institution, (xxvi, 26,) "And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread and broke, and gave to his disciples and said: Take ye and eat: This is my body. 27. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks; and gave to them saying: Drink ye all of this. 28. For this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins." St. Mark writes, (xiv, 22,) "And whilst they were eating Jesus took bread, and blessing, broke, and gave to them and said: Take ye; this is my body. 23. And having taken the chalice, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. 24. And he said to them: This is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many." St. Luke states, (xxii, 19,) "And taking bread, he gave thanks, and brake, and gave to them saying: This is my body which is given for you; do this for a commemoration of me. 20. In like manner the chalice also, after he he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you." St. Paul also, in 1 Cor. xi, gives us a similar account. Thus, by the plain declaration of the Saviour, we have, under the appearance of the bread, his body, which is given in sacrifice for us,—and under the appearance of wine, that blood which is shed for the remission of our sins,—and thus is Christ our Lord, a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech, who offered bread and wine, and who gave it in communion to Abraham and his soldiers, in token of the manner in which, under the appearance of bread and wine, Christ Jesus was to give his body and blood to his Apostles. Upon this same principle, also, we find the flesh of the lamb is delivered to be eaten by those who are redeemed by his blood:—we see that [the] blood of the New Testament is sprinkled amongst those who have bound themselves to the observance of the law; and we discover in this heavenly food that true bread which came down from heaven; this living bread which descended from heaven, not when Israel journeyed in the desert, but when the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us. "And the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world." (*John* vi, 52.)

Thus, Rev. Sir, unless Christ makes the oblation under the appearance of bread and wine, he is not a priest according to the order of Melchisedech. And if he offers any thing besides himself, he is not the priest who makes only one oblation; because whatsoever he should offer, besides himself, would be distinct from himself; it would be something separate, and would be an additional oblation. But, according to the Catholic doctrine, every thing is easy, natural and consistent. Melchisedech offers bread and wine. Christ makes only one oblation, viz. his body and blood under the appearance of bread and wine; the figure is fulfilled, the oblation is single, every circumstance upon which St. Paul dwells is also fully carried out. The text in Genesis xiv suffers no violence; the words of the Evangelists, or rather of Christ, have their full natural signification, our explanation is in full accordance with the exact fulfilment of the other divinely given figures which shadowed forth and foreshowed the sufferings of Christ and the institution of the Gospel.

And now, Rev. Sir, for what purpose are we to forego all this consistent and natural interpretation which is in the most strict accord with the doctrine and interpretation of the early witnesses who testify to the faith of the primitive Christians? Is it not equally possible for God, by occasion of the body and blood of the Saviour, to produce upon our senses similar impressions to those usually produced by bread and wine, as it was in various times of which the Scriptures contain the record, to produce upon the senses of multitudes by occasion of the angelic substance, the same impressions as if men were there? Surely his hand is not shortened. Neither did he deceive those persons; for he subsequently informed them that the beings who bore human appearance were truly, really and substantially angels. Nor does he deceive us, because he forewarns us, that after the consecration which we witness, that which to us will bear the appearance of bread and wine, will be truly, really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of Jesus Christ. And if any philosophic difficulty should present itself, which is not the case, against the real presence of this body in its supernatural and sacramental, and if I may use the term, spiritualized state of existence, whole and entire in several places at the same moment, that difficulty, Sir, would be of just as much force

against yourself and your friend Schmucher, and your consubstantiation. What, then, I ask, would be gained by our cutting away from the anchor of our faith? by giving up transubstantiation? You have already told us, and I thank you for it. We should unfortunately be at a loss what to substitute in its stead; all the teachers to whom you would refer us, have "their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as of obscurity."

You must excuse me, Rev. Sir, for dwelling so long upon the topic of the Eucharist; but really I had no intention of thus trespassing when I commenced; however, I must avow, that I was weak enough to feel a little provoked at the supercilious manner in which you treated this doctrine in your paragraphs 24 and 25; and it struck me, that it would be no harm to show you and others, that although we are so credulous and absurd, though we could not lay claim to as much "plain common sense" as either Dr. Bachman or Dean Swift possessed, nor to as much of this rare quality as is to be found "especially among Protestants"—yet that it would be well, even though tiresome, to show that our folly was not without some show of excuse.

This, Rev. Sir, must be our apology for still troubling you on the same subject in my next.

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., March 29, 1838.

LETTER IX.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—I now proceed to examine the meaning of a promise made by the Saviour, about a year before his death, to a number of his disciples and others; and which promise has never been fulfilled, unless the true body and blood of that same Jesus has been placed in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.

That promise is contained in the sixth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John.—That chapter commences by the relation of an additional miracle wrought for a number of persons, who "followed him because of the miracles which he did on them that were infirm," v. 2. These persons had followed him without having provisions: and, by the directions of the Saviour, "they sat down in number about five thousand," v. 10.—"A boy had five barley loaves and two fishes," v. 9: that is, one loaf for a thousand men, and one fish for two thousand five hundred; not taking a multitude of others into account. In the 11th verse, we are informed that the Saviour having taken the loaves and given thanks, distributed them to those that were set down, and in like manner also of the fishes, as much as they would. St. Matthew, (xiv, 21) informs us that besides the 5000 men, there were women and children; and in v. 20, that "they eat and were filled." Originally, we should suppose that the whole quantity may be placed in one basket, and that basket not be filled. Now, we find by the united testimony of four Evangelists, Matthew, (xiv, 20) Mark, (vi, 43) Luke, (ix, 17) and John, (vi, 13) that the disciples gathered up the fragments, "and filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves which remained over and above them who had eaten." Yet this was not a creation of new loaves, but a multiplication of the original loaves, by divine power, in such a way as not only to fill the five thousand men, besides women and children, but to leave, of the original loaves, a larger quantity, than that which appeared originally to have been given for distribution. This is then, one of the most extraordinary and peculiar miracles which we have upon record: for it not only is above our comprehension, but really appears to be more difficult to reconcile with our notions of philosophy, than any other miracle mentioned in the whole of the sacred books. And yet, if the four Evangelists have stated what is not true, of what value are the Gospels? We are then compelled to decide between admitting the truth of this fact, and the folly of what we call revelation. If we believe in the truth of revelation, we must believe in the existence of this miracle: that is, that a small quantity of food was so multiplied, as to satisfy the hunger of thousands of persons, and yet, that the remains occupied a larger space than would the original quantity. Catholics firmly believe it. The Saviour does nothing out of its time or place: this miracle was wrought at that particular time, for the wisest purpose; it was to manifest his power in a way appropriate to the doctrine which he was about to communicate to those for whom this miracle was wrought. To the Christian who this day contemplates it, the multiplication of this ordinary food for the body, seems to be a proper, an analagous exertion of the Lord's omnipotence when about to inform the disciples of a doctrine, showing how he would, as it were, multiply himself to bestow upon them food for their souls.

After they had witnessed this miracle, (v. 14,) they were brought to that state of mind which the Saviour desired; and, recollecting the declaration of their holy legislator, (*Deut.* xviii.) 15, "The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet of thy nation and of thy brethren like unto me: him shalt thou hear," they say that this was the Christ,—"This is *the prophet* indeed, that is to come into the world.'

Next day having taken shipping, they find

him at the other side of the sea in Capharnaum, (v. 24,) and he commences the discourse, in which he desires, gradually to lead them to an expectation of his giving them, on a future occasion, his flesh and blood to be their food. My object now, Rev. Sir, is to show the ground on which the great body of Catholic divines teach that our Saviour, on this occasion, made a promise which has never been fulfilled, unless the doctrine of the real presence be true. I shall endeavor for that purpose to exhibit their view of this chapter. The Saviour having told the multitude, in the Synagogue of Capharnaum, (v. 60,) that they sought him, not precisely because of having generally witnessed his miracles; but because they had partaken of the loaves: (26,) exhorts them to labor, not for perishable food, but for that which endureth to everlasting life; and which the Son of man will give them; showing that giving them this food was a great object of his mission. They ask him what they are to do. He answers them, that they are to believe in him. The Saviour had previously stated, that the miracles which he had wrought had not produced a due effect upon them; though they were led to acknowledge that he was the great legislating prophet in whom, according to the direction of Moses himself, the law was to terminate. They give full proof of it now, when they ask him, (v. 30,) what miracles does he exhibit, upon which they may found their belief. He had wrought many, and he knew that they did not seek so much for evidence to induce them to submission, as for pretexts to avoid it, (v. 65,) "For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were who did not believe, and who he was that would betray him." He therefore treats them as he treated Herod, (*Luke* xxiii, 8, &c.) He wrought no farther miracles for them: because they had already "no excuse for their sin," (*John* xv, 22,) he "had done among them works that no other man had done," (24.) Yet he permits them to proceed; that by their very inquiries and remarks, the way may be naturally opened to effect his own purpose. They refer to the manna which Moses gave their fathers in the desert. The Saviour then proceeds to inform them, as I stated in my sixth letter, that the manna did not come from heaven; but that "his father giveth them the true bread from Heaven," (v. 32,) that is, in giving them his "beloved son who came down from heaven to give life to the world," (v. 33,) and who being then present with them; the present tense expresses the fact, *giveth*, δίδωσιν. (32) and *giving* διδοὺς; (33) was giving that life. In v. 34, the Jews appear to misapprehend him, for they ask "Lord give us always this bread." Upon which he immediately gives the proper explanation, (v. 35) "I am the bread of life;" and he proceeds to show the manner in which it is to be turned to profit; "he that cometh to me, shall not hunger: and he that believeth in me, shall never thirst," and he continues to inculcate the necessity of this faith and this obedience, down to the end of the 40th verse. In the 41st and 42d, we have stated for us the difficulty which they entertained. 41, "The Jews then murmured at him, because he said, I am the living bread which came down from Heaven." 43, "And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then saith he, I came down from Heaven?"

The doctrine which he proposed to them was, therefore, that he had been given from Heaven to them to teach them the truths of God: and that they were bound upon his testimony to believe the doctrines of Heaven. Their objection was, that he did not come down from Heaven, because they knew his parents, and were convinced by the testimony of their senses, that he was no more than a human being. In the 43d and to the termination of the 46th verse, the Saviour makes and continues his remarks on their incredulity; and concludes this topic by the solemn asseveration that this faith, to the exercise of which he invites them, and which will lead to eternal life, must be a gift from the Father.

In the 47th verse, he concludes his argument, by asserting the proposition which establishes his authority to teach; and he commences a new topic by the farther development of the same truth. "Amen, Amen, I say unto you: He that believeth in me hath everlasting life." Upon this foundation he requires them to give their special assent to his several doctrines. He had told them, 1. that in giving him as their teacher, the Father gives them true bread from heaven: 2. that he had been in Heaven and came down upon the earth to do the will of his Father, by bringing them to eternal life, and that to this end, 3. it was necessary that they should receive his testimony and believe his doctrines. Now he proceeds to give one of those doctrines. He repeats, (v. 48,) "I am the bread of life," in v. 49, he refers to their specification of the manna, "your fathers did eat manna in the desert; and they died." He contrasts his bread of life with the manna. 50. "This is the bread descending from Heaven; that, if any one eat it he may not die." The Syriac gives us "that one may eat thereof and may not die." To show still the complete identity of what he is, with what he will give, he repeats, (51,) "I am the living bread which came down from heaven." The Vulgate here terminates the verse, but the Greek, the Syriac and the Arabic include

what the Vulgate makes, v. 52 in v. 51. "If any man eat of this bread he shall live forever: and the bread which *I will give* is my flesh for the life of the world." In this place the Saviour does not speak of any thing already given in a past time, nor actually given at the present, but of something to be given at a future time, *και ὁ αρτος δὲ ὃν εγὼ δώσω, ἡ σαρξ μου ἐστιν*. "and the bread which I WILL GIVE is my flesh"—the Greek is much stronger than the Vulgate; for it proceeds again with the future, δώσω, I *will give*, in reference to the flesh:—*ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς*, "which I will give for the life of the world."—So that in Greek we read "I am the bread of life which came down from heaven. If any one shall eat of this bread he will live for ever; and the bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." The identification of the bread with himself is perfect, and the identification of the bread which he will give, with the flesh which he will give for the life of the world is perfect. Now let us for a moment turn to Luke xxii, 19. "And taking bread he gave thanks and gave to them, saying: This is my body which is given for you." Can any thing be more distinct than the relation between the expressions—"my flesh which I will give for the life of the world," "my body which is given for you?" The Syriac has it, indeed a little different from the Greek, but it is not a difference which injures our explanation, but one that serves to confirm it.—"And the bread which I will give is my body, which I do give for the life of the world." The Arabic corresponds exactly with the Syriac.

To any person who calmly and dispassionately considers these expressions, we apprehend they will appear to be an explicit promise that he would in some way give to them, in like manner as the manna was given to their fathers, to eat, a true living bread which really descended from Heaven, and which living bread was the flesh or body of Jesus Christ, which he was to give or did give also for the life of the world.

That he was so understood by the Capharnaites does not admit of a question, for the Evangelist proceeds in the next verse to inform us of the natural and necessary consequence of such being the impression on their minds.—53. "The Jews therefore debated among themselves, saying: How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" The Syriac says they quarrelled one with another and were saying: How can he give us his body to be eaten?" The Arabic. "The Jews therefore debated one with another saying: How can this person give us his body to eat it." The Saviour was aware of their dispute, and of the source of their difficulty. He came for the purpose of teaching truth; surely then if they were under the egregious delusion of imagining that they were to get his flesh to eat, when it was his intention that they were to get only bread, or only to believe, what he would teach; and that it was no part of his teaching, that they were to eat his body; this was of all others the moment to correct their mistake: not only common sense, common justice and common prudence would require it; but of all other persons who ever existed, the Saviour was he who would be most ready to do so. Yet what is his conduct? Fully aware of their dispute, and difficulty; he now proceeds (v. 54, Vulg. or 53, Greek,) to say, "Amen, Amen, I say to you: unless you eat of the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood you shall not have life in you." The Syriac and the Arabic have, "unless you eat the body of the son of man and drink his blood," &c. I now number the verses according to the Vulgate. He proceeds 55. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life and I will raise him up at the last day." The Arabic says "He that eateth my body and drinketh my blood, to him it will be eternal life," &c. 56. "For my flesh is meat indeed and my blood is drink indeed." Arabic "For my body is true food, and my blood is true drink." 57. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him. 58. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me the same shall live by me." The Greek has "the person eating me shall live by me." The Syriac, "whosoever shall have eaten me, the same person shall live by reason of me." The Arabic corresponds with the Syriac. 59. "This is the bread that came down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna and died: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever." The Syriac, "he who shall have eaten of this bread shall live for ever." The Arabic, "This is bread which came down from heaven: not as the manna which your fathers eat and are dead, he who eateth of this bread shall live for ever." Thus the assertions of the Saviour, but tend fully to show that they understood him correctly, when they regarded him as promising to give them his flesh to eat;—and he shows that he has no explanation to give which will tend to do away that impression. We perceive therefore the natural consequence. 61. "Many therefore of his disciples hearing it, said: This saying is hard, and who can hear it?" Clearly their difficulty is not removed. They look upon him now present with them, they hear the promise that he makes, that he will give them his flesh to eat. The difficulty is

to them very great. "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" He does not say to them "Fear not; you are not to eat my flesh, but you will eat bread and wine, and eating this food, you will believe that I have come to show you the way to heaven and to enable you to arrive there." In all this there would be no difficulty, but in his explanation and in their apprehension there was indeed a mighty great difficulty. Let us see how he proceeds. 62. "But Jesus knowing in himself that his disciples murmured at this, said to them: Doth this scandalize you?"

Hereby he shows them who he is, for he reads their hearts, and he exhibits his knowledge of their secret thoughts, and is aware of their difficulties. Yet what is the explanation? He continues, 63. "If then you shall see the son of man ascend up where he was before?"—Syriac, "where he was from the beginning?" Our early witnesses testify to us, two objects of the Saviour for this expression, the meaning of which is, If the difficulty is now great, as you imagine it to be, will it not be greater upon the supposition, that with this body which is now present, I shall ascend to regions far distant from the earth? Yet even when this shall have happened you shall get this flesh to eat. His first object was then to show that it would be a permanent observance to continue after his ascension. Next, he had an object in correcting their mistake; which was, that they should receive his body, as they would the flesh of animals exposed for sale at the shambles,—and this would be corrected by showing them that his flesh would be eaten after his ascension, such as he would bear it to heaven, consequently not in the way that they imagined. This is still farther confirmed by what follows, 64. "It is the spirit which quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Dead flesh of that description would not avail you: that which will be given for your profit and to bring you to life, will itself be living, quickened by the spirit and in a peculiar mode of existence, such as will be exhibited at my ascension, such as I shall have with me in Heaven, "the words that I speak to you are spirit and life." If you believe me and receive my doctrine, you will have your minds rendered capable of understanding those spiritual things concerning which I testify to you the words which would lead to life: but with your carnal, worldly notions you cannot understand those things that are of God. 65. "But there are some of you who believe not." They did not yield to the Father's grace, nor co-operate therewith. 69. "And after this, many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him."

The Saviour was accustomed frequently to explain to the twelve, in a special manner, what he had said to the people at large in other terms, because the twelve were to be his witnesses after his ascension. On this occasion many of his disciples left him, because they believed that he had declared they must eat his flesh and drink his blood; they would not wait to see how it would be done. They looked upon the words to have been used in their plain, obvious, natural meaning, with only this qualification, that the flesh would be living and united with his spirit; and be eaten equally after the ascension as before it. And he permits them to depart under this notion. Let us hear, now, his explanation to the twelve: 68. "Then Jesus said to the twelve, will you also go away?" He has therefore no farther explanation to give, and unless they think proper to remain and to believe what he has thus declared, they are not needed. 69. "And Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." That is, it is useless for us to seek for information any where else, for your doctrine is to be for us the source of eternal life: and we will believe all that you require. Already we have ample proof, to establish our knowledge of the fact, that you are the Son of God; and knowing this, we must from you, receive the testimony of God; we therefore are quite ready to believe that you will perform all that you promise. 70. "And we have believed and we have known that thou art the Christ the Son of God." The Saviour however shows that Peter was too forward in undertaking to answer for the others, equally as for himself. 71. "Jesus answered them: Have I not chosen you twelve; and one of you is a devil? 72. Now he meant Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon; for this same was about to betray him; whereas he was one of the twelve."

In this chapter then we find evidence of a promise by Jesus Christ, that at a future period he would give to his disciples, to be eaten, that same flesh which he gave for the salvation of the world; and that this was the true bread from heaven, far preferable to the manna which did not come from heaven, this, the flesh quickened by the spirit, and believed in, by those who faithfully hear and receive the words of Christ, which are intelligible to the spiritual man and which are the source of eternal life to these faithful persons.

I am aware that it is said by many that this promise does not relate to the Eucharist. To what then does it relate? He was asked for a sign corresponding to the miraculous bestowing of the manna. He tells them that he will give, at a future time, a bread better than the manna; that he would perform a miracle of a more sublime and beneficial character. The Father at present gives

them his Son as the true bread which descends from Heaven; but at a future day, that Son would give them a better food than the manna, because he would give them his own flesh to eat, and his blood to drink: for they are truly food,—the partakers of which will have everlasting life; whereas they who partook of the manna died. Thus they were in some manner, but in one very different from any in which the ancient fathers had done, to eat his flesh and to drink his blood. Now the ancient fathers believed in the doctrines taught by God. Abraham knew the Saviour, he rejoiced to see his day: he saw it and was glad. (*John* viii, 56.) Moses saw and described him, (*Deut.* xviii, 15,) so did Israel when in extatic rapture he pointed to him washing his garment in the blood of the grape, (*Gen.* xlix, 11.) He was known to David, when the Lord swore that he was a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech, (*Ps.* xc.) Isaias beheld him when he proclaimed his miraculous conception, (c. vii.) and traced the prophetic history of his glorious reign, (xi: &c. &c.) Daniel undoubtedly was well acquainted with him, whose weeks with their events were unfolded to his desires, (ix.) Micheas fixed his eye upon Bethlehem and beheld this little one send forth the ruler to preside over Juda. (v.) Zacharias gazed upon the orient shedding his splendor upon the overshadowed regions of the earth, (iii.) Aggeus viewed him entering the temple, to give peace; and to make the glory bestowed by the desired of nations by his presence in that latter house far to exceed the splendor of the costly pile which the son of David had erected, (ii.) All these and thousands of other holy ones, had faith in the Redeemer; they beheld afar off the things promised, they saluted them, (*Heb.* xi,) they confessed the truths of God, and if believing was eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ, they indeed eat of his flesh and they drank of his blood:—but they did not receive the promises in the manner that they are here specially made. "All these being approved by the testimony of faith received not the promise, God providing something better for us, that they should not be perfected without us." Thus faith is not this eating his flesh and drinking his blood.

Again the Saviour says that we must eat and drink, and his words were thus understood by his hearers. This eating and this drinking are bodily acts; believing is a mere mental act; which will by no means satisfy the force of the Saviour's expressions, nor accord with the notions of those to whom they were addressed.

The Saviour speaks of a bread which he will give at a future day, but this could not be Faith: because it was already in existence, not only in Peter, who says in the past time, 70. "We have believed and known that thou art Christ the son of the living God;" but this Faith had moreover been already given to that glorious band enumerated and described by St. Paul, (*Heb.* xi.) The more closely the passages are examined, the more plainly do they show, that here the Saviour promises to give then this true bread of life in the holy Eucharist.

If St. John does not here speak of the Eucharist, we have not in his whole Gospel a single word regarding that greatest of our Christian institutions. If St. John does not here describe the Eucharist, we have not on record a syllable pronounced by the Saviour concerning the effects which this sacrament would produce upon the worthy communicant! If St. John does not here treat of the Eucharist, the Gospels do not give us any information of one word spoken by the Saviour to prepare his disciples for the most solemn scene of the substitution of the Paschal lamb of the New Testament for that of the old! A number of the most ancient councils, a host of venerable and learned witnesses of the early ages of Christianity, all testify to us that the latter portion of this touching and mysterious discourse of Jesus, is the promise which he made, of giving his flesh and blood to be received by his children in that holy sacrament which he instituted on the night in which he was betrayed.

And, Rev. Sir, if you believe in the doctrine of Consubstantiation, if you sustain the explication of Schmucher, those passages of St. John present no difficulty to you.

They who do not, however, believe in the doctrine of the real presence, very consistently indeed, endeavor to get rid of its force, by denying that any part of the chapter regards, in any way, the holy Eucharist. Nor could their effort to fix a figurative meaning to the command of eating the flesh of the Saviour, especially as given by himself in v. 54, be maintained for a moment without producing the most unfortunate results. If we are to understand eating the flesh or body of a person figuratively,—we must understand the figure according to the custom of the people among whom that figure is used, and according to the idiom of the language in which the expression is conveyed. I am far from saying that the Eastern people did not formerly, and do not at present use in a figurative sense, the phrase of *eating one's flesh:* but that figurative meaning has always been to detract, to calumniate, to destroy the person or the reputation of him whose flesh is said to be eaten. Thus we read in Job, where he reproaches those who have spoken

unkindly of him in the day of his affliction (xix, 22,) "Why do you persecute me as God; and glut yourselves with my flesh?" And, in Psalm xxvi, of our version, (*Prot.* xxvii, vv. 1, 2,) "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? Whilst the wicked men draw near against me to eat my flesh. My enemies that trouble me, have themselves been weakened," &c. In the figurative eating of flesh, then, in the sacred volume, the meaning is, *calumniating*, *detracting*, and such like. Surely the Saviour did not give such a precept to his disciples! Nor did he use the figure in that other way, in which we sometimes find it, as in Micheas iii, 2, "You that hate good, and love evil; that violently pluck off their skins from them, and their flesh from their bones," 3, "who have eaten the flesh of my people, and have flayed the skin off from them," &c. Here eating flesh is figuratively used for oppression and robbery. And in no other sense but [one] analagous to this, is there any instance of its being figuratively used by any Eastern nor in any part of the sacred volume. Surely then, our Lord Jesus gave no such precept to his disciples! He, therefore, used the words in their plain literal meaning, and was so understood by the disciples who left him, and by those who remained with him. He thus promised that he would give them his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, and this promise has never been fulfilled except in giving them his flesh and blood in the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. And that he has there fulfilled it, will be seen by examining the history of the Institution.

I have the honor to be, Rev. Sir,

Yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., April 5th, 1838.

LETTER X.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—I have dwelt at greater length upon the subject of the Eucharist, than I originally intended to do upon all the topics of your Sermon; and having gone so far, I am tempted to examine the other scriptural passages which manifestly regard this sacrament, previously to my noticing any other subject.

In the view which I have taken:—it will appear that the Apostles must have been fully prepared for some extraordinary and very sublime manifestation of the Saviour's power and goodness, previous to his departure from the world. They had been prepared by him in a special manner by various instructions and conversations, of which we have no record, fully to comprehend and to appreciate duly, several of those actions of the Saviour, of which only an exceedingly brief and imperfect description is given to us in the sacred history. St. John, whose Gospel is the latest written of the inspired books, informs us at its conclusion, (xxi, 25:) "But there are also many other things which Jesus did: which if they were written every one, the world itself, I think, would not be able to contain the books that should be written." And St. Luke informs us in Acts i, 3, that after his resurrection, the Lord Jesus continued "for forty days appearing to them, and speaking of the kingdom of God."

We are not then to imagine that all the conversations, the instructions and preparations which the Saviour made for aiding the Apostles, are to be found in the account left to us by the Evangelists. And if we do not find the record of any special mode of preparing them for an institution, registered in the Gospel, it would be going a little too far, to assert that no such preparation was made.

We may also, in various places of the Gospel, perceive that the Redeemer shows how the old law and its institutions were types of himself. (*John* iii, 14.) "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up," &c. (*Matt.* xii, 40.) "For as Jonas was in the whale's belly three days and three nights: so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights." (*Luke* xxii, 37.) "For I say unto you, that yet this, that is written must be fulfilled in me: And with the wicked he was reputed: for the things concerning me have an end." (*Luke* xxiv, 44.) "And he said to them: These are the words which I spoke to you while I was yet with you, that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me."

We have then his own testimony for asserting that he used to converse with his Apostles during his mortal life, to show them the prophecies, and the types of himself and of his institutions, though it was only after his resurrection that he gave to them that full knowledge of the true meaning of the ancient Scriptures, by which they were enabled clearly to discern their full application.

It is then a complete begging of the question; I should rather say, a manifest delusion, to suppose that the Saviour on the night before he was betrayed, instituted the Eucharist, without having in any way prepared his Apostles for knowing what he would do, and for appreciating the power which he was about to bestow upon them. I shall not go farther than the discourse recorded in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. John; as examined briefly in my last let-

ter. Neither is it likely that he left them uninformed of the manner in which he was to substitute the flesh of the true Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, for the typical flesh of the Lamb by which the Egyptian deliverance was commemorated; especially as we find him explaining to them the way in which all the ancient prophecies concerning him were to be fulfilled in Jerusalem: and this not once or twice, but frequently. (*Matt.* xvi, 21.) "From that time forth, Jesus began to show to his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the ancients and the scribes and the chief priests, and be put to death, and the third day arise again." (*Mark* x, 32, &c. *Luke* xvii, 25, xviii, 31, &c.) And although it frequently happened that they did not perfectly comprehend the full meaning of his explanations in the first instance, yet when the occurrence to which they referred took place, they recollected the previous instruction and were fully enlightened. (*Matt.* xxvi, 75, xxvii, 63. *Luke* xxiv, 6, 8, 44. *John* ii, 22, &c.)

It was not then, without previously having given them a promise and some explanations that the Saviour assembled his disciples for the institution of the blessed Eucharist: though even if he had given them no previous instruction, he could, in a moment, enlighten their minds by his divine manifestations. The occasion was the most solemn of his mortal life. He was about to be separated from them, and delivered up to those who would immolate him. He was about to substitute the most important rite of his religion for the most sublime figures of the typical code of that dispensation which shadowed forth the better things to come. He was seated in the midst of those whom he called friends, (*John* xv, 15,) to whom he was making known all things whatsoever he heard from his Father. It was the hour when he was no more to speak to them in proverbs; (*John* xvi, 25,) but when as his disciples themselves remarked, (29,) "Now thou speakest plainly, and speakest no parable." It was in this hour, that he, looking forward through so many intervening ages, and gathering in his view the extended nations; saw that through respect for him and his expressions, myriads upon myriads would to the very last moment of this world's existence, be guided by the plain import of his expressions, to believe literally, in the simple fulness of their faith, that the obvious meaning of his testamentary declaration was the truth which he desired they should believe. All this was open to his view, and therefore the propositions are as plain, as simple and as explicit as it was possible they could be.

Feeling himself the deep importance of the hour: he says in emphatic language to the twelve: (*Luke*, xxii, 15,) "With desire, I have desired, to eat this pasch with you before I suffer; 16, For I say to you that from this time I will not eat it, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God." I know not Rev. Sir, whether you will admit as correct, the explanation which is given of this text, by the great body of our commentators, but it is that which has accompanied the text from the beginning. In the first place it is clear that the Pasch never was, after this, eaten by Christ. The Jewish observance was henceforth to cease. Next, the Paschal observance was a figure to be fulfilled by a better institution. Again, that was to be an institution in the Church of Jesus Christ. And lastly, the Saviour was in the habit of calling that Church, "the kingdom of God," "the kingdom of his Father,"—"the kingdom of heaven," &c.

The plain and obvious meaning of the passage then is: "I will not from this time eat of the pasch until the old figure be fulfilled by the substitution of the pasch of the Church." And St. Paul tells us what this Pasch of the Church was. (1 *Corinth.* v, 7.) "For Christ our pasch is sacrificed." The Saviour proceeds with the rite usual at the Paschal supper, of raising the wine whilst he gave thanks or besought a blessing, and then sending it round to those at table for each to drink of it. 17. "And having taken the chalice, he gave thanks and said: 'Take, and divide it among you: 18. For I say to you, that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come.'" Thus terminated the observance of the Mosaic rite. And now the period has arrived for the institution of the Eucharist; the substitution of the reality for the figure: and that figure is to be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. 19. "And taking bread, he gave thanks, and brake and gave to them saying: 'This is my body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me.' 20. In like manner, the chalice also after he had supped saying: 'This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you.'" It may perhaps be as well to notice in this place that the translation here given is exactly in accordance with the Greek. The Syriac instead of "after *he* had supped" has "after *they* had supped."

The Arabic has "after supper," and, instead of "my body which *is given* for you" it has "my body which *shall be exchanged* for you."

We believe that by this plain language he informs the Apostles, that, if it was possible for him to give them his body under the ap-

pearance of bread to be eaten by them, he has done so. I treated in my fifth letter the question of its possibility; and, if you believe as Schmucher teaches, if you believe as Luther taught; you not only believe it possible, but you believe it to be a fact that he gives his body with the bread: believing this, if you also believe the facts so frequently related in the Scripture, which I presume you do, of his having given to one substance the appearance of another; you can have no difficulty in admitting that he can do so here, for his power is not diminished. Nor can you nor any other person show any philosophical objection, of any moment, against this possibility. The question then, I repeat, is one of fact: the fact to be ascertained is, what the Saviour said. The declaration here is, that he gave in what appears to be bread, his body. What body? His body which is given for them. That is, the body which is given for their redemption. That is, his real, true, substantial body.

The subsequent clause consists of two parts:—first, a direction to the Apostles to do what he had done, "Do this." What he had done must have been complete and concluded at the time—that is, giving them his body. "Do this," refers to something already known—that is, to which he had done. The second part of the clause shows the object for which it was to be done by them, "for a commemoration of me." The object for which an act is done is not a part of the act. The agent does an act for a purpose. The Apostles were to be the agents, the act was the consecration of the bread, which consecration made it the body of Christ, and the purpose for which that act was to be done, was for a commemoration of him;—or, as the Apostle St. Paul expresses it: (1 *Cor.* xi, 26,) to "show the death of the Lord until he come." Had what he gave, been merely bread, the Saviour never would have called it "my body which is given for you:" he never would have identified what he gave them as the Eucharist, with that body which he gave for their redemption, if they were different substances: but here the identification is complete.

The words regarding the chalice, state it to be "the chalice"—it was not however empty. What were its contents? "The new testament,"—did these words stand alone it would perhaps indeed be matter of conjecture what that new testament was:—but they do not stand alone, nor is the sense discernible without the words that follow—"in my blood." There is just as little of figure in this expression as in that of St. Paul, (*Heb.* ix, 20,) where describing the manner in which Moses sprinkled upon the people of Israel, the blood of calves and goats which prefigured Christ, he introduces the legislator, "saying this is the blood of the testament, which God hath enjoined you," as we read in Exod. xxiv, 8, "And he took the blood, and sprinkled it upon the people: and he said: This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord made with you." These two phrases have exactly the same literal meaning, "This is my blood of the new testament." "This is the new testament in my blood." Nor does the description of the contents of the chalice terminate here; but, to show what blood it is, he proceeds to identify it with that by which redemption was effected, "which shall be shed for you"—and clearly it is not wine that was shed for our redemption!

I have taken, in the first instance, the history of the institution from the Gospel of St. Luke, for two reasons; first, because he gives the most detailed and special description of the two observances, in the order of their occurrence, viz. first, the figurative pasch or supper; and then after the supper, but whilst they were still at table, just at the conclusion of eating, in the second place, the institution of the Eucharist. My second reason was: because in the narration of St. Luke, are found the two expressions, by force of which, it is pretended the figurative meaning can be best sustained, viz. "Do this for a commemoration of me"—and "This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood."

Having thus briefly examined the history, I proceed to transcribe from St. Matthew, xxvi, 26. "And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke, and gave to his disciples; and said: Take ye and eat: This is my body. 27. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks: and gave to them, saying: Drink ye all of this. 28. For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. 29. And I say to you: I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father." Another effort is made to establish that it was not the Saviour's blood, but wine, which was in the chalice. This is made by stating that the Saviour used these words in the 29th verse, not before the consecration, as given in St. Luke, but after it, as related by St. Matthew: and, that they do not refer to the wine drank with the Paschal lamb, but to that which the Saviour had just given to his disciples, and which he had called "My blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins."

As regards the first observation; that the Saviour used the expressions after the con-

secration of the chalice, and not before it. As it is not an article of faith, but an opinion, we make no difficulty upon the subject. As respects the second; that the expressions regard the Eucharistic chalice, so far as the assertion is confined to this point,—neither would there be a difficulty. But so far as the assertion would establish, that by this, the Saviour intended to say that it was wine, and not blood, [that] was in the chalice, we certainly could not assent; for we should not feel warranted to say that our blessed Lord had contradicted himself, by saying in the same sentence, "this which is in the chalice, is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins," and "this which is in the chalice is not my blood, but is wine."

How then shall we reconcile the expressions without a contradiction, or without admitting the expression *blood* to be figurative, if we grant that the declaration was made after the consecration?

In the first place the opinion of the great body of our witnesses is, that it was not so used. But in the supposition that it was; they state that it regarded an impression which was still upon the minds of the disciples; and to which the Saviour himself alludes in his discourse with them on that very night, as is related by St. Luke xxii, 29. "And I appoint to you, as my Father hath appointed to me, a kingdom. 30. That you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and may sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Thus the expression of the Saviour would mean, "I am about to leave you, and will no more be with you on this earth at any partaking of the fruit of the vine." The expression would be general and would have no special reference to the Eucharistic chalice. But, it may be asked, why did he use the expression immediately after this special partaking of the chalice, if it had no special reference thereto? The answer is plain. Because this was the last time that he was to be at table with them, before he would be put to death.—(*Luke*, xxii, 15.) "With desire have I desired to eat this pasch with you before I suffer. 16. For I say to you, that from this time, I will not eat it till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. 17. And having taken the chalice, he gave thanks and said: Take and divide it among you. 18. For I say to you that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come." In the next two verses he relates the history of the consecration of the Eucharist. It is clear then that he states to them, before the supper, or at it, that this is the last time he is to eat or drink with them before he shall suffer. He then partakes of the Paschal lamb and institutes the Eucharist. We may without any difficulty also believe, that after this institution of the Eucharist, he again uses expressions corresponding to those which preceded the supper,—as related by St. Matthew. 29. "And I say to you I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father." And he then tells them of that kingdom of his father. (*Luke*, xxii, 30.) "That you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom."

If it be still insisted that he meant by the expression, "fruit of the vine" the Eucharistic chalice, and that he said it contained only wine, we certainly have another very serious objection to admit this interpretation:—for by allowing it, we admit the Saviour to have declared that he would drink the Eucharistic chalice with his disciples in Heaven, and that this which he would there drink new with them in Heaven, would be this same fruit of the vine. Yet we believe no one will undertake to say that the Saviour promised his disciples to partake with them of the Eucharist in Heaven,—because that sacrament is only for sojourners upon this earth. Now, whether these expressions were used only before the institution as related by St. Luke, or only after it, as related by St. Matthew, and St. Mark, or both before and after, we say, that they regard his ceasing thenceforth to eat or to drink on earth; we presume, thus, that no one will say that eating and drinking in the kingdom of his father, means that he and his disciples will there use our earthly meat and wine,—that therefore if the words in the 29th verse of Matthew xxvi are to be understood of what he was to drink in the kingdom of his Father, these words cannot mean earthly wine, and consequently if the words are to be understood of the Eucharistic chalice, they cannot mean earthly wine; and therefore, that without a manifest contradiction, they cannot be interpreted to signify that Christ used these words to declare that the contents of the Eucharistic chalice were wine. And again that if he asserted it to be only wine, he grossly contradicted his assertion that it was "my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins,"—because it was not wine which was shed for that remission. Hence, that unless it was used only in the way recorded by St. Luke, it must be understood generally of not partaking of wine during the rest of his mortal life, and consequently that this assertion had no reference to the Eucharistic contents of the chalice.

I said, however, that we did not object to

admitting it to refer to the contents of the Eucharistic chalice, provided it was not so construed as to deny the contents to be what the Saviour described [as] "my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins"—because though it would be rather far-fetched, abstruse, and liable to many difficulties, still it would not then be in manifest contradiction to any other revealed truth.

St. Mark relates the history of the institution to us in chap. xiv, 22. "And whilst they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessing, broke, and gave to them, and said: Take ye, this is my body. 23. And having taken the chalice, giving thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. 24. And he said to them: This is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many. 25. Amen I say unto you, that I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new in the kingdom of God." I shall merely remark upon this, in addition to what I gave upon the text of St. Matthew, from which Mark is said, generally to have copied and abridged;—that if the Evangelist gave us the words of this 25th verse to explain that when Christ said in verse 24, that what he declared to be his blood, was not his blood, but the fruit of the vine, it is yet to be observed, that he leaves the declaration in verse 22, "This is my body," without any qualification or explanation. Whereas St. Luke gives us a similar declaration, (xxii, 16,) regarding his not eating, not the Eucharist, but the Pasch. We have also an account given by St. Paul of this institution, who, though he was not present at the time, yet had the communication, it would appear, from the best of all witnesses: from the Lord himself. (1 *Cor.* xi, 23.) "For I have received of the Lord that which I have also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus, the night in which he was betrayed, took bread. 24. And giving thanks, broke, and said: Take ye and eat; this is my body which shall be delivered for you; do this for the commemoration of me. 25. In like manner also the chalice, after he had supped, saying: this chalice is the new testament in my blood: this do ye as often as you shall drink it for the commemoration of me."—Here the words of the Saviour terminate: The remarks of St. Paul follow. I shall now state what we consider to be the force and meaning of this expression, "for a commemoration of me." It is said that a commemoration cannot be made of one who is present, but only of an absent person; therefore, that if the Saviour be really present, there can be no commemoration of him. I shall only remark, that supposing this to be true, it would only cause a plain contradiction in the words, "this is my body which is given, (or which shall be given) for you"—to their supposed meaning of the words, "this is not my body which is not present but absent: but this is bread which you will eat to bring me to your recollection, though I be far distant from you." St. Paul in this very place, by his own comment, shows us the meaning of this commemoration, (v. 26,) "For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink this chalice, you shall show the death of the Lord until he come." It is then a commemoration of him, offering himself a victim for us at his death; a commemoration of him, doing a special act at a particular time—a showing of his death. Now supposing the truth of the allegation, that we could not commemorate what was present. This is a producing of his body to bring his death to our recollection. Suppose his body not to have arisen, but to have been preserved in the sepulchre, would there be any difficulty in saying that his death was commemorated or shown by occasionally producing that body? How then can a difficulty arise, from saying that it is commemorated by producing that body, not indeed in the mode in which it rested in the sepulchre, but in the mode in which it is contained in the sacrament. The moment of his death has long since passed away, but it is commemorated by the consecration, and by the distribution of the Eucharist; and though the body be living in that sacrament, yet it appears as dead: though the Lamb of God be there living, yet he appears "as it were slain," (*Apocalypse*, v, 6,) and his death is thus commemorated. As the Saviour placed, at the last supper, his body under the appearance of bread, so the persons empowered by him, continue to "do this for the commemoration of him"—thus, "showing the death of the Lord."

The Syriac translation gives us "you will bring back to your memory the death of our Lord." But the Apostle calls it "bread!" and we also call it bread, for it nourishes to spiritual life: and the Saviour himself calls it bread, when he tells us, (*John* vi, 52,) "And the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world."

Now, the host of witnesses of the faith, from the days of the Apostles, testify that these words were understood in their plain, literal, obvious meaning, from the day of the institution, through every age. In my sixth letter, I have stated the exceptions, viz. the Gnostics, the Manicheans, the Berengarians, &c. But why need I urge the reasonableness of this literal interpretation upon the President of the General Synod of the Evangelical La-

theran Church in the United States? You appear to me, Sir, to have approved, if not adopted Schmucher's explanation; and he evidently teaches the real presence by consubstantiation, (*paragraph* 37, 38.) And in your paragraph 39, you tell us, that his doctrine and Luther's have the same extent; and Luther contended for the real presence. I should then be led to hope that you also admit it, though you reject transubstantiation: and if so, you must understand the words of the institution as plainly declaring the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, in the holy Eucharist.

There is however, Rev. Sir, one passage in your 36th paragraph, that is calculated to weaken this hope, if not destroy it. "The language of Christ at the institution being highly figurative." You do not tell us in what manner it is figurative: but not so with the early Protestants; they have exercised all their ingenuity upon the subject. And if talent, industry and perseverance could have succeeded against plain, simple, open evidence, their efforts would have been crowned with success. But never were your expressions, in that same 36th paragraph, more appropriate than when applied to their exertions to make it appear that the language of Christ at the institution was figurative. They "all had their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity." "Whilst all agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead." I shall not protract my already too far extended comments on this subject, by remarking at any length upon their productions, but I shall adduce a few specimens from the multitude, to show their ingenuity and their difficulties.

The words upon which they comment are only four, "This is my body"—and the proposition would appear to be as plain and as simple as it is short. You are, I presume, aware, that to give these words a figurative meaning, upwards of one hundred varying comments have been given. I assure you that I am not disposed to go through the catalogue, but I think it not amiss to give my readers some of the most plausible. Luther in his book *Quod verba cœnæ stent*, says that at that period, the Sacramentarians gave ten different explanations. In the year 1577, a book was published giving two hundred varying explanations. I shall give but eight or nine, as specimens.

1. Carlostadt, in a treatise published at Basil, in 1524, stated that he learned, by revelation from the Heavenly Father, that the word *This*, meant *here*, *Hoc* pro *Hic*, so that when the Saviour gave the bread to his disciples he merely said, "my body is in this place"—meaning that he was there present with them at the table, giving them the bread. Luther was so little satisfied with the truth of this revelation, that he published a refutation, "contra cœlestes prophetas," "*against the heavenly prophets.*"

2. Bucer in his retractions, considers the word *This* to refer to the whole rite, and not to the sacrament, nor to the bread nor to the body. So that the meaning is, "This ceremony represents the body of Christ."

3. John Lang in his notes on the second apology of Justin the Martyr, says, that *this* means *bread*, but that the bread is to be metaphorically understood: in this fashion, "this is my body," that is "my body is bread," because "my body nourishes your souls in like manner as bread nourishes your bodies."

We have here three writers, who tell us that the figurative word is *This*, but no two of them agree in explaining what that figure is; but yet figure it must be.

4. Zuinglius, in his book "*On True and False Religion*," chap. "*Eucharist*," says, the proposition is figurative, but the figurative word is not *this*, but *is*, which means *signifies*. So that the meaning is, "This (bread) signifies my body." It would by no means answer that this authority should not also be supernatural; hence, in the year 1525, he published his work, "*Subsidium de Eucharistia*," or "*Subsidy on the Eucharist*," in which he mentions that when the town clerk of Zurich disputing with him, pressed him closely with the force of the substantive verb *is*, and he was anxious to have it mean *signifies*—on the following night a spirit appeared to him, he could not recollect whether black or white, who pointed out to him the passage in Exod. xii, 11, "for it is the Phase, that is the passage, of the Lord," where the word *is* means *signifies*. And next day he silenced the town clerk, and gained the victory by this answer. It happens, however, that the town clerk could easily have replied, that in this place the word *is* does not mean *signifies*. However, it is not my object to enter upon that topic at present.

5. Peter Boquin, (a Sacramentarian) in his review of Heshusius, says that the figurative word is *is*, and that it means *is called*; by reason of what divines describe as "the communication of idioms" or claims arising from union of different natures. Thus he he says: there is a natural union between the soul and the body, by reason of which what belongs to one *is called* as belonging to the other:—there is an hypostatic union of the divine and human natures in Christ, by reason of which what belongs to one *is called*

as belonging to the other: there is a Sacramental union of Christ with the bread, by which what belongs to one *is called* as belonging to the other. Thus he gives the meaning "This bread *is called* my body," because though my body is far distant, yet this bread is sacramentally united thereto.

6. Your own Luther has something very like this, though he was no Sacramentarian, where in his chap. 1, "On the Captivity of Babylon" he teaches, that it is equally true to say: "This bread is the body of Christ," as it is to say of Christ, "This man is God," but I readily acknowledge that Luther and Boquin contradicted each other upon the most important part of the whole case, for Luther taught that the body of Christ was really present and united with the bread, whereas Boquin taught that it was not really present, yet that it was united therewith. I would be disposed to stop here, yet the temptation to give a few other instances is too powerful for me to resist.

7. John Œcolampadius tells us that the figurative word is not either *this* nor *is*, but *body*. And that the plain import of the words is: "This bread is the figure of my body" for that *body* means *figure of body*. This he teaches in his book, "On the Genuine Exposition of the Words."

8. Calvin agrees with Œcolampadius that the figurative word is *body*, but he will not admit that it means, only what the former says, a mere naked figure, but a figure which "exhibits the body to us;" "a true and real exhibition of it:" "bread is called the body of the Lord, because it is the symbol under which the Lord truly offers us his body to eat." (*Inst.* b. iv. c. 17. §21.) He would appear also to deny that the word *is* means *signifies*, though he is far from being plain upon the topic. (*Ib.* §22.)

9. Cornelius Jansen gives us the explanation of some later Calvinists, (chap. 59 of his *Comment.*) who said that the figurative word was *body*, and that it meant the *mystic body of Christ*, that is, *the Church:* and that the meaning of the words is "when you eat this bread, you are my body," that is, members of my church.

10. Luther gives us an instance of the manner in which opinions arose in those days. In his short confession published in 1544, he informs us that John Compan and others seriously defended, as the true meaning of the words, "This is my body,"—a proposition, which in the year 1527, he had published as a burlesque upon the manner in which the Sacramentarians distorted their meaning by figurative explanations. "This bread is my body; that is, a body made and created by me."

And now, Rev. Sir, allow me to ask, If Roman Catholics will give up their faith, founded upon the plain simple meaning of the words of the Saviour; upon what reasonable principle can they prefer one of these explanations to the rest? Protestants cry out that Catholics err, and yet they ask the Catholic to reject the doctrine of transubstantiation, which he has learned from the Scriptures, and from the cloud of holy witnesses, from whom he has received the sacred volume itself: and if like you he should, abandoning this evidence, reject it, what have you to give him in its stead? You honestly confess that you "unfortunately differ among yourselves as to what you should substitute in its stead." We have seen that you were perfectly correct in your statement, that amongst your leaders "all had their peculiar views, in which may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity." What then is the Catholic to do? Whom is he to take as his guide? You tell him that the words of the institution are highly figurative—we look to those whom you call human agents raised up by God at a particular time to effect a reformation in the Church, (*paragraph* 10),—blessed instruments in the hands of God, of restoring to its original beauty the now tarnished glories of the Church of the Redeemer, by purifying it from corruptions in doctrines, and from useless ceremonies which had been accumulating for ages, and bringing it back to the purity and simplicity of the Apostolic days. (*paragraph* 8.) I have quoted but a tithe of their various and unauthoritative opinions. To say that you or any one else can, then, tell us what is the Protestant doctrine on the nature of the Eucharist, would indeed be asserting what is not the fact. Every individual amongst you, has his own opinion: you grant and you take that privilege, as the ground-work of Protestantism. You have no doctrine, I say it without disrespect, but I say it plainly. There is no Protestant doctrine upon the subject of the Eucharist: but there are innumerable Protestant opinions. Why not then allow Hinkel to follow his opinion? Why not then allow Catholics to follow the doctrines of their Church? Why will you or any other Protestant gentleman undertake to tell us, that because we hold to the evidence which has subsisted, unvarying and unchanged during the centuries of Christianity, that we must have arrived at a state of credulity, that will render us incapable of deciding between truth and error? (*par.* 25.)

Now, I have not concluded the evidences which the Scripture alone furnishes to sustain the Catholic doctrine on this point. I have not entered upon the historical evidence

which would show, that from the days of the Saviour, the doctrine of Transubstantiation has been the doctrine of Christendom. I have but lightly touched the topics which show how utterly hopeless would be the effort to learn from Protestant testimony, what is the doctrine that the Saviour taught. Yet I must conclude.

It may be that I have dwelt too long upon this topic of your discourse; but I was insensibly drawn along. It may be, that my avocations will not permit me to resume the remarks which I must now, at least, interrupt. I have not felt unkindly towards you. I trust I have not expressed myself in an unbecoming way. And should I, at a future day, resume my remarks upon the other topics which I have selected from your discourse, I trust it will be with those feelings of respect and charity, with which for the present I bid you farewell.

Yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., April 12, 1838.

LETTER XI.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—My former letters were on the subject of the Eucharist. I believe I may assume as proved, that Roman Catholics understand and are agreed upon that doctrine which they believe our Saviour taught; whilst the teaching of the principal leaders of Protestantism is undefined and unintelligible, vague, and in fact, little more than a denial of the truth of the Catholic doctrine; without the ability, on the part of those who agree in rejecting transubstantiation, of substituting any plain or tangible proposition in its stead; or any proposition, which proposition the majority or indeed any considerable body of Protestants would acknowledge to be conformable to the scriptural testimony concerning the nature of this sacrament. And therefore, that upon this subject, Protestants have no rule of doctrine. And indeed you remark, (*par.* 39,) "The Lutheran church has for a century past, ceased to agitate this question—leaving its members to follow the dictates of conscience agreeably to the light of Scripture." Thus, Sir, if a Hinkelite or a Greek, or an Eutychian or a Russian, or a Roman Catholic conscientiously believes, agreeably to the light of Scripture, as he does, that Christ revealed the doctrine of transubstantiation,—your own principle protects him; you have no right to censure him; and yet you do condemn him; for in *par.* 25, you tell us "it is scarcely necessary to expose the absurdity of this doctrine by serious argument," "if a man can once bring his mind to believe such a doctrine he must have arrived at a state of credulity which will render him incapable of deciding between truth and error," and farther you say, that there are "evidences with which the Scriptures abound to prove its absurdity and error."

My object has been fully attained. It was to show that upon your Protestant principle, you could have no certainty for the world at large, nor even for an individual, to show the doctrines that Christ taught; but that you were under the necessity of admitting, that each individual with a Bible in his hand, was to form his own opinion. Men have followed this mode, and you avow that the variety of those opinions is such as to be irreconcilable. Thus Faith, which is "the belief of what God has revealed," and which is essentially true, and essentially single, and essentially unchangeable, vanishes by this process, and in lieu thereof, human opinion is substituted, which opinion is various, contradictory, irreconcilable, in many instances erroneous, and perpetually changing. And as all men have an equal right to entertain and maintain, each, his own peculiar opinion, you, having admitted this right of opinion, cannot arrogate to yourself any right to censure any one of its varieties. Yet, when the Hinkelite and the Catholic use this right, you abuse them as dolts, whose absurdity it is scarcely necessary to expose. You condemn them as holding absurdities and errors in condemnation of which, abundant evidences are found in the Scriptures!

Your religious society, the Lutheran Church, has during a century, abandoned the hope of preserving, or of establishing a uniformity of belief upon even this one subject, therefore she leaves every individual to follow his own opinion. There is consequently no doctrine upon the subject in the Lutheran Church, nor in any other society which adheres to the genuine principle of Protestantism. Without doctrine there can be no Faith. Behold then the position to which you are reduced!

But, Sir, is it not strange that you and other gentlemen, who, like you, have intellects and minds disciplined by science, should not also perceive, that if you adhere to the first principle of Protestantism, you cannot, without the most unwarrantable self-sufficiency and injustice, tell either Catholics or others, that your opinions are certainly correct and that their belief is certainly wrong? Do you not, Sir, perceive, that if private opinion is an unalienable right, it belongs equally to all others as it does to you? To sum up the whole in a single question: Do you not, Sir, cease to be a Protestant, when you venture to think or to say that any man, or at least any professor of Christianity, is in

error? I am therefore warranted in saying, that when any Protestant condemns any other Christian, as erroneous in his teaching or in his belief, he is palpably contradicting, by his practice, the very first principles of his own religion!

Yet, strange to say! The very essence of what you call, the Reformation, consists in the effort to establish this contradiction as the very basis of modern Christianity, viz. That all men are free to form from the word of God, their own belief of what has been revealed by Christ, and no man is warranted to arrogate to himself any superiority over his fellow-men, so as to assert that his opinion is certainly right; and that they are certainly in error, when they avail themselves of their right of examination. But you say Catholics, Greeks, Unitarians and numbers of others, who use this right, are certainly in error, and that you are certainly right in contradicting them, and that you positively do teach the truth as revealed by Christ Jesus, from which truth the great mass of the Christian world had been estranged during centuries; until Luther and a few others made some advances to its discovery, which advances you have pushed farther, though you are not certain that others, your associates, may not improve upon your discoveries. Vast numbers of them differ from you also upon a number of the doctrines; but this difference shall not prevent your sometimes saying that they are certainly in grievous error; and at other times that this error is a matter of no moment:—though because of other errors not greater, you were forced to leave [the] Catholic communion!

What then! Are all the absurdities, the errors, the contradictions which Christians profess and teach, and which have been professed and taught during eighteen centuries, as derived from the Bible: are all the misrepresentations and mistakes and false constructions which fools and fanatics and simpletons and speculatists and metaphysicians have forced upon this sacred volume, are all these the revealed word of God? Rev. Sir! Upon the fundamental principle of your Church, as laid down by you, concerning the Eucharist, in *paragraph* 39, they are!—Or there must be a different principle for learning from the Bible what God has taught concerning the Eucharist, and what he has taught on other subjects: because the principle is "leaving its members to follow the dictates of conscience agreeably to the light of Scripture." And in all these cases, the several members of the Christian Society only followed the dictates of their conscience according to the light of Scripture. Upon the principle of Protestantism, Sir, neither you nor I, nor Luther, nor Leo X, nor the Council of Nice, nor the Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was authorized to say to any man with the Bible in his hand, that he mistook its light, that he was a fool, or a fanatic, or a simpleton, or a man of abstractions. His title, his right, his conscience, were all as good as yours or mine. To me then, Sir, it was no matter of wonder to find, in reviewing the works of those whom you call Reformers, that upon the subject of the Eucharist they were involved in endless contradictions. And I could not but admire your candid avowal, (*paragraph* 36,) "Whilst they agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead," and I found the natural result was fairly set forth by you in paragraph 39. "In fact the Lutheran Church has for a century past, ceased to agitate this question—leaving its members to follow the dictates of conscience, agreeably to the light of Scripture." Such too, Sir, has been the case with all other Protestant churches, as far as I can perceive. In fact they have no doctrine, but as I said in my last, they have an admirable variety of opinions upon the subject. I now respectfully ask you, Sir, what is the doctrine of Christ concerning the nature and essence of this sacrament? I have frequently put this question to my Protestant friends of various denominations. I flatter myself that I have many such. Amongst them are several men of fine talents, religiously disposed, attached to the Churches whose creeds they profess; men extensively read, and who have turned their erudition to account,—and never, Sir, did I get from one of them such an explanation as could lead me to suspect that my friend knew what to believe or what to say concerning the Eucharist. In short, he could not manifest that he had any precise and definite notions upon the matter. You have not, Sir, given to us the benefit of your own opinion upon this subject. Would it be asking too great a favor on the part of those whom you affect to despise for their incapacity of deciding between truth and error, that you should inform them precisely and distinctly what you believe to be truth upon the nature of the Eucharist!

I have thus recapitulated the principal heads of my former observations, for the purpose of showing the general conclusion to which they led, and if that conclusion be sufficiently established, as I think it is, its principle would suffice to dispose of all the doctrinal portion of your discourse. I shall, however, enter a little into detailed examination:—and for this purpose, I shall first con-

sider your paragraphs 42, and 43. They are as follows:

"42. We proceed to the third and last error, which has been adopted by those who profess to have derived the doctrine from the creed of the Lutheran Church, viz. 'That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation.' We have, in discussing the two previous heads, already shown, at least in part, that this doctrine is unscriptural. The Scriptures every where assures us that the Gospel (says St. Paul,) is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Being born again (says St. Peter,) not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God. And we ask, were not Simon Magus, Hymenæus, Philetus, Phygellus, and Hermogenes, all baptized, even by inspired ministers? Were not the gross transgressors in the seven churches of Asia, once baptized, and communicants?—and did not Judas receive from the hand of the Saviour himself the sacrament, and was he not a devil—and did he not die the miserable death of a suicide?

"43. But what say our articles, 'Baptism (as we have already shown) is a means of grace.' In the 13th article, on the use of the sacraments, we read these words:

'Concerning the use of the sacraments, our churches teach that they were instituted not only as marks of Christian profession amongst men, but rather as signs and evidences of the divine disposition towards us, tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them. Hence the sacraments ought to be received with faith, in the promises which are exhibited and proposed by them. They, therefore, condemn those who maintain that the sacraments produce justification in their recipients as matters of course, (ex opere operato,) and who do not teach that faith is necessary, in the reception of the sacraments, to the remission of sins.'—(*Schmucher's Translations.*)

"The meaning of this article is so evident that it seems to require no further illustration."

Now, Sir, you will excuse me for saying that it would have been more suited to the enlightening of your hearers and readers, had you explained what is meant by the phrase, "That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation," because, if the meaning was what you seem to convey, it is neither the doctrine of the Catholic, nor I believe of the Hinkelite. The Catholic Church teaches that a person may receive a sacrament validly, and yet in doing so, commit sacrilege. For a person may be validly baptized, if in the full possession of his faculties, and have none of those virtuous dispositions which fit the soul to receive the grace of God. This person would be really, truly and validly baptized, and yet would not thereby become entitled to salvation, but to damnation; because he had profaned the sacrament: he was guilty of sacrilege. In like manner: a person may, as St. Paul informs us, really partake of the sacrament of the Eucharist, and not thereby become entitled to salvation but to damnation, "for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord." (1 *Cor.* xi, 29.) Thus, Rev. Sir, your 42d paragraph is altogether irrelevant; for if the proposition has that meaning which Catholics do hold as true doctrine, your argument is inapplicable. They tell you that your argument is good, but that they do not hold the conclusion which it would destroy. They would themselves argue as you do.

There is another meaning also which the proposition has, and which Catholics reject as untrue: which your argument would also destroy with their full consent, viz. That if a person once worthily partakes of a sacrament, his salvation is thereby infallibly insured. This is not a Catholic doctrine; for we hold that a person may fall from the favor of God by a crime subsequently committed. Thus all the persons enumerated by you in paragraph 42, might have worthily received baptism and the Eucharist, and be subsequently criminals and reprobates, and in this sense the proposition, "That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation," would not be true: for the meaning of the word "entitled" would in such a case imply an inamissible acquirement in which no Catholic believes. Thus in the sixth session of the Council of Trent, celebrated on the 13th of January, 1547, the 23d canon on Justification, is the following:

If any one shall say that a man who has been once made just cannot sin any more, or that he cannot lose grace, and therefore that he who falls and sins was never made truly just. * * * Let him be anathema.

The Catholics find this doctrine also in the holy Scriptures, as for instance in Ezechiel iii, 20, "Moreover if the just man shall turn away from his justice, and shall commit iniquity, I will lay a stumbling-block before him; and he shall die, because thou hast not given him warning: he shall die in his sin and his justices which he hath done shall not be remembered: but I will require his blood at thy hand. 21. But if thou warn the just man, that the just may not sin, and he doth not sin: living he shall live," &c.

Hence we find the Catholic doctrine to be, that a man may be just, that is, reconciled to God and acceptable to him, and beneficially receive the sacraments in that state, and subsequently fall off from that justice or favor.

And thus that partaking of the sacrament will not finally insure his salvation.

The proposition has a third meaning: "That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation." That is, that we, by the mere participation of the sacrament, or if I may so express it, by its mere physical use, without any regard to the moral disposition, may become entitled to salvation. And this, Sir, is one of the charges which is insinuated against Catholics in Article XIII of the Confession of Augsburg. And this is what your 43d paragraph implies. Now, Sir, if such was the doctrine of Catholics, they could never imagine such a crime as the unworthy participation of a sacrament.

Yet they constantly proclaim that there is such a crime, and they describe it to consist in partaking of a sacrament with a bad disposition, or without the proper disposition! I regret, Sir, that truth obliges me here to charge the great bulk of writers of several Protestant sects with the most unbecoming conduct; for they, upon this head, have been consistent in misrepresenting our doctrines. Amongst the Lutherans, this is coeval with their secession from the Church, and it continues to this day. It is found in the text of the Confession of Augsburg. Mosheim gives us a famous specimen of it in his work. (*Cent.* xvi. *Sect.* iii, *part* 1, *chap.* 1, § 36.) And you have it in the paragraphs now under review.

The doctrine of the Catholic Church upon this subject is found in the seventh session of the Council of Trent, held on the 3d of March, 1547, in the 6th canon on the Sacraments.

"If any one shall say that the Sacraments of the new law do not contain the grace which they signify or do not confer the grace itself upon those who do not place an obstacle thereto. * * * Let him be anathema."

Such too is the language of Pope Eugenius IV, in his Decree to the Armenians, in the Council of Florence; published in the solemn public session in the Cathedral of that city on the 10th of the Kalends of December 1439. Speaking of the difference between the sacraments of the old law and those of the new, he writes:

They did not cause grace, but merely figured that it would be given, only by the passion of Christ; but these, ours, contain the grace and confer it upon those who worthily receive them!

I may quote a variety of other testimonies to the same effect, I shall give but one specimen in a passage from a provincial council. That of Narbonne in 1551, in the month of December.

In the first Canon, *concerning the Catholic Faith*; having mentioned the new heresies of that period, in the second paragraph, in the third it proceeds to express the determination of opposing them, by following in that path which, in the first paragraph, it is stated was marked out for it by the holy fathers in various councils under the guidance of the Holy Ghost and uniformly adhered to by the holy Roman Church.

In the fourth paragraph it proceeds:

We confess, in the first place, with pure and whole hearts, seven Sacraments of the Church, by which the grace of the Holy Ghost is conferred upon those who are obedient and who put no obstacle thereto.

The doctrine of the Church then is that a person may receive the sacraments by the external participation, but not receive the grace which God has destined them to convey to his soul, and this occurs when he places his bad disposition as an obstacle to that grace.

To use a homely, but perhaps, not unapt illustration, the sacrament is the channel through which the grace of God, by his own institution, flows upon the sinner who approaches to its opening; but though according to the regulation of God, the refreshing stream will flow through it by reason of his goodness, yet the person who approaches may by his unworthiness close up this channel, should he place his criminal acts as obstacles to the purifying and enriching water. Thus the sacrament is in reality the institution by which the merits of the Saviour are conveyed to the sinner, but there are certain dispositions also required on the part of the sinner, the absence of which will cause an obstacle to be placed to that benefit which the divine institution is calculated to confer. Hence Catholics believe that the benefit is derived, not from their dispositions, nor from their acts, but, by the divine agency, through its own institution, by reason of the Saviour's merits; and also, that the negligence or the criminality of man may impede the blessing which this institution is calculated by the divine goodness to confer.

In this view then, it is untrue to say that Catholics expect by merely partaking of the sacraments, whatever may be their dispositions, to become entitled to salvation. For they do believe that in adults those salutary conditions are so necessary, that unless the good disposition be found, the obstacle to grace is found, and where that obstacle exists, a sacrilege is committed, because a sacrament is unworthily received. Nor is this a free opinion, it is strict doctrine: as has been shown from the teaching of the Council of Florence and that of the Council of Trent.

The preparation for insuring those dispositions by turning to account the actual graces which God, in his mercy, previously bestows, is described at length in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th doctrinal chapters of the sixth session of the Council of Trent. It is substantially Faith, without which no good can arise, sorrow and repentance for sin, abandonment of the occasion which led to its commission,—the observance of God's commandments, the love of his service, love for himself, and the firm determination to fulfil his law and to have recourse to the means of grace or sacraments which he has established.

Another serious misrepresentation of Catholic doctrine by the great body of the Protestant writers is the attributing to the technical phrase *ex opere operato*, a meaning which it has not.

I shall endeavor to give my readers as accurate a notion as I can of the true meaning of the phrase—which like most technical expressions is very liable to be misunderstood.

The Saviour gave power to his disciples, as we read in various places, (*Matt.* x, 1,) (*Mark*, iii, 15,) &c., &c., to heal the sick. In Mark, xvi, 18, we read that this was on some occasions to be done by the laying on of their hands. Now we shall suppose that a sick person was thus healed by the performance of this ceremony. It is clear that whoever might have been the agent, the healing was the effect of God's power; but this power was applied by means of a ceremony instituted by God for that purpose. The healing was the consequence, then, which followed from the performance of the rite in the manner prescribed by God. This effect was not produced by the good disposition of the agent nor by his natural power,—not by the good disposition of the sick person, nor by his natural power,—but it was the result of the work or ceremony which God had appointed for that purpose, the cure being wrought by the performance of this work or ceremony, was of course, wholly attributable to the power of God. Thus we say it is *ex opere operato*, that is, *from the power wrought* (by God;) not, *ex opere operantis*, not *from the power of the agent.*

Thus we say that the effect of the Sacraments is produced by the power of God working through the means which he established for that purpose, viz. the proper performance of the rite, and the existence of proper dispositions on the part of the person in whose regard the rite is performed—that is, *ex opere operato.* But that although this proper disposition is required, as a necessary condition, in the person who is to be benefited, yet that the benefit is not produced *ex opere operantis*, that is, by the mere power of the person who has this disposition—neither by virtue of the disposition, but by God himself through his own institution. Thus in the 7th doctrinal chapter of the sixth session of the Council of Trent, it is taught, that "the efficient cause of sanctification or justification, is the merciful God who gratuitously washes and sanctifies us, signing us and sealing us with the holy spirit of promise, who is the pledge of our inheritance. The meritorious cause is his most beloved, only begotten son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, when we were his enemies, by reason of the exceeding charity wherewith he loved us, merited our justification and made satisfaction for us to the Father by his most holy suffering upon the wood of the cross." The sacraments are then the instruments or means by which this grace is applied to the soul of the properly disposed person, producing their effect, *ex opere operato*, that is, by virtue of their divine institution.

Now for the remission of sins by the Sacraments, in adults, we not only require Faith, but also repentance, hope, charity to a certain extent, and other Christian virtues.

Thus, Rev. Sir, your paragraph 43, whilst it condemns the doctrine that Sacraments produce their effect, *ex opere operato*, grossly misrepresents the doctrine itself. Yet it is true that we do not teach that justification is derived from Faith alone, but I greatly mistake, if I shall not bring Luther and the chief body of your own Doctors to my aid, when I come to discuss that question. I apprehend also, that I shall show that the Article xiii, which you have there quoted, is by no means so clear as you assume it to be.

I shall conclude this letter by inserting that passage of Mosheim, to which I alluded, and Maclaine's notes thereon, with a very few remarks, for which the reader is now prepared.

Mosheim, Century XVI, *sect.* iii, *Part* I, *chapter* i, § 36.

"XXXVI. The administration of the Sacraments, especially those of *penance* and the *Eucharist*, forms the *fifth* subject of controversy in the Church of *Rome.* The Jesuits and many other Doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the Sacraments are produced by their *intrinsic virtue* and *immediate operation** upon

Maclaine's Notes.

* This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say, that the Sacraments produce their effect *opere operato.* The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain that the Sacraments have in themselves an instrumental and efficient power, by virtue of which they work in the soul (independently on its previous preparation or propensities) a disposition to receive the divine

the mind at the time they are administered, and that consequently it requires but little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort; nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity, a heart animated with divine love, in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And, hence it is, that according to their doctrine, the priests are empowered to give immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterwards to admit them to the use of the Sacraments. But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart. These look upon it as the duty of the clergy to use the greatest diligence and assiduity in examining the characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the Sacraments before they grant their requests: since, in their sense of things, the real benefits of these institutions can extend to those only whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love *that casteth out fear.* Hence arose that famous dispute in the Church of *Rome*, concerning a *frequent approach to the holy communion*, which was carried on with such warmth in the last century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with Arnauld* at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in our times by the Jesuit Pichon, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French Bishops.† The frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper is one of the main duties which the Jesuits recommended with peculiar earnestness to those who are under their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appeasing the Deity, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding the Jansenists censure with their usual severity; and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious Doctors of the Romish communion, who reject that *intrinsic virtue and efficient operation* that is attributed to the Sacraments, and wisely maintain that the receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper can be profitable to those only whose minds are prepared, by faith, repentance, and the love of God, for that solemn service.

grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the Sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, are necessary to the efficacy of the Sacraments, whose victorious energy nothing but a mortal sin can resist. See Dr. Courrayer's Translation of Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, tom. i, livr. ii, p. 423, 424, edit. Amsterdam.

* Arnauld published, on this occasion, his famous book concerning the Practice of Communicating Frequently. The French title is, 'Traite de la frequente Communion.'

† See *Journal Universel*, tom. xiii, p. 148, tom. xv, p. 363, tom. xv, p. 124.

First, I observe upon the text of Mosheim. That he wholly misrepresents the subject of which he treats; because there was no dispute such as he represents, between Catholics. Next: the Jesuits hold the doctrine of the Councils of Florence and of Trent, which is quite different from that here attributed to them: so that the entire statement concerning the doctrine of *intrinsic virtue* and *immediate operation*, or *opus operatum*, is a tissue of untruth. Again, the statement of "those of the Romish Communion who" are said to "have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart," corresponds with the doctrinal chapters of the Council of Trent.

Fourthly, The dispute between the Jesuits and the Jansenists did not arise out of this question, nor rest upon this ground. Fifthly, The Jansenists were not members of the Roman Catholic Church: they held many doctrinal errors for which they were condemned. Sixthly, There is no difference between Catholics concerning the manner in which the sacraments produce their effect: for it is an article of faith, that they produce it, *opere operato.*

So that in this paragraph Mosheim has made at least six false statements: and when his powers of mind and means of information are considered, it is very difficult to believe that any one of them was, on his part, a mistake.

As to Maclaine's notes: He most outrageously misrepresents the Jesuits and the Dominicans. How far he is sustained in this misconduct by Courrayer or Paul Sarpi, I will not now inquire. The original treatises and documents are open under my eye; and neither the treachery of Courrayer nor the infidelity of father Paul can change the records which convict of great error the compiler of the notes. The work of father Paul is just at my hand, and possibly may warrant Maclaine in stating that its compiler made this false statement amongst many hundreds of other untruths. But, as I remarked, the originals are before me; and they are the best evidence of their own meaning;—and they contradict the note. I care not then to examine father Paul.

I have now, Rev. Sir, examined your statement of what you deem to be worthy of censure in our doctrine concerning the nature of a sacrament. In my next, I shall try to show, that if you believe as your sermon teaches, you and I are better agreed upon this doctrine than you appear to suspect, and you will perhaps find, that in condemning our doctrine of *opus operatum*, you condemn yourself.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., June 14, 1838.

To the Editors of the United States Catholic Miscellany.

GENTLEMEN,—I was not aware until my last letter had been sent for publication, that the Rev. Dr. Bachman had sailed for Europe.

I am anxious to close my strictures on his Sermon as speedily as my other occupations will permit.

As the greater number had been published during his dwelling in Charleston, and as I participate in the feeling of his very numerous and respectable friends in the best wishes for his safety, his health and happiness, and cherish the hope of his return ere long, to continue amongst us, I can perceive no reason for my changing their address, nor for discontinuing their publication.

Should any one of his friends think proper to reply to me, the question not being a personal but a public one, it is competent for him to do so. Should no one else undertake it, my letters will be placed under the Doctor's eye at his return, when he may use his own discretion.

Yours, Gentlemen, very truly, B. C.

Charleston, June 21, 1838.

LETTER XII.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

REV. SIR,—I have shown in my last letter that Roman Catholics, in believing that the Sacraments produce their effect, *ex opere operato*, attribute all the benefit derived from them to the goodness, the mercy and the power of God, and not to the power or virtue of the person who administers, nor to that of the person who receives the sacrament: yet that the receiver must, if an adult, have dispositions such as Christ, who instituted those Sacraments, requires; otherwise he places such an obstacle to the graces of the Sacrament, as to deprive himself of its benefit; and by profaning a holy institution of the Redeemer, seriously offends him. These graces are derived from the merits of Christ, who established the Sacraments as the ordinary means of enabling us to partake thereof and thereby to profit by his redemption. It is clear, then, that in the view of those who hold that the Sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*, the whole favor is attributable to the mercy of God through the merits of Christ. They do not then attribute to themselves, to their acts, to their merits, the fruit of the Sacraments, but they render acknowledgments to him who is their institutor and our benefactor.

Now there are others who say that the graces are obtained not in the manner which I have here described, not *opere operato*, but *ex opere operantis*, that is, by reason of the act of the receiver. These persons say that the chief, if not the only benefit of the Sacrament, consists in its being an exciting cause or occasion which moves us to dispositions, by reason of which dispositions we obtain the favor of God, or are made acceptable to him. Thus they say, the benefit being conferred by reason of the good disposition of the receiver, to which he is excited by occasion of the Sacrament: the receiver himself works or acts in producing this disposition, and in obtaining that grace which is consequently received.

Thus it is by his own act he is benefited: he acted, and therefore God bestowed grace, this favor was then *ex opere operantis*, from the work of the agent, which agent is also the person benefited. Thus, this is not Catholic doctrine; and Catholics do not teach that the grace of the Sacraments is attributable to their own acts, but to the divine institution.

Now, Rev. Sir, what is to be thought of the charge so perpetually brought against Catholics by the whole host of Reformers, alleging that Catholics destroy the merits of Christ, and claim salvation from their own merits, by their own works, because of their own agency, and are therefore enemies to the Gospel? Do you not perceive the incompatibility of their doctrine that grace is obtained through the Sacraments, *ex opere operato*, that is, by the merits and through the institutions of Christ, and the assertion that it is produced *ex opere operantis;* by the acts, and because of the acts and by reason of the exertion of the person who receives the Sacrament?

It would, Sir, be a curious, though a melancholy exhibition, to place the contradictions upon this subject, of the gentlemen whom you call Reformers, side by side. It would be a still more melancholy picture to lay before the public view, their palpable falsehoods respecting the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and the writings of approved Catholic divines on this topic?

Cardinal Bellarmine, in his work of Controversy, in his treatise "*On the Sacraments in General*," *cap.* I. "*On the Effects of the Sacraments*," *Book* ii, c. 1, has the following illustration of our doctrine:

"We may find an example in nature. If we desire to burn wood, it is first put to dry—fire is struck from a flint; it is applied to the wood; the burning follows; no one would say that the immediate cause of the burning was the dryness of the wood, nor the striking fire from the flint, nor the application of the fire to the wood; but it is the fire itself which causes the conflagration? This is the primary cause, and the heat or heating therewith is the instrumental cause."

He had previously laid down the doctrine which he desired to exemplify.

"Many things concur for that justification which is produced when the Sacraments are received. On the part of God, his will to use this sensible institution; on the part of Christ, his passion; on the part of the minister, his power, his will, his probity; on the part of the receiver, his will, his faith, and his repentance; on the part of the Sacrament, the external act, which is the proper application of the form and matter.

* * * * * *

The will of God which uses the Sacrament (as its instrument) concurs actively, and is the principal cause. The passion of Christ concurs and is the meritorious cause, but not the effective; for his suffering does not now exist, but has passed away, though it remains in the mind of God. The power and the will of the minister necessarily concur, but are remote causes, because they are required for the performance of the act itself. The probity of the minister is indeed required, that he should not himself be guilty of sin in the administration of the Sacrament, but it is not necessary to the receiver for the purpose of the Sacrament, but only beneficial in the way of prayer or of example. The will, the faith, and the repentance, are necessarily required in the adult recipient, as dispositions on the part of the subject; but not as active causes, for it is not faith and repentance which produce the Sacramental grace; neither do they produce the effect of the Sacrament, but they remove those obstacles which would prevent the Sacraments from producing their effect. Hence in children, where a disposition is not required, justification takes place without them."

Thus the effect flows from the institution, the power and the will of God, who freely chose this mode out of many others from which he was free to select.

The Catholic is always taught to look to the power and the will of God, producing the spiritual effects by the instrumental agency of a man whom he appointed to be his minister, and by reason of the merits of Christ Jesus, through whose redemption only, we are made partakers of every blessing. Nothing can then be more unfair than the manner in which Calvin states the question, (*Inst.* b. iv, c. xiv, § 17,) "The question is only whether God, as they say, works by his own proper and intrinsic power, or whether he resigns his place to external symbols." There is no such question, at least so far as Catholics are concerned; because they teach that God himself works by means of those symbols, because he thus freely instituted them for that purpose; and the symbols, without his power, would be valueless.

A little previously, (§ 14,) Calvin said: "He who derives the cause of justice from the Sacraments, brings down by his superstition the miserable minds of men to that earth to which they are too much of their own nature inclined; so that he would rather adhere to the contemplation of a corporeal thing than rest in God." Many similar expressions are to be found in Luther.

Yet Luther sometimes writes like a Catholic. In his book "*On the Captivity of Babylon*," writing on baptism, he says of Catholics, "Many thought that there was some hidden spiritual virtue in the word and in the water which wrought the grace of Christ in the soul of the recipients. Others, contradicting them, stated that there was no virtue in the Sacraments, but that the grace is bestowed by God only, because by covenant he is present at the administration of the Sacraments which he instituted; but all agree in this, that the Sacraments are efficacious signs of grace."

Here we have Calvin asserting that the contemplation of the external symbol draws off the mind from God, and Luther tells us that whilst all (Catholics) acknowledge them to be efficacious signs of grace, the great portion of them (he ought to have written *all*) look to God only as the author of that grace.

Luther, in his book "*On the Captivity of Babylon*," says that *Papists* claim to have merit in receiving a Sacrament, because they thereby fulfil a precept and exhibit their faith. Yet, in the same book, in the chapter on Baptism, in which he made that very assertion, he says that "they were driven to attribute so great value to the Sacraments of the New Law, as to assert that they were profitable even to those who were in mortal sin; and that to receive them, neither faith nor grace was required by the *Papists!*" This is not only contradicting himself, but grossly misrepresenting us.

Calvin, (in his *Instit.* b. iv, c. xiv, § 26,) states that not only is our doctrine of *opus operatum* false, but that it is incompatible with the nature of a Sacrament. That it leads to the conclusion that we are merely passive and do nothing, and consequently have no merit. Yet, (in his *Antidot. Sess.* 7, *Can.* 8,) he refutes this very doctrine of *opus operatum*, upon the principle that it makes the efficacy of Sacraments to depend upon human merit! In the same work, (*Can.* 5,) he states, "If it be granted, as they ask, that in the Sacraments grace is obtained, *opere operato*, the part of merit is separated from faith, so that the use of the Sacrament would alone suffice for salvation." In the same, (on *Can.* 5,) he writes of us, "They feign that there is some magical virtue in the Sacrament, which becomes efficacious without Faith."

Not only are those statements contradictory, but like almost all the assertions of the originators of the Protestant religion, in respect to us—they are notorious misrepresentations. Sometimes, however, the notoriety and plainness of a writing put it out of their power to misrepresent, and in such cases they had recourse to the disreputable practice, of which Kemnitz furnishes us with the following sample. In his *Examin.* (*par.* ii, *cap. de opere operato,*) he says that some Catholics, such as Gropper and Alphonsus, explained the doctrines in a correct and orthodox way, but that they differed from the Council of Trent and from the bulk of Catholic writers.

"Gropper and Alphonsus pretended that an injustice has been done to the school doctors, when it is stated that as the meaning of *ex opere operato* they taught, that the Sacraments conferred grace on the recipient who had no faith; but they say that these writers only meant to teach by this phrase that the truth (validity) of the Sacraments was not to be derived from the dignity or merit of the minister who was acting, but from the institution, the power and the operation of God, who is their author. * * * * *

"But if the adherents to the Pope mean only this, when they contend for *opere operato;* because this opinion is true, there would have been no controversy. But all the schoolmen did not formerly think so—nor do the adherents of the Pope have this opinion even now, themselves, when they contend for *opus operatum*, but they conceal and nourish and obtrude upon the church a very different monster under those exotic words."

Thus, at all times, when there is question between Catholics and Protestants regarding what Catholics really believe, it has been and still is a rule which our adversaries, with a modesty peculiar to themselves, endeavor to enforce, that we must not say what we believe, nor explain the meaning of our own writers, but we must quietly allow those of whom we complain as guilty of habitual misrepresentation, to explain our writers and to make opinions for ourselves, that we may have the benefit of being ridiculed for absurdities which we disclaim, and being detested for blasphemies which we do not commit.

The world is to be told that *opus operatum* is a monster. We undertake to show that it has neither teeth nor claws, and is quite gentle, but we will not be allowed to produce it; our opponents have procured a hyena, which they provoke and exhibit under the barbarous appellation of our harmless pet. We say that the hyena is not ours, and the good promulgators of the Gospel truth exclaim,—"The Romanists are ashamed of their property, they disavow their associates, they impose upon you! We warn you to beware of them—confide in us. See what a terrible brute this *opus operatum* is! God preserve you from it, my friends. Prince Metternich has sent it hither to devour the lambs, yea, even the sheep entrusted to our care!" Shall I ask, "By whom have they been committed to your charge?"

You tell us, Sir, that the Sacraments are not only marks of a Christian profession amongst men, but something more: "they are rather signs and evidences of the divine disposition towards us, tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them." In full accordance with this, the early associates of Luther compare them to the preaching of the word, with this sole difference, that the speaker addresses the ear, the minister of the sacrament addresses the eye, the object of both is the same, viz. "to excite and confirm the faith of those who use" the Sacrament or who hear the Sermon. Thus, the being present at a good sermon, was equally, perhaps more beneficial, than receiving the Sacrament. Thus Luther wrote in 1520, (in his book "*On the Captivity of Babylon*," chap. *of Baptism.*)

"Baptism justifies no person; nor doth it profit any person; but faith in the word of promise, to which Baptism is added, for this is what justifies."

Again, he writes in the same chapter:

"The same God who now saves us in Baptism and by bread, also saved Abel by sacrifice, Noe by the ark, Abraham by circumcision, and all others by their proper signs."

After mentioning a variety of signs in the old law, which he calls Sacraments, and places on a footing of equal dignity with those of the new law, he proceeds to show that the Sacraments do not produce any beneficial effect. Amongst the signs of the old law he mentions the fleece of Gedeon, (*Judges*, vi,) the sacrifice of Manue, (*Ibid.* xvii,) and the sign given to Achaz, (*Isaias*, vii.) After the enumeration, he concludes:

"Our signs or sacraments and those of the fathers have annexed to them the word of promise, which excites faith, and which can be fulfilled by no other work; therefore they are signs or sacraments of justification, because they are sacraments of justifying Faith, and not of work: whence their entire efficacy is faith itself not work: because he who believes fulfils them even though he should work nothing. * * * * * Nor can it be true that there is in the Sacraments any efficacious power of justification, or that they are efficacious signs of grace: for all these assertions are made to the loss (injury) (*jacturam*) of faith."

In the next year he wrote, (*Art.* 1.)

"We say that neither the Sacraments of the old law, nor those of the new; but faith alone justifies."

In the year 1523, we find in his book against Cochlæus,

"Nor can any share of justification be attributed to Baptism; for otherwise, if in any way it justified, it would not be lawful to deny that Baptism without faith justified; but when it is denied to that (Baptism), it is left properly to faith only."

Thus, Sir, it is quite plain, that from the year 1520 to 1524, Luther attributed to the Sacraments no more effect than would be produced by a Sermon, viz. the exciting and confirming of faith, and consequently that the administration of a Sacrament to a person whose faith could not thereby be excited or confirmed, would be as egregious a piece of folly as it would be to preach to a person who was deaf or to exhibit a picture to one who was blind; and indeed Melancthon, in the year 1530, remarking on the 13th article of the Confession of Augsburg in the Apology, compares the Sacrament to a picture of the word—and in his book against the Anabaptists, he writes, "As the will of God is shown in the word or promise, so is it shown in the Sacrament as in a painting."

It is true, Rev. Sir, that you have [said] in your paragraph 26, that Luther was slow in laying aside the errors in which he had been educated; that he commenced writing and publishing as soon as he discovered the abuses of the Romish Church; that his mind was for a long time trammelled by the education of a monastic life. I at least intend to deal as honestly with Luther as he dealt with himself. You state that "He renounced towards the close of his life several doctrines which he had advocated at an earlier period. In an address, written in the evening of his days, he says, 'I entreat you to read my writings with cool consideration, and even with much pity. I wish you to know that when I began the affair of indulgences, I was a monk, and a most mad papist. I went seriously to work, as one who had a horrible dread of the day of judgment, and who, from his inmost soul, was anxious for salvation. You will find, therefore, in my earlier writings, many things of which I do not now approve.' It will, consequently, not be difficult to find in writings of Luther, previous to 1530, some things in favor of errors, which he afterwards renounced, and which the Church to which he was attached subsequently brought nearer to Scripture truth. And this was in conformity to his dying commands. 'Many things,' said he, 'are yet to be made better. We have only made the beginning, and have retained some customs for fear of giving offence to weak minds. They that come after us we hope will be enabled, by the spirit of God to do more.'"

Now upon this principle we are to suppose that as he advanced in his Reformation, he came nearer to truth. We have seen his doctrine respecting the effects of the Sacraments previous to the year 1530. Let us see what it was after that year.

In his First Homily on Baptism, put forth in 1535, about the beginning of the second part, we read:

"Baptism was instituted for the purpose of serving us, of being profitable to us, that it may bestow upon us not any thing carnal or bodily, but eternal grace, eternal cleanliness and holiness, eternal life."

This looks mightily like *opus operatum*, and a contradiction to some of his former writings. His Second Homily on Baptism was put forth five years after, viz. in 1540.

"Baptism cannot but work (operari) that for which it was instituted, *videlicet*, regeneration, and the renewal of the Holy Ghost. * * * * * * * * * Baptism hath such virtue and energy, that a man who was conceived and born in sin may be regenerated before God, and that he who was before condemned to death, may now become the son of God. Who can be able by his senses, by his thoughts, by his human understanding, to attain and to perceive this glory and virtue of the most holy Baptism? * * * * * * John desired by these words to signify that Baptism was so efficacious and of such virtue that it could wash away sins, drown and suffocate death, and heal and cleanse all vices and filth."

I promised that I would adduce Luther himself as vindicating the doctrine of *opus operatum*, and I think I have here fulfilled my promise. I did not, however, engage to keep this mighty man in a state of consistency; for indeed one of the most remarkable traits of his character is self-contradiction. You are too well acquainted, I presume, with his famous sermon preached in the Church at Wittenberg, after he had come out from Patmos, to doubt his recklessness on this score. "If you pretend to continue doing things by these common deliberations, I will unsay without hesitation all that I have written or taught. I will make my recantation, and leave you. Remember, I have said it, and after all, what harm will the Popish Mass do you?" This was indeed written before 1530. But the passages which I have quoted for the efficacy of the Sacraments were written in 1535 and 1540.

The article ix of the Confession of Augsburg states "that little children ought to be

baptized; that baptism is necessary for their salvation; and that by this Sacrament, they are made the children of God." Let us for a moment suppose, what the context will not allow, that the former passages from the Homilies on Baptism, mean only, that Baptism excites or creates Faith, and that Faith produces all those fine effects, and therefore that they are produced not by baptism merely, but by Faith, which is its consequence. The context, I repeat, would not warrant this effort at creating a consistency in his teaching. Yet suppose it did. We now have a subject incapable of Faith, viz. a little child. Yet this little child, we are told, ought to be baptized! For what purpose? Because, says the article, "baptism is necessary for its salvation." If the child is not saved without Baptism, it must be because of sin; it is necessary to destroy sin, that the child may be saved. It is necessary for its salvation that it should be baptized. Baptism, then, destroys sin, which was the only obstacle to its salvation. But how does baptism produce this destruction? By exciting in the little child a justifying faith! Certainly not; because the child is incapable of having its faith excited—as incapable as a deaf man is of hearing the word, as incapable as a blind man is of seeing a picture. Yet the Baptism destroys sin by making the child partaker of the merits of Christ, which merits blot out the hand-writing of sin and death, and this is a consequence of the will and power of God, of the merits and institution of Christ, of the ministerial act of him who administers the Sacrament. Thus the Sacrament necessarily produces its effect *ex opere operato*, on the principle that is expressed in the sixth article of the Confession of Augsburg. "Baptism is necessary for the salvation of little children." "By this Sacrament they are made children of God." Now, the Confession of Augsburg gave this principle its fullest force in declaring its condemnation of the Anabaptists, for "asserting that children may be saved without baptism, and out of the Church of Jesus Christ." (*Art.* ix, p. 12.)

Amongst many of the most celebrated Lutheran writers at a later period Kemnitz may be placed. After quoting a number of Scriptural passages against the Anabaptists to show the efficacy of the sacraments, he writes, (*Exam.* p. 98, in *part* 2,)

"Here are most plain testimonies which attribute efficacy to the sacraments, and which explain what it is: neither are they to be perverted by tropes from that simple and genuine meaning which the true and proper force of the words gives: and thus did the ancients understand these testimonies, simply as they sound to the ear."

How excellent a rule! But how little observed by those who lay it down to confute the Anabaptists, and deny its force when it is used against themselves by the Catholic!—The same writer goes on in p. 101:

"The sacraments are instrumental causes, so that by those means or organs, the Father wills to exhibit, to give and to apply his grace; the Son wills to communicate his merit to the believers; the Holy Ghost to exercise his efficacy to salvation unto every believer."

The language is precisely such as a Catholic would use to show how, by means of the sacrament, God produces the sanctifying effects *ex opere operato*.

I shall now briefly advert to a few of the passages of the Holy Scripture in which the foundations of this doctrine may be seen:—viz. That in a properly disposed subject, God communicates his grace in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, through the instrumentality of the sacraments, by virtue of his own institution, producing at once by his own power the effect for which the sacrament was intended, that is, *ex opere operato*, and not by merely exciting in the recipient a faith or confidence by the exercise of which faith the individual is justified, that is, *ex opere operantis*.

In *Matthew* iii, 2, John says, "I indeed baptize you in water unto penance." That is, I perform a ceremony which will excite you to do penance,—*opus operantis*. "He shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and fire." His baptism will pour into you the author of Grace and the fire of Charity—*opus operatum*. (*Mark* i, 8.) "I have baptized you with water: but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost." The other Evangelists have similar testimony.

(*Mark* xvi, 16.) "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." The adult who is capable of belief will not be saved by his faith or belief, but by the sacrament which he subsequently receives. (*John* iii, 5.) "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Here we have the external sign of water and the internal accompanying Grace, the Holy Ghost, and the effect, entering the kingdom of God.

(*Acts* ii, 38.) "Do penance and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins: and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Here is the removal of the obstacles, "Do penance," or as you translate it, "Repent," the receiving of the sacrament, "Be baptized," the object "for the remission of your sins:" the effect, "you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."

(*Acts* xxii, 16.) "Rise up, and be baptized,

and wash away thy sins." Yet we read that previous to this, Saul prayed, (ix, 11,) and was called to be a vessel of election (15.) But Ananias was sent to baptize him, to wash away his sins, and that he might be filled with the Holy Ghost, (ix, 17.) Yet he had faith for he believed, he prayed and was three days fasting, (ix, 9.) Still his sins were to be washed away by baptism.

(*Acts*, viii, 17.) "Then they laid their hands upon them; and they received the Holy Ghost. 18. And when Simon saw that by the imposition of the hands of the Apostles, the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money. 19. Saying: Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I shall lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost." Here is a power by the imposition of hands, an external rite, to give the Holy Ghost, the author of Grace, in the sacrament of Confirmation, to the properly disposed persons who had been baptized.

(*2 Tim.* i, 6.) "I admonish thee, that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands." By the external rite of ordination the grace of God was given to him.

I could multiply quotations, but it would be to no purpose. The few passages referred to, suffice to exhibit the Scriptural ground on which our teaching rests,—and could it tend to any useful purpose, I could adduce the testimony of early councils, and of the eminent writers of the Eastern and Western portions of the Church, from Justin Martyr, who stated to the Emperor Antoninus, in his apology "that we obtain in water the forgiveness of our previous sins," and from Tertullian, who recites the spiritual effects of several of the sacraments as produced by the performance of the external rite,—down to the very day when the contradictory doctrine was broached by Luther in his work, "*On the Babylonish Captivity*," in 1520.

I am aware of the supercilious air with which several Protestant writers affect mighty wisdom in rising above the vulgar prejudices, as they say, of an ignorant age, when men imagined religion was a sort of magic, and that the insensible elements were to obey the command ridiculously given to them by men who addressed them as if they had sense and understanding and power of action. But, Sir, there is a semblance of wisdom which is destructive!—What would those men say to the sacred record? (*Josue*, x, 12.) "Then Josue spoke to the Lord, in the day that he delivered the Ammorhites in the sight of the children of Israel, and he said before them: Move not, O Sun, toward Gabaon, nor thou, O Moon, toward the valley of Ajalon. 13. And the Sun and the Moon stood still," &c.

Shall I tear this passage from the sacred volume? If I do, why shall not one and another, and another tear away other passages upon the same principle? What then becomes of the Book? Sir, we must give up the Bible, or we must believe that it is not folly to show the power of God in using the materials of the natural world for his own supernatural purposes, and that this may be done even by an appeal or an address to an insensible element. The Saviour himself declares it. (*Matt.* xvii, 19.) "If you have faith, as a grain of mustard seed, you shall say to this mountain; Remove from hence to yonder place; and it shall remove." The Lord himself commanded the winds and the waves, (*Matt.* viii, 26,) and they obeyed him. Not only did the Saviour address the dead, (*Luke*, vii, 14, *John*, xi, 43,) but in this he was imitated by St. Peter, (*Acts*, ix, 40,) and with a like result.

The sacraments produce their effects not according to the caprice of man, but by the institution of God, and this is an unvarying ordinance. They produce their effects by the power of God, but by man's ministerial agency, solely because it was so regulated by the Saviour. They produce their effects, by virtue of the merits of Christ, but by ceremonial observance, because Christ established this as the mode. Their value does not depend upon the worth or virtue of the minister, because it is not of his merits, but of those of the Saviour, that the recipient partakes. Their validity, however, does depend upon the ministerial character of him who administers; because the effect can be produced only by observing the ordinance of Christ, and no one can validly confer the benefit but he to whom Christ has committed the power.

The effect is not produced by the good disposition of the recipient, though it will not be produced in one who is not properly disposed. Thus, Rev. Sir, it is produced by the agency of the Holy Ghost, or *ex opere operato*, and not by the agency of the recipient, or *ex opere operantis*. If it be not so produced by baptism in a little child, how is it produced? Your Confession of Augsburg, Luther, and your principal writers teach contradictions upon the subject. The Catholic Church has always taught her present doctrine, and will continue always so to teach!

I remain, Rev. Sir,

Yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., June 21, 1838.

LETTER XIII.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

REV. SIR,—I have now shown that, according to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the unworthy receivers of a sacrament, not only do not partake of salvation, but do commit a sacrilege; and that they who partake of those sacred institutions of the Saviour with proper dispositions, do, therein, by the power and mercy of God and by the ministry of the Church, certainly obtain the graces and blessings which the Saviour attached thereto. I have further shown, that according to Catholic doctrine, the grace thus acquired may be lost by the criminality or by the negligence of the person who received the favor,—and hence that your 42d paragraph was altogether based upon a mistake. I have too much respect for you, to suppose that it was a wilful misrepresentation. I have farther shown you, that if the Sacraments be, as you admit they are, "means of grace," their effects must be produced by their own immediate instrumentality as "means" instituted for that purpose by the Saviour, and this is what Catholic divines understand by *opus operatum.* And I have shown you that subsequently to the year 1530, Luther and several other eminent teachers of your society, wrote and spoke as strongly in support of this doctrine as Catholics do. I now farther observe upon your 43rd paragraph, that you would therein appear not to condemn the doctrine yourself, because you do not simply assert that "your churches" "condemn those who maintain that the Sacraments produce justification in their recipients as matters of course (*ex opere operato*)," but you give as a portion of the same sentence the following passage—"and who do not teach that faith is necessary in the reception of the Sacraments, to the remission of sins." Now, Sir, this quotation which you adopt from Schmucher, leaves uncensured, the doctrine "that the Sacraments produce justification in their recipients as matters of course, if those recipients have faith at the time of receiving them."—And the Catholic Church holds, as doctrine that passage of St. Paul, (*Heb.* xi, 6,) "Without faith it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that seek him." They also hold, as doctrine, that no one can be justified to the remission of sins, without pleasing God. Thus your 43d paragraph, if in regular theological meaning, it was intended to assert that the Catholic doctrine, which you identify with that of Hinkel, was condemned even by your Churches, is also based upon a palpable mistake,—because both clauses of your sentence must be taken as a whole, for they are united by the conjunctive participle *and*,—wherefore the condemnation attaches only to those who hold both clauses conjunctively, which neither Catholics nor Hinkelites do. Neither do I understand clearly what your own teaching is, nor can I determine that of your society, nor of your eminent writers upon this subject, because I find them teaching sometimes one way, sometimes another way. In fact, Sir, they are as vague, as indefinite, and as unstable [in] teaching the nature of the Sacraments as they are [in] teaching the nature of the Eucharist.

You have undertaken, Sir, (in *parag.* 13,) "to show from that holy volume to which Luther, Melancthon and the learned and pious Reformers ever resorted for light and knowledge, that their (the Hinkelites') doctrines are unscriptural, and that the sentiments they promulgate are not contained in the articles of the church or in the writings of the Reformers." "We wish to convince them and all others, that there is an evident act of injustice in advocating sentiments as coming from the Reformers which are directly opposed throughout the whole tenor of their writings."

Now, Sir, the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the doctrine that the Sacraments produce immediately, of their own nature, under the proper circumstances, the spiritual effects for which they were instituted by Christ, viz., conveying his grace to our souls,—have been examined by me in such a way, as I think shows: first, that neither of them is unscriptural; and also to show: secondly, that the sentiments which you appear to condemn, are contained in the authoritative writings of several of your public ecclesiastical assemblies; and are in the third place sustained in the writings of many of those gentlemen whom you call Reformers. I apprehend, Sir, that you have, unintentionally I presume, done more injustice to the Catholics and to the Hinkelites than these latter have done to you, by your stating that they taught, "That in partaking of the Sacraments we become entitled to salvation,"—and "that faith is not necessary, in the reception of the Sacraments, to the remission of sins."

I now proceed to the examination of your paragraphs 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20,—and I prefer inserting them here, in full, that they may be more directly under the eye of the reader.

14. "1st. Then let us inquire whether the Holy Scriptures any where inculcate the belief that baptism is regeneration.

"We will first endeavor to explain those passages of Scripture that are usually urged in favor of this doctrine.—In a conversation with

Nicodemus, (*John*, 3d chapter) our Saviour instructs him as to the nature of the new birth, or regeneration. In the 3rd verse he says 'except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.' The meaning in the original is, except a man be born from above. Every man must have two births, one from the earth which enables him to see the light, and experience the enjoyments of this world, and one from above, which fits him for the kingdom of glory hereafter. Nicodemus could not comprehend how a man could be born when he was old. Our Lord then reiterates his first declaration with an addition,—'Except a man be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God.' When men became converted to the Christian religion they were admitted by water baptism as members of the Church of the Redeemer. But the water which was used was only an emblem of the Holy Spirit.—This baptism admitted them into the visible kingdom of God—into the family of believers. Something more was necessary, and our Saviour taught Nicodemus, that in order to be prepared for the invisible kingdom of God he must be born of the Spirit —his heart must be converted to God by the divine influences from above. If baptism alone was regeneration why does the Saviour lay such stress on the necessity of a new birth, as effected by the Holy Spirit? In the 16th chapter of Mark, after our Lord had given his commission to his Apostles, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, he tells them, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.' 'He that believeth'—that accepts this Gospel as a revelation from God—'and is baptized'—that is, makes an open profession of it in the way which God has instituted, by baptism—'shall be saved;'—'but he that believeth not'—that is, he that yields no faith or obedience to this Gospel, (and here no reference is made to baptism)—'shall be damned'—because he rejects the Gospel, the only provision that could be effectual in saving his soul. The following passage contained in Paul's Epistle to Titus, 3rd chapter, 5th verse, has also been brought forward as evidence in favor of their doctrine. 'According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.' If these words have reference to the ordinance of baptism, they can only mean that baptism which Christ has established in his Church, is symbolical of that change of the heart which is necessary to salvation.—Thus far, therefore, we find nothing in the holy Scriptures that can warrant us in believing so dangerous a doctrine."

15. "But let us inquire in what manner were men under the Gospel dispensation converted to God. When the Apostles received their commission, they were commanded to preach the Gospel to every creature, and baptism was to be an evidence of their faith, and not faith the result of baptism. They preached first repentance and faith, and then enjoined the duty of baptism. We read that Lydia was baptized, but not until the Lord had opened her heart. The Jailer was baptized in consequence of his faith. Paul was not baptized until after he had been converted in a miraculous manner. And when the Eunuch said to Philip, see here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized, Philip replied, if thou believest with all thy heart thou mayest."

16. "If the doctrine was true that baptism is regeneration, then all those vast hordes of Indian captives that were driven to the baptismal font by Cortes, Pizarro, and their infamous hosts of plunderers, who held over them the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, must have been suddenly converted from heathenism to the true faith, and been fitted for the kingdom of God, and the world has been unjust in censuring them for crimes, which, however great may have been the tortures they inflicted on their fellow-men, were yet the instruments of saving their souls."

17. "Thus far we have only taken into consideration the persons of adults, who had been converted and baptized. But the individuals who have adopted these unscriptural sentiments, are, in common with us, advocates of infant baptism. Among the Jews the proselytes from heathenism were baptized as well as their children, and in the New Testament we read that whole families were baptized; witness those of the Jailer at Philippi—of Lydia and Stephanus; and we are no where told that the children were excluded. A vast majority of the Christian world has acknowledged a belief in the necessity of infant baptism, and our opponents are equally strenuous with ourselves on this subject. If baptism is regeneration, why does not every child baptized in infancy, henceforth walk with God, and lead a devoted, pious life. Now is this the fact? Have we not on the contrary the must unquestionable evidence, from the conduct of thousands of young persons, that their hearts are yet unchanged—that they are still in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity."

18. "We have now, we think, conclusively shown, that this doctrine is every where opposed by the letter and meaning of the Scripture; it may, however, be inquired, is it not countenanced by the creed of our Church, from whence it is pretended to be derived? We answer, let the language of our confession speak for itself. The following is the whole of our article on baptism."

19. "'Concerning baptism, our Churches teach that it is a necessary ordinance, that it is *a means of grace*, and ought to be administered also to children, who are thereby dedicated to God, and received into his favor.'"

20. "Here then it is plainly declared that baptism is only the means of grace, and in conformity to these views, our Churches both in Europe and America, teach no other doctrine, and feel themselves authorized, from the Scriptures, and the articles of faith, to declare that baptism is not regeneration."

I must begin by remarking that in paragraph 22, you state that the doctrine which you here combat is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church.

The doctrine is stated to be "Baptism is regeneration." Now Sir, regeneration means the being born again. But as this may be explained in a variety of ways, it is better that we should be explicit and precise in the meaning of our subject. In paragraph 16, you appear to say that we call Baptism regeneration, in the sense that by the mere performance of the rite upon the adult, he is suddenly fitted for heaven, whatever his disposition may be, even though he had not faith. This is in keeping with your assertion in paragraph 42, stating that we teach "that in partaking of the Sacraments we become entitled to salvation." Sir, the Catholic Church teaches no such doctrine. Therefore if I am to understand your proposition thus explained, you have made another egregious mistake. I will not say that you have intentionally misrepresented us, for I think it very likely that you have been honestly led astray by your own Theologians, who scarcely ever give an honest representation of what we teach. I would as soon expect to find a correct exhibition of the concerns of a Convent from Maria Monk, or the Rev. Dr. Slocum, or the Rev. Dr. Brownlee, of New York, as I would to obtain a correct statement of Catholic doctrine, from one of your Theologians. I have, Sir, read probably as deeply as you have, the works of the great defenders of what you call Reform, and I am pretty well acquainted with the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and I know of no more mean and wicked and unprincipled forgery: this, Sir, is very strong language, which I deliberately use: I know of no more mean and wicked and unprincipled forgery, than the great body of Protestant Theologians have committed, in misrepresenting Catholic doctrine. Hence, Sir, I am by no means astonished at the palpable ignorance of the genuine doctrine of our Church, which manifestly pervades the great body of the Protestant clergy, who study those works, and who rely upon their authority.

In your paragraph 14, you say, "The meaning of the original Scripture text is, except a man be born from above." Now, Sir, you will excuse me for dissenting from you. The word in Greek, which I suppose you call the original, is ἄνωθεν. This word has several meanings, amongst which is "from above" and "again," or "a second time."—My reasons for dissenting from you are; first, the authority of the Vulgate, one of the very oldest Latin translations, made, I may say, at the moment almost co-eval with the original, and this gives me *denuo*, "*again*" or "*a second time*,"—secondly, the Syriac translates it in the same manner, *again*; thirdly, the Arabic translates it *a second time*. Upon the plain principle that the early translators and the great body of Christians in the first ages, were better qualified than either you or I can now pretend to be, to express the exact meaning of this word, I should rest satisfied. But, Sir, the very answer of Nicodemus in the 4th verse, shows the meaning. "How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time δεύτερον into his mother's womb, and be born again?"

Again, Sir, you say, "But the water which was used was only an emblem of the Holy Spirit; this baptism admitted them into the visible kingdom of God, into the family of believers." If he was admitted into the family of believers in a proper manner, he must be a believer,—if a believer, he must have faith; and according to you, if he had faith, he was justified. Thus he must have been justified either before or at baptism.

The Catholic says, that without faith in the adult, the Sacrament will not produce its effects of sanctification or justification, because the want of faith is an obstacle to that grace.

You appear by your explanation of the above passage of St. John and of that in the 16th chapter of St. Mark to consider Baptism not indeed to be regeneration, but not to be more than a mere unessential profession of belief, for you tell us that no reference is made to want of Baptism where the man is damned; but he suffers this penalty, because he rejects the Gospel, the *only* provision that could be effectual in saving his soul. Thus, according to you, the reception of the Gospel is the *only* provision for salvation. If by this you mean, that the only way in which a person can partake of the merits of the Saviour is by obeying the precepts of the Gospel; you teach Catholic doctrine. It may not be amiss to give an authoritative exhibition of what preparation the Catholic Church requires in an adult, who prepares for Baptism. After having in chapter v, of the sixth Session of the Council of Trent, celebrated on the 13th of January, 1547, described the excitement of the sinner by God's holy inspiration, and his correspondence with this grace by his determination to turn to God and his prayer for aid,—the council proceeds to state in

CHAPTER VI.

The manner of preparation.

But they are disposed for justification itself, whilst excited by divine grace, and being aided in receiving faith by hearing (*Rom.* x,) they are freely moved towards God, believing those things to be true which are divinely revealed

and promised; and in the first place, that the impious man is justified by God, through his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: (*Rom.* iii, 24,) and whilst understanding that they are sinners, by turning themselves from the fear of divine justice, by which they are usefully shaken to the contemplation of God's mercy, they are raised to hope trusting that God will be merciful to them for the sake of Christ, they begin to love him as the fountain of all justification. (*Psalm* xli, 1.) And therefore they are moved against their sins with a sort of hatred and detestation, that is with that penance which should be done before Baptism, whilst finally they propose to receive Baptism, to begin a new life and to keep the commandments of God. Concerning this disposition, it is written, (*Heb.* xi, 6,) that he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and is a rewarder of them that seek him: and (*Matt.* ix, 2; *Mark*, ii,) Son have confidence, thy sins are forgiven thee, and (*Eccles.* i, 27.) The fear of the Lord driveth out sin, and (*Acts* ii, 38.) Do penance and be baptized, every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: and (*Matt.* xxviii, 19, *Mark* xvi, 16,) Going, therefore, teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsover I commanded you. And (1 *Kings* vii, 3, ii, 1.) Prepare your hearts unto the Lord.

When you calmly examine this doctrinal declaration, is it possible you could deliberately assert, that Catholics teach, that the mere rite of Baptism is regeneration? No Sir, no honest and intelligent man could do so. You have done it, not I believe by reason of any want of honesty, nor because of any lack of intelligence, but because you have never studied our doctrines in their proper place, but taken upon trust, the assertions of your first founders and of your divines, whom you call Reformers, and whom I declare to be, in this instance, void of all honesty.

The sacrament of Baptism is the means or instrument by which God takes away sin and sanctifies the soul of the properly disposed adult. Thus, though it be not regeneration, it is the Sacrament of regeneration,—and I believe you will find in the passages of Scripture above cited and in many others, sufficient warrant for this belief.

Now, Sir, there was no sufficient motive for mistranslating the word ἄνωθεν to find a proof against us, of the necessity of the influence from above, to prepare an adult for the Sacrament of regeneration, because any man who would deny such necessity would, by the fact, cease to be a Catholic. The third canon of the sixth session of the Council of Trent is in the following words:

If any one shall say, that a man is able to believe, to hope, to love or to be penitent, as he ought, so that the grace of justification may be bestowed upon him, without the previous inspiration of the Holy Ghost and his aid. Let him be Anathema.

Thus Sir, the Catholic Church condemns as a heresy that which your teachers impute to her as a doctrine; and she anathematizes those who hold that which you charge her with teaching. Is there any reason here, Sir, for the application of the 10th verse of that same chapter of the Gospel of St. John? "Art thou a master in Israel and knowest not these things?"

I have nothing then to say to your 15th paragraph, but that it leaves the Catholic untouched, and that a mistake concerning doctrine, which it contains, will not be easily reconciled with either your 19th or your 20th paragraphs.

Your 16th paragraph, Sir, is so pretty a piece of rhetoric that it would be a pity to spoil it, did not the unsparing sternness of truth and justice require its decomposition. In the first place, good Sir, you ought to have better ascertained the fact that Cortes, Pizarro and their infamous host of plunderers really did hold swords in one hand and crosses in the other, before you made the assertion. I once knew the Mayor of a city, who sent a dispatch, assuring the government, that he was in such dread of an invading army, that whilst he was writing the communication, he had a sword in one hand and a pistol in the other! I am aware, Sir, that Hume and Robertson, and other philosophical historians furnished models for pretty sentences of this description. But I can assure you there is often a good deal of hyperbole on their pages, and where the Catholic religion is in question, they are not to be trusted one whit more than are your theologians. I put down the sword and cross then as figurative. You see, I am not always an enemy to the figurative sense. I am no apologist for the barbarous extirpators of the Indians: but recollect, Sir, that there are some sentimental members, even to-day, in the Evangelical Churches of our Union, and perhaps Sir, even in the Lutheran Evangelical Church of the United States, who weep over the wrongs endured by our red brethren in Florida and in the Cherokee district, and who denounce in no measured terms, the barbarities of Georgia and the cruelty of the infamous hosts of plunderers who are aided and abetted by the Government of the United States. Sir, I have lamented the fate of the Carrib, I traversed the odoriferous lands where once he dwelt in peace before the face of the white man was seen within his borders. I have read the description of the injustice and cru-

elty under which he was bowed down and I wept. I have read and I have listened to the effusions of a similar description by our own public men and by those who are eminent as statesmen and as scholars in remote nations, when they were advocating the cause of the Indian and of the Negro! I have observed both, and I have learned the value of the effusion.

These descriptions will go down to the children of future generations: and before the lapse of two centuries, it will be proclaimed and generally believed, that we of this age, and of this section of our Union were heartless and unjust. Even now Sir, this is proclaimed to half the world, and by the greater portion of that half it is believed. You and I know, that this is an unfounded calumny,—yet we are not able to prevent its transmission to other days, nor its belief by generations yet to rise.

Thus, also, Sir, your 16th paragraph is the production of mistake. It is imagination, a painting.

The Catholic Church confers not baptism upon an adult against his will, not without his consent, nor would such a baptism be a sacrament. Hence from the beginning, she prepared those who sought Baptism by the exercises of the Catechumen, in order to create those dispositions which the Council of Trent describes. It was often discovered in the early ages of the Church, that persons feigned a desire which they had not, and in order to prove and to prepare them, several councils enacted that they should be kept during months in a state of preparation, until their motive could be detected and their dispositions be ascertained. And it is indispensably required in every case, that the question shall be asked "Wilt thou be baptized?" Children answer by their sponsors; but adults must answer also for themselves,—and St. Thomas of Aquin, writing upon the subject nearly three centuries previous to the formation of a Lutheran Church, gives the following reasons: (3 par. qu. lxviii, Art. 7,) First, The persons who come for baptism, are by the ritual required to ask it from the Church. Next, by baptism we die to the old life of sin, and begin a new life as described in Rom. vi, 3, 4. He proceeds to say:

"And therefore as in a person having the use of free will, its determination is required, that he should die to his old life, by which determination he repents of its acts: so a determination is required by which he would intend a newness of life, and the beginning thereof is the receiving of the Sacrament itself."

In the Catechism of the Council of Trent, (*part* ii, *chap.* xl,) three things are declared to be necessary for adults in order to be baptized. 1. The will, or consent. 2. Faith, for which the words of the Saviour are quoted (*Mark*, xvi, 16) and 3. Repentance or penance with a determination not to sin again.

In the chapter xxxviii, the catechism states distinctly the reason why the consent or will of an adult is necessary for baptism, and refers not only to the passage which I have quoted from St. Thomas, but also to a passage of St. Augustin testifying the same. And now with this testimony of Catholic doctrine, you can easily perceive what an accumulation of blunders lies covered by the pretty figure which your imagination painted to decorate your 16th paragraph.

Your 17th paragraph assumes the truth of an opinion which we condemn. Upon the assumption that grace is inamissible, that is, that a person once converted to God can never commit sin again, you argue that baptism gives no grace, because they who have been baptized do subsequently commit sin. Now Sir, the argument is of no weight as against us, because we hold that grace once received may be lost, that a person may be justified by the merits of Christ, and fall off from that state of justification. We find that in the 11th article of the Confession of Augsburg, the Lutherans of that day, teach "that they condemn the same Anabaptists who deny that the Holy Ghost may be lost after man is once justified."

Thus, Sir, the principle of your 17th paragraph is cut away from you, by the leaders and founders of your own Church, in that very document in which you say "the doctrines of the Reformation, were clearly defined." (*par.* 8.) This Sir, is not the place for me to enter upon a history of this tenet and of the disputes and contradictions amongst the Protestants upon the subject: even among those who professed Calvinism, it was the great cause of serious differences at the Synod of Dort;—and although Calvin deduced it as a necessary consequence from the Lutheran principle of the certainty which a man has of his justification, still the Lutherans denied the correctness of the inference, and it continued in the most memorable disputes, of Lutherans with other Protestants, to be as firmly denied to have been revealed by God, as it was asserted by the great body of the Calvinists to be an original essential article of that revelation. I was not prepared to find this Calvinistic tenet embraced by the President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, for the purpose of attempting to destroy in reality, the value of infant baptism, when in the 9th article of the Confession of Augsburg the Lutherans declare "that baptism is necessary

to salvation, and that they condemn the Anabaptists who assert that children may be saved without baptism, and out of the Church of Jesus Christ." Thus, Sir, if your 17th paragraph condemns the Hinkelite, it must also condemn the whole Lutheran Society in 1530, and for at least a century and a half subsequently thereto: for they held that by Baptism a child is received unto God's favor, and that grace may be lost.

Your 18th paragraph is of no account. Your 19th states as the doctrine of your churches, 1st, that Baptism is a necessary ordinance, yet in par. 14 you have told us, that "the water was only an emblem of the Holy Spirit," "that no reference was made by the Saviour to baptism"—where he declared that the unbeliever shall be damned "that baptism is [only] symbolical of that change of the heart, which [change of the heart] is necessary to salvation," of course the symbol is not necessary.

You proceed to say that your churches teach that it is "*a means of grace*," of course the means procure the end, then baptism procures grace. This, Sir, is in perfect conformity with the doctrine of its necessity, but which necessity it would appear from your paragraphs 14 and 15, you do not admit, for besides what we have seen in the 14th, you say in the 15th, "baptism was to be an evidence of faith," which faith, according to you in par. 14, justified. "He that believeth—that accepts this Gospel as a revelation from God"—farther on you say, the receiving this Gospel is "the *only* provision that could be effectual in saving his soul." It is true, that you said that baptism was making "an open profession of belief in the way which God has instituted."

But it is equally true that you say, that the sentence of damnation is the consequence of yielding no faith or obedience to this Gospel, and "without any reference to baptism." This looks very like a contradiction of the teaching of your own church, that baptism is *a means of grace*, that by baptism children are not only dedicated to God, but are thereby received into his favor.

Now, Sir, the child is incapable of faith,—the child is incapable of belief, the child is incapable of accepting the Gospel, or a revelation from God: the child is incapable of making open profession of that belief or accepting of the Gospel. If baptism then is only this profession, this accepting—the child is altogether incapable thereof: wherefore, baptism, for a child, so far from being "a necessary ordinance," would be an useless and a delusive superstition. The Anabaptist would be right in rejecting it. Yet the Lutherans in their Confession of Augsburg declare "that baptism is necessary for salvation; and that they condemn the Anabaptists who assert that children may be saved without baptism."—You tell us, that it is a necessary ordinance, that it is a *means of grace*, that it ought to be administered to children, that by it they are dedicated to God: that by it they are received into his favor.

Now, Sir, the solution of the contradictions is this: Concerning what Baptism is, you give us in your 19th paragraph the Lutheran teaching as it was for the first one hundred and fifty years,—and in *paragraph* 14, you have adopted the Calvinistic teaching which contradicted the Lutheran,—and in *paragraph* 20 you blend them both; because, in the first part you tell us, that it is a means of grace, that is, that thereby the child that was out of God's favor, being therein dedicated to God, is received into his favor,—if received into his favor, it must be justified through Christ, if justified through Christ, it is born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, it is saved as St. Paul says, (*Tit.* iii, 5,) "Not by the works of justice which we have done," "but according to his mercy, by the laver of regeneration, and the renovation of the Holy Ghost." And in the second part you also tell us that "Baptism is not regeneration." I shall not dwell any longer upon the contradictions, not only between your own assertions, but of your own teachers. I might have dilated upon this topic still farther, by contrasting the assertions of your 14th paragraph with those of your 43d. It would have been a more pleasing task for me to have been otherwise engaged;—but you left me no choice.—You unnecessarily assailed that Church to which I belong, with the charges of teaching doctrines "unscriptural," and "of dangerous tendency," "calculated to produce demoralizing effects." You compared us to some members holding the tenets of the original Lutheran Church, whom you were pleased to designate "a declining and unenlightened sect," dwelling "in the abodes of obscurity," followers of "a weak and illiterate man, whose ground of dissent, as far as can be gathered from the crude, visionary, and inflammatory publications, which have from time to time appeared either under his name, or that of *his* sect, was that the Evangelical Church had departed from the true doctrines of the Reformation, which he and his church attempted to restore." With him and his followers, I have as little connexion as I have with you or yours. But I apprehend that they who have had the patience to read what I have set forth respecting doctrine, on the subject of the Eucharist, on the nature of the sacraments, and of Bap-

tism, have found some cause to believe, 1st. That the Catholic doctrine on these points is in perfect conformity with the Scriptures. 2d. That although there are a great variety of opinions on those subjects in the several divisions of Protestantism, there is no doctrine, that is, no certain knowledge of what Christ has taught, nor any sufficient and satisfactory mode of ascertaining it upon Protestant principles,—and 3d. That there is in the works of the first Protestant writers and in their doctrinal articles, as much matter to sustain the Hinkelites in their teaching, as to sustain you in the opinions which you promulgate.

I have now done with your doctrinal exhibition, but there still remain about a dozen paragraphs, some of which contain imputations of a nature very offensive to the Roman Catholic Church, put forward for the ostensible purpose of vindicating your own. I shall therefore try, in a few more letters, to examine the ground upon which they are made. I remain, Rev. Sir,

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., June 28, 1838.

LETTER XIV.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—In your 46th paragraph you proceed with explanations whose object is set forth in your 45th; viz. to show how generally you agree with all other Protestant Churches. You commence by saying that you "do not believe in the doctrine of unconditional election." This belief is by some deemed most important and essential. So much so that for rejecting it and for believing as you do, the Synod of Dort, in 1618, condemned the Remonstrants, depriving them of their place "in the ministry, of their chairs of professorship in divinity, of all other functions as well ecclesiastic as academical until having satisfied the Church, they be fully reconciled and received into her communion." This Synod requested the State, not to permit "any other doctrine but that which was just defined (the doctrine of unconditional election) to be taught; and to obstruct heresies and errors that were creeping in." Thus, Rev. Sir, either this doctrine is important and essential, or we have the Synod of Dort excommunicating and deposing a large number of Protestants for holding opinions that do not trench upon any important or essential doctrine. I suspect this is one of the principal causes of all the turmoil between the new school and the old school of the Presbyterians in the United States this day. It would be folly to seek for that which is impossible, viz. an agreement in doctrine between Protestant Churches, because their very separation from each other springs from contradiction. One asserting that God actually revealed what another declares to be a direct contradiction to his revelation! They agree but in one point, viz. To contradict the Catholic Church; and yet, in their specifications of error, they acquit by the majority of their suffrages that very Church to which they are opposed.

I believe, Sir, that the majority of Protestants, judging by their forms of profession, would condemn you of error upon this head: I believe that judging by their individual opinions, the majority would be in your favor. But you may as well seek to construct a permanent fortress upon the quicksand of the desert as to exhibit a doctrinal agreement between the ramifications of what you call the reformation!

You next inform us that you practice the rite of confirmation as a mode of *admitting* members *into the Church*, accompanied by the profession of faith, but *you* do not regard confirmation as a sacrament." In this denial of its being a sacrament you agree with perhaps all Protestants. But, in paragraph 43, you state that a sacrament is not only a mark of Christian profession amongst men, but rather a sign or evidence of the divine disposition towards us tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them. Upon this definition I should be inclined to say that you ought to admit its being a sacrament. For, clearly it is a mark of Christian profession among men, and next it is a divine institution practised by the Apostles; it is an evidence of the divine disposition towards us, it is tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of the recipient.

I do not, by any means admit the accuracy of your definition; but supposing its correctness,—you must admit the rite to be a sacrament. No! You say, "it is a mode of admitting members into the church, accompanied by a profession of faith." Why, good Sir, you informed us in *parag.* 14, "When men became converted to the Christian religion, they were admitted by water baptism as members of the Church of the Redeemer." In the same paragraph, you say, that the profession of faith was necessary with the use of water, you called baptism itself "making an open profession of it (the Gospel as a revelation from God) in the way which God has instituted, by baptism." Thus by the rite of baptism, accompanied by a profession of faith, and the rite itself is not only a sufficient profession, but the profession in the way that God has instituted, persons are admitted as members of the Church. Again, in *parag.* 19, you inform us that by baptism,

children are dedicated to God and received into his favor," necessarily therefore into his church, and yet in 46, they are to be admitted into the church by confirmation, after having been received into it by baptism. I will not undertake to say that you cannot unravel this, but it is perplexity to me!

You say that your "church government is of a simple form corresponding in this respect, with the republican institutions of the land." This may be the case in America, and I am convinced you think it is: however Sir, such is not the case in Europe. There is very little of republicanism in Sweden, in Norway, in Denmark, in Prussia, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in Mecklenburg-Strelitz, in Oldenburg, in Brunswick, in Saxe-Weimar, in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in Saxe-Meiningen, in Saxe-Altenburg, in Schwartz-Rudoltstadt, in Schwartz-Sunderded, in Reus of the elder line, in Reus of the younger line, in Hesse-Darmstadt, in Wurtemburg or in Hanover. I do not insinuate that American citizens, who profess the Evangelical Lutheran religion are one whit less attached to liberty, because their fellow-religionists in Europe are the most tyrannical among the reigning despots and the most abject of those enslaved:—but I thought that as you made your proposition general, it would be as well to show that your religious society was, like all others of any considerable extent, as varying in its political features as are the governments of those countries in which it was found. We too Sir, have despots and republicans in our communion; and you are in this respect at least assimilated to us: though I suspect your object was to insinuate that republicanism and Protestantism necessarily were allied, and that you desired to recommend yourself to the fraternal affection of your fellow Protestants by showing how unlike to the Catholic despots were the republican Evangelical Lutherans.

Recollect, Sir, that you cannot charge me with having placed you in company with the names on the illustrious list that I have given. You gave us a specimen of your sort of dislike to royalty and aristocracy in *parag.* 56; where you inform us that the sentiments of your church "have in Europe been adopted by Prussia, (the most tyrannical despot in the world is first upon your list), Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Lapland, Finland and parts of France, Hungary and Russia: (you close with the worst autocrat, as you began with the most faithless and perfidious despot); amounting, according to the computation of a good author, to 27,000,000 of inhabitants of Europe alone and embracing in it SEVENTEEN REIGNING SOVEREIGNS." You will perceive then, Sir, that I have only enumerated the SEVENTEEN REIGNING SOVEREIGNS, whom you probably will show forth as lovers of your simple, republican form of government! Sir, it is rather a curious mode of proving your preference of republicanism, to boast that you have SEVENTEEN REIGNING SOVEREIGNS in your communion.

Now, Sir, if your republicanism and ours be estimated by the number of reigning Sovereigns in our several communions, we shall be pretty nearly upon a par; for we shall make out precisely seventeen in Europe; provided we be allowed to number the Pope and the King of Greece, and the King of Saxony upon the catalogue. So that in this point of view you are not one whit less royal or princely than we are.

If, however, we are to estimate the love of royalty by the ratio of the sovereigns to the people, we shall come to a very different result. You have in Europe seventeen sovereigns to 27,000,000 of subjects, whilst we have there only seventeen sovereigns to 121,743,367 of subjects,—which is the number of Catholics in Europe according to the American Almanac,—and which I consider to be under the truth. Upon these data, the Lutherans have one sovereign for 1,588,236 subjects; whilst the Catholics have but one sovereign for 7,161,375 subjects. Thus, Rev. Sir, the Lutherans have at least 4½ times as much royalty as the Catholics: and if the love of republican simplicity indisposes for the love of royalty, your 46th and 56th paragraphs are not the most fortunately allied.

Again, Sir, the American Almanac gives us the sum total of all the Protestants in Europe as 52,340,432. If we deduct from this your 27,000,000, we shall have a remainder of 25,340,432, under twelve Protestant sovereigns and in republics, but as I have not deducted the Lutherans or the Catholics who are republicans, I shall not now take any notice of the number here; and in truth it would not materially change the result, for the whole number does not amount to two millions and a half, and of which I shall take a brief view before I close this letter. The same Almanac gives us the number of British Protestants as 18,676,687, were we to deduct this from the 25,340,432, we should have a remainder of only 6,663,745, Protestant subjects of Calvinistic denominations, to eleven sovereigns, of Evangelical and Reformed Protestant denominations, that is—605,795 subjects to each sovereign; which would give us the Calvinistic attachment to royalty to be more than two and a half times as great as that of the Lutherans, and about sixty-four times as great as the Catholics;

nor need this startle us, for we perceive the sovereign of Anhalt Bemberg with 43,325 subjects, the sovereign of Anhalt Coethen with 36,000; the former is an Evangelical, the latter is of the Reformed; and his Highness of Anhalt Dessau, who is Evangelical, is sovereign over 57,629 subjects, or vassals, if you prefer so calling them. The prince of Lippe Schauenburg is also of the Reformed, and his sceptre sways 26,000. Hesse Homburg is Reformed, and governs 24,000. The elder Reus, who is a Lutheran, has 30,041, whilst the sovereign of the younger line, HENRY *the sixty-second*, a Lutheran too, rejoices in dominion over 68,854. By this time, Sir, I think we can perceive the inherent love of liberty, the simplicity of republicanism and the hatred of monarchy and of despotism which dwells within the bosoms of the seventeen Lutheran reigning sovereigns, and of the twelve reigning sovereigns of the other Protestant Churches in Europe. There are, taken as a body, twenty-nine reigning Protestant sovereigns in Europe, with 52,340,432 Protestant subjects: seventeen Catholic reigning sovereigns in Europe with 121,743,357 Catholic subjects: one sovereign professing the Greek religion, 43,300,688 of Greek subjects: one sovereign professing the Mohammedan religion, the subjects of the same religion are 8,050,000. From this view, Sir, it is not the most natural conclusion that Lutherans love republicanism and hate monarchy,—and the Calvinists appear also to think in Europe, as they do elsewhere, that the power of ruling is by no means to be eschewed.

But how stands the question of republicanism? Alas, Sir, there is very little of it to be found in Europe. Let us take Switzerland! Her Catholics are set down at 800,000; her Protestants at 1,300,000,—the majority of whom are Evangelical and Calvinistic, a minority Lutheran. San Marino is very small, but is purely democratic, under the Papal protection, and surrounded by the Papal territory. Its population is but 7000. In the Ionian Islands which are called republican, under British protection, there are 35,200 Catholics, and 148,018 Greeks. The sum total of Catholics in European republics is then 842,200. Dividing, by estimate, Switzerland between Lutherans and other Protestants, after deducting the 800,000 Catholics, I should say there were 470,000 Lutherans and 830,000 other Protestants. In the Hanseatic towns the estimate is 273,000 Lutherans, 13,000 other Protestants, and 11,000 Catholics. If to those we add a division, once free, still loving liberty, bowed unfortunately beneath an iron yoke, but yet retaining a sort of permission to keep their form of administration in Cracow, there are 116,750 Catholics, 1,000 Reformed or Calvinists, and about 500 Lutherans. This gives us in our grand total 934,750 Catholics, 844,000 Calvinists and Evangelicals and 743,750 Lutherans. Now if I strike unfortunate Cracow from the estimate, I shall still have 818 to your 743! There is, Sir, a magic in figures and a power in statistics, which, properly applied, would quickly destroy the false gloss which a bad volubility careless of truth, has in our country given to fictitious charges against Catholics. I believe, that the members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States are as much attached to the simplicity of republicanism as are the Catholics: but they are not more so. Nor is the Catholic Church government less fitted for a republic than the Lutheran. Your clergy claim to hold their charges as long as they behave themselves,—no Catholic priest or Bishop has any more firm tenure.

The title and term of office of a judge of the United States or of a judge of the State of South Carolina is exactly analagous to that of a Catholic Bishop;—you as pastor of the Lutheran Evangelical church in this city, and most of the pastors of the other Protestant churches, claim to hold by a like tenure, and yet you say nothing against this for its incompatibility with republicanism; because, as you would properly answer, they are compatible. Sir! so is ours.

In this country, the administration of the affairs of your church is as you describe, but surely you will not assert that such is its administration in Prussia, in Sweden, in Denmark, and in those other States of your seventeen reigning sovereigns! and therefore I am far from saying that your members here are despots and vassals, because their brethren are so elsewhere. In this country the Church and the State are separated,—it is not so in those other places. Now, Sir, even in the United States, your administration of sacraments, your merely religious concerns are in the sole care of your clergy. But when you speak of the administration of the affairs of the church, if by this you mean its management of property, you are aware that in every denomination this is managed differently in different countries. In Europe, the State manages it for you, and here you manage it for yourselves as you may see convenient—and so also, Sir, it is with Roman Catholics. Their management of church-property is a subject to be adjusted to the circumstances in which they are placed. It varies in different places and times, and here, the laity whether with or without right, in most instances, have as much to do with its

administration as they have amongst you. In some instances, under proper regulations it has been usefully conceded to them, in other instances they have made churches desolate and disgraced religion by their usurpations, their peculation, their misapplication of the funds. But, Sir, this is not peculiar to Catholics.

Your 47th paragraph alleges that "your church has never desired the aid of the State for the support of its ministers." If you confine the observation to the United States, it is perfectly true, and it is the same of the Catholic Church. It would be folly to desire what could not be obtained. If you mean the observation to apply to Europe, the case is very different. There, your church is united with the State, and your ministers are supported by the State. This is not the place to inquire whether this support is given against the clergy's desire and in opposition to the spirit of [your] church. Your ministers are thus supported even where [their] church is not united with the State; as in France, where last year a very liberal grant was made to pay 388 Lutheran ministers, 345 Calvinistic, and 92 Jewish. Catholic Austria pays for the support of a ministry for about 4,000,000 of Lutherans, for nearly 1,000,000 of Calvinists, and nearly 3,000,000 of Greeks, besides having half a million of Jews, less than one thousand Mohammedans, and 27,000,000 of Catholics. You observe that this one Catholic monarch has in his dominions exactly as many Catholics, as, according to your own statement, there are of your religion in all Europe, and you are twice as many as is any other denomination of Protestants. I could cite several other instances of the union of the Lutheran Church with the State in the realms of *seventeen reigning sovereigns* of that denomination, besides its ministers deriving their support from the State in several other territories. Here again, Sir, the Lutheran Church is in exactly the same predicament as are the Catholic and the Calvinistic Churches.

But Luther himself, in 1538, acknowledging the necessity of a visitation of the churches, and moreover feeling, that there must be the appearance of a mission, (*Visit. Sax. cap. de Doct. Cap. de libert. Christ*) said, that though the visitation was an Apostolic function and could not be performed by the Prince in person, yet it was the duty of the civil magistrate in charity to appoint one capable of making it: and he accepted the commission of visitor from the prince, and thus he not only united the church and State, but he subsequently, in one of the most extraordinary documents to which he ever gave his signature, declared the necessity for the church of having, at that time, State protection. Any person who is conversant with the history of that period, knows that Philip the Landgrave of Hesse was the soul and life of the Protestant league of Smalcald, by which it was sought to keep the Catholic powers in check. Amongst other curious notions, this Philip determined to have the written opinion of Luther, Melancthon and Bucer, for the lawfulness of simultaneous polygamy in his own case. He only wished to have two wives at the same time, and made some threats of unpleasant consequences, should the decision not be according to his wishes. The Landgrave's application is dated at Melsigen, on the Sunday after the feast of St. Catherine, in 1539. The answer in twenty-four articles, declaring it to be lawful, by way of dispensation, to have two wives at the same time, is subscribed by Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Anthony Corvin, Adam, John Leningue, Justus Wintferte and Denis Melander, and is given from Wittenberg, on the Wednesday after the feast of St. Nicholas, 1539.

The third article is thus translated:

"III. Your highness is not ignorant in how great need our poor miserable little and abandoned church stands of virtuous princes and rulers to protect her; and we doubt not but God will always supply her with some such, although from time to time he threatens to deprive her of them, and proves her by sundry temptations."

Having thus far triumphed over the patriarchs of the Reformation, the Landgrave became their dictator. In 1542, he was desirous to draw the Swiss into the Smalcaldic league, but they had an utter aversion to the elevation of the host at Mass, to the ringing of the bell, and to the striking of their breasts by the people, and the Landgrave insisted upon the abolition of those rites by Luther, though the new Apostle had for twenty-five years contended for retaining them. In fact, Sir, all through, the civil magistrate has had the Lutheran clergy of Europe in his pay and under his control. Such is the case to-day. The principal wars in Europe between the Catholic and Protestant powers during nearly two centuries, had for their object not only the domination of the one or of the other religion, but the acquisition of the church-property, which, when seized upon by the seventeen sovereigns, they generally kept for themselves, giving but a small portion to those ministers whom they employed to preach the Gospel. In America, however, it is otherwise regulated.

I am far from charging upon the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the United States those acts of the Lutheran sovereigns of the

petty German principalities and of the Northern despots of Europe.

I agree with you as to the folly of imagining that your church seeks to create an union of Church and State in this country. But of that and other topics, more in my next. I remain, Rev. Sir,

Yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., July 5, 1838.

LETTER XV.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—In your 47th paragraph, you state that "the cry of danger to our free institutions in a supposed attempt at a union of Church and State, has sometimes been raised in this country by the enemies of religion." Now Sir, if by this you mean to convey the notion, that the cry was raised only by the enemies of religion, it is rather a severe assault upon those who would be considered the elect and the devoted amongst Protestants; for they have cried most lustily against the danger to those institutions from an union with Popery! Yes Sir, with Popery! And thus the State was to be controled by Popery, and Popery was to be controled by Prince Metternich, and thus were our liberties to be destroyed! It is rather cruel for you to call the holy ones, the Saints, the Brownlees, the Hoyts, the Breckenridges, the Beechers, the McCallas, the Bemans, and though last not least, the Maria Monks, the Theresa Reeds and the Mrs. Culbertsons, the Jane Shores and the Rosamonds of the American Protestant Churches, by the appellations of enemies to religion! They have been the loudest in their cry of the danger to which our free institutions and our pure morals were exposed! But Sir, I do not agree with you, that this Union of Church and State was not sought by the Elys and the anti-Sunday-mail-school as well as by the Sabbath-school people, though I do not agree with you that the opponents of this scheme were the enemies to religion. I do hold with you, it is exceedingly improbable that the schemers should succeed in our present circumstances.*

In the same 47th paragraph you state, "the discipline to which your ministers are subjected, is that which they themselves consent to adopt for the sake of order." If by this you intimate that the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church is forced upon her ministers, you state that which is not the fact, because previous to his ordination, every one of them has had abundant opportunity of knowing the discipline and its consequences, and the tribunal by which alone it may be lawfully modified, and he was on the day of his ordination, and before the rite was performed, again solemnly and distinctly admonished of the obligations he would incur and warned before he came forward. If then, he subjected himself thereto, it was willingly done. We also do believe, Sir, that it is useful for order, and that "it is opposed to vice in every form." The rules that are formed for the government of the members do not deprive our people of their rights or liberties, as you appear to insinuate they do, but "they are such as the collected wisdom and piety of the church conceives necessary for its purity and prosperity."

And Sir, if "it has ever been the practice, both amongst ministers and people to communicate (amongst you) their thoughts freely to each other, without the danger of being suspected as heretics," you are not singular in this respect. The Roman Catholic Church has a very precise and distinct definition of what heresy is. She calls it a deliberate and obstinate rejection of a doctrine revealed by God, so that whatever opinion does not come under this description is not heretical. She has moreover a tribunal to determine when there is evidence that God has revealed a doctrine; and no man upon his own opinion can condemn his brother as a heretic, unless he is sustained by the decision of this tribunal. Hence Sir, so far as regards the danger of being suspected as a heretic because of a free interchange of thought whether between the clergy or the laity, or both, it is perfectly visionary, so long as they do not contradict the ascertained teaching of God: and I hope you would not extend your principle of Christian liberty, so far as to destroy this exception.

The judge who presides in a court frequently has a high respect for the opinion of some uncommissioned friend,—will consult him in his doubts, will request his aid in difficulties, will rely greatly upon his information, and will derive great benefit therefrom. Yet he cannot associate him by his side as vested with authority, nor will the executive officer obey the mandate unless it be the act of the judge, though he should be fully aware that it emanated from this friend. In the Roman Catholic Church, we recognise only that authority which Christ has established, but not only do our prelates not reject the advice, nor undervalue the opinions or the information of their brethren of the clergy and the laity; but very frequently they seek for it, they respect it and they profit by it. Nor even should they differ from them in opinion, will they always suspect them as heretics, because there is ample scope for difference of opinion without trench-

[* See "The Republic in Danger," in Part III.]

ing upon doctrine, a contradiction to which alone is heresy.

The same freedom exists respecting discipline. We are bound not to disobey the law, nor to treat the legislature with disrespect, yet we are at liberty respectfully to give our opinion regarding the expediency or inexpediency of the law, the utility or the inaptitude of the discipline. We have therefore all that liberty which is consistent with good sense, good order, and the general good. We have just as much as any citizen has in any well organized State. It is true that we believe the Constitution of the Church cannot be changed; because it emanates from God and not from man: the doctrine of the Church is, for the same reason, unchangeable; but the legislation of the Church is so far liable to change, as that it may by the proper tribunals be accommodated to the circumstances of time and place not only to preserve order but to promote the purity and the prosperity of the body of the faithful. Thus Sir, the people in the Catholic Church, are not, by its discipline, deprived of either right or liberty.

And now, Sir, if we look abroad into the domains of your seventeen reigning sovereigns, we shall discover, that although in this country your Church possesses that freedom which you describe, yet in most of their realms the discipline is more effectually regulated by those potentates than either by your clergy or your laity. This is no concern of mine, save that in these latter paragraphs you appear to me to be engaged in reconciling yourself to your fellow Protestants, and seeking their good will by covert and by open attacks upon the Roman Catholic Church. My object then is to repel those attacks, and is merely that. Hence I do not follow up by carrying the war into your own quarters, many an opportunity for doing which offers itself to me.

As to your money collections, I say nothing, for with this I have no concern, especially as upon this head, you make no insinuation against us. And I regard you, personally, as having too much of the high honor of a gentleman, to be directly or indirectly concerned in any of the religious swindling by which others contrive to get enriched.

You say that the ministers of your church are proverbially poor. I apprehend that our Catholic clergy in the United States, will, as a body, be well able to meet you upon the ground of poverty; and if the insufficient means of its clergy be a criterion of the excellence of religion, you will instantly concede that the Catholic is the best Church in the South.

The great principle which pervades this latter portion of your sermon I take to be that which is developed in your 49th paragraph.

49. "We would not be so uncharitable as to believe that our Protestant brethren would intentionally misrepresent our doctrines. A Church which has ever exercised charity and brotherly kindness to its brethren of other denominations has a right to claim that her doctrines and her principles should be weighed with all that candor which we ought to bring to the investigation of religious truth. Yet from some cause,—probably the want of correct information as to our creed,—we are sometimes charged with entertaining superstitious notions; and in a comparatively recent work, (Buck's Theological Dictionary,) which is a standard book, in the hands of all denominations, it is stated that 'The Lutherans, of all Protestants, are said to differ least from the Romish Church.'"

Upon this you ask in your 50th paragraph, "Now we would ask in all fairness and candor, whether we are deserving of this charge?" So that you consider [it] to be a charge of a serious nature; one which you do not deserve; [that] "The Lutherans, of all Protestants, are said to differ least from the Romish Church." For the purpose of repelling this charge, you enter into the specifications. "And wherein are we more like the Romish Church than any other Protestants! Is it in our doctrines?" Upon this score I have no remark to add to what I have already given. I leave you to claim the honor, if honor it be, of having led off the others from that belief of doctrine, which from the beginning was preserved in the Catholic Church. I leave to you the undisturbed enjoyment of having led the way in denying the doctrine of transubstantiation without ascertaining what you should substitute in its stead. I leave to you to boast of having destroyed the unity of Faith and introduced so many peculiar views in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as of obscurity. But if you hold to the Confession of Augsburg you will hold to its 21st article, which states, "Such is the abstract of our Faith, where nothing will be seen contrary to Scripture, nor to the Catholic Church, nor even to the Church of Rome, as far as can be known from her writers." The apology added, "The matter which is the subject of this dispute, regards some few abuses, which, without any certain authority, have been introduced into the churches; and though there should be some difference, it ought to be tolerated, since it is not necessary that church rites should every where be the same." Even four years later, in 1534, Luther himself (in his *Tr. de Missa*, t. vii, p. 236, &c.) writing of the Roman Catholic Church, states,

"that she is the true church, the pillar and ground of truth, and the most holy place." "In this church God miraculously preserves Baptism, the text of the Gospel in all languages, the remission of sins, and absolution as well in Confession, as in public; the sacrament of the altar about Easter, and three or four times in the year, though the people have been deprived of one kind, the vocation and ordination of pastors; the image of the crucifix, together with the remembrance of the death and passion of Jesus Christ; the Psalter, the Lord's prayer, the Symbol, the Decalogue and many pious canticles in Latin and German." * * * * "Where the true relics of Saints are to be found, there doubtless the saints have dwelt; for the institutions and sacraments of Jesus Christ are there, excepting one kind that has been forcibly taken away. For which reason it is certain Jesus Christ has been there present and his Holy Spirit there does preserve his true knowledge and the true faith in his elect."

I could multiply extracts to show that the original Lutherans in their boasted Confession of Faith, and Luther himself, the father of the Reformation, as it is called by its followers, proclaimed that in their doctrines they were mighty like "the Romish Church." Some one may exclaim: Then why did they separate from it, and call it Babylon and the seat of Antichrist? I do not know! I only know the truth of the facts which I state; I do not undertake to reconcile contradictions. Some of your philosophical historians, as they are called, your Gibbons, your Humes, your Robertsons, may assert that either there was no separation, or that those declarations were not made, because to suppose the truth of both is to admit the inconsistency of the leaders of the religious change, which, they will say, would be absurd.

However, mine being only a plain sort of understanding, I believe in the fact of the separation of these religionists, I believe in the fact that the leaders wrote the passages, because they appeared in their day, were avowed by them; have been since preserved in a variety of ways, subsist at present, and only establish the inconsistency of those who are called Reformers; a fact notoriously established by a variety of other evidence, and in admitting which, no one need have any difficulty. You, Sir, do not claim for any of them the prerogative of exemption from error or from self-contradiction.

You glory, in your 48th paragraph, that it was your church "that made the first successful opposition to the corruption and intolerance of that of Rome." As to the "corruption"—I shall at present only ask, what would be said of the comparative influence upon morals of the contradictory maxims, "Good works are necessary for salvation," and, "Good works are not necessary for salvation." Now the first is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the second was that of the first Lutherans. I must avow that I do not know what you teach to-day upon that subject. The necessity of such works for salvation, had been frequently denied in earlier writings, but at the Conference of Worms, in 1557, Melancthon informs us of the process. In a preliminary meeting of the Lutheran Doctors, (*Lib.* i, *Ep.* 70,) he says, it was proposed to condemn four sorts of errors, of which the third was "That proposition which affirms that good works are necessary for salvation," and the mode in which the doctrine was treated, at length, was by cutting off the "for salvation." So that a man who held that good works were necessary, might be a good Lutheran, but if he held them to be necessary "for salvation," he ceased to hold the teaching of the Lutheran Church.

Erasmus, (*Ep.* p. 88,) observing the deterioration of their morals, asks "What an Evangelical generation is this?" Again, (*Lib.* xix, *Ep.* 3, xxxi, 47, p. 2053, &c.) "Nothing was ever more licentious, and also, more seditious; nothing in short, less evangelical than these pretended evangelicals; they abrogate vigils and the divine offices of the night and day. They said these were Pharisaical superstitions; but if so, they ought to have substituted something better in their stead, and not become Epicureans, that they may avoid Judaism." "All is carried to an extremity in this new Reformation. They root up where they ought to have pruned, they set fire to a house to cleanse away its filth." "Morals are neglected; luxury, debauchery, adulteries increase more than ever heretofore; there is no order; there is no discipline amongst them." "The people indocile after having shaken off the yoke of their superiors, will believe no one; and in the midst of such disorder and licentiousness, Luther will soon have to regret the absence of what he called the tyranny of Bishops." You may consult lib. xix, 2, and xxx, 62, to find how exactly his Protestant friends agreed in the correctness of this description. In lib. xxxi, Ep. 59,—he, after a special review of their leading men, declares, "I find more piety in one good Catholic Bishop than in all these new Evangelicals."

As I wish to bring these letters to a termination as speedily as I can, I shall not enter farther into testimony upon this head, unless it be specially desired, and in such a case there is no lack of witnesses.

You stated, Sir, in paragraph 55, that you "do not lend a willing ear to every idle tale promulgated against the morals of our priests and people." You cannot be unaware of the vile and demoralizing tales promulgated chiefly under the auspices of the Rev. Doctor Brownlee, Pastor of, I think, the Middle Dutch Church in New York, by the woman whom he and [Mr.] Hoyt had under their protection! You, I presume, do not confide in the virtue of the lady nor in the truth of her fable. Yet, Sir, perhaps a century hence, some future Brownlee, or some Breckenridge that shall be hereafter, will proclaim the corruption of the "Romish Church" of this day in Canada, and support his allegation, by the unretracted commendation of her book by the men who occupy the most respectable pulpits of our largest city!

It is, Sir, unfortunately true, that at all times and in all nations, the enemy has sown tares amongst the good seed of the Lord, and bad men have been found in the Sanctuary, as Judas was in the College of the Apostles, and a companion of the Saviour. This was more especially the case, when the alliance existed more closely between the Church and the State, and particularly when a super-abundance of worldly wealth and of worldly patronage was in the gift of the Church, when her Bishops were distracted from their proper avocations and excused from the performance of their duty by the interference of a court. But in the very worst days, the evils arising from this source did not equal those which were at once poured in upon a large portion of Christendom, by the men, who under the pretext of reforming morality, destroyed the stability and the purity of Faith, and sent the human mind adrift upon the billows of uncertainty, to be not only agitated by their fluctuation, but also carried about by every wind of doctrine, the tattered and destitute sport of every impulse of fanaticism, or gale of popular caprice.

Thus, Sir, the Church, whilst she preserved her faith, reformed her discipline,—whilst they who assailed her for pretended errors, acknowledged that they did no service to morals, that the principles of discipline were totally given up, and they cast away the ancient teaching, derived from the Apostles, without being able to agree upon what they should substitute in its stead. If it be a cause of gratulation to you, that your church led the way in these proceedings, I Sir, for one, do not admire your taste nor desire to partake of your exultation.

The question of our and your intolerance, demands more space than I am warned is now at my disposal, and I shall therefore defer its examination to my next.

I remain Rev. Sir,
Yours, B. C.

Charleston, July 19th, 1838.

LETTER XVI.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—You state in your 48th paragraph, that it was the Evangelical Lutheran Church "that made the first successful opposition to the corruptions and intolerance of that of Rome," and subsequently you say that it was Luther and his fellow-laborers who devoted the labors of their gigantic minds, and the fervent piety of their devoted hearts, to the end of their lives, to this work." "But they lived long enough to witness the dawn of brighter days—to behold deep rooted in the hearts of men those principles which, in process of time, would give religious toleration to the human race." In your 52d paragraph, you ask, "Do we differ least from them (Roman Catholics) in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church?" And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?"

You proceed, Sir, in the remaining portion of that paragraph, and in the entire of your 53d, in the following language, to sustain the position you have thus assumed:

"When the dangerous fanatics of Munster created disturbances in Thuringia, Moravia and Switzerland, Luther, although he opposed their sentiments, labored to stay the arm of persecution. 'It is not right,' said he, 'to persecute, to murder, to burn and destroy, such poor people, on account of their religious tenets. We should let every one believe what he thinks right!' And to the Council of Nuremberg he wrote, 'I am always opposed to the shedding of blood for the sake of religion, and I shall never give my vote to persecute those whom we suppose to be false teachers.'"

53. "After passing through the most memorable struggle that ever signalized any age, save that at the first introduction of the Christian faith by the Son of God, and after having endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power, our Church at last became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph. She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge. Her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land, there, to this day, their temples and monasteries remain, as the monuments of the toleration of our Church."

I really am at a loss to know what you mean by the "principles which would give

religious toleration to the human race," for I presume you have read history, and the works of your fathers of the Reformation, and unless we have very different notions of those principles, I cannot conceive upon what your assertions are based.

I shall not here enter upon a defence of the Roman Catholic Church, but I shall glance at some difficulties which prevent my admitting the truth of your description. You are aware, Sir, that in 1517, the Turkish forces were threatening the ruin of Germany and the subversion of Christianity. One of Luther's propositions on this occasion was, "That it is man's duty not only to will all that God requires of us to will, but moreover to will absolutely all that God himself wills;" —and from this principle he concluded "that since God willed that the Turk should invade Germany, to resist him would be to resist the will of God." This is indeed a principle of one-sided toleration—toleration for the unresisted enemy of Christianity, to plunder and to enslave the Christian.

I will assume that you do not approve of a principle which establishes, that it would be intolerance for a Christian who is convinced of the divine truth of his religion to oppose the forcible introduction of the Mohammedan error, and to protect himself, his family and his country, in the peaceable enjoyment of that religion which he was assured was that of our blessed Saviour, and in the preservation of that property which his ancestors had left to him, and which his own industry had increased, and a portion of which had been devoted by them and by him to sustain their religion and its services and ministers. Thus, Sir, I hope we are agreed upon this principle; that for men to protect their ancient and peaceably held rights and possessions, even by force of arms, against self-sufficient arrogant aggressors, who think proper to charge them with religious error, is not intolerance; neither is such aggression and robbery an evidence of toleration. Yet, you see Luther's proposition would contradict what I presume is your opinion, and what certainly is mine upon this subject.

The words *intolerance* and *toleration* have no definite meaning. The magistrate is bound to be intolerant of murder, of rapine, of riot, of injustice: and it would be poor praise to give a teacher of science, to proclaim that he was so liberal as to tolerate his disciples in asserting that what he knew to be false was evident truth. It would be a very curious sort of liberality for the Apostle St. Peter to say, "I am a witness of the resurrection of Christ, but I shall embrace in Christian brotherhood, the men who proclaim that I testify a falsehood, and that the Redeemer never arose." The declaration of the Apostle was, (*Acts* iv, 20,) "For we cannot but speak the things that we have seen and heard." And you put a similar expression into the mouth of Luther in paragraph 55. "And who would charge the Lutheran Church, of all others, with advocating the system of papacy? The persecutions, the trials and sufferings of her Reformers (when and where?) and the labors of their mighty minds will be handed down by history, to the end of time: nor will her struggles in the cause of truth be for ever forgotten, so long as the heroic language of Luther shall be remembered, who, when summoned before the Diet of Worms, and commanded to *retract his opinions*, fearlessly refused in the spirit of a willing martyr,"—(a martyr does not suffer for *opinions* in which men may err, but for revealed facts, concerning which there can be no uncertainty or doubt,) "declared in the face of the assembled multitude, that were thirsting for his blood, 'Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise: God help me.'" Thus you adopt the very principle which establishes, that man is bound to sustain religious truth, even with the loss of life, and you call Luther a hero, with a martyr's spirit, for holding to the same principle. Thus neither he nor you can style it intolerance. Now suppose I grant you, what I do not believe, that Luther and his associates were convinced of the truth of their system. I trust you will allow me, that the Catholics were convinced of the truth of their's. They had received it from their progenitors, they freely professed and practised, they were in possession. The Churches were their's, the property was their's, they were warranted in holding and in defending them against the aggressions of a newly risen and scarcely organized minority, whom they looked upon to be equally innovators for error and aggressors upon their rights. It is natural in such a state of things for the weaker party to cry out against the use of those means, by which they must be overcome. The weaker party in such contests is always the advocate of what you call toleration! Let us see now how far the Lutherans were tolerant.

In his defence of the Articles condemned by the Pope's Bull in 1520, Luther proclaims, "If the Pope be not brought to an account, Christendom is ruined; let him who can flee to the mountains, go thither; or, *let this Roman homicide be slain.*" "Forbear to make war upon the Turk, until the name of the Pope be taken from beneath the heavens." "I have said it." This was but a poor toleration for the head of the Catholic Church! About twenty years afterwards, when Luther found that the Roman homicide had not yet

been *slain*, he published in 1540 the following exhibition of his tolerant spirit. "The Pope is a wolf, possessed by an evil spirit; from every village and every hamlet men should assemble against him; neither the sentence of a judge nor the authority of a council must be waited for; nor is it any matter if kings and Cæsars should make war on his behalf. He that rises in arms under a thief does it at his own risk. Neither kings nor Cæsars are exculpated by saying that they are only defending the Church against aggression: for they ought to know what is the true Church." (*Prop.* 59, &c., t. i, f. 497.) I am quite aware that this cannot be reconciled with his declaration, that he "would never give his vote to persecute those whom we suppose to be false teachers." But it is only one of his multitude of contradictions! Sometimes, it is true, he moderated his expressions, as we read in tom. ii, f. 123, [that] when he burned the book of the Decretals, he said, in a very eloquent address, that it would have been better if it was the Pope himself who was burning in place of the book, "that is," he adds, "the papal chair." He also declared more than once, that the two Anti-christs would fall together. The Turk was tottering to ruin, and Hungary was to be the grave of his power. He was equally unfortunate in the prophecy which he had made from St. Paul and from Daniel, of the period when the Papacy should be no more. In glowing eloquence, as if really filled with supernal inspiration, he led to the expectation of this result within less than two years from the day on which he wrote. Alas, for the glory of his miraculous foreknowledge! Three centuries have passed away since the termination of those two years, and the Papacy has continued to exist, notwithstanding the host of Protestant prophets who have fixed upon ten thousand intervening periods in those passing lustra, in each one of which the man of sin was to have been destroyed, popery was to perish, the mariners compass was to be encircled with a halo of new glory, the printing press was to shed heavenly radiance upon the orb which we perambulate, and the millenium was to commence! But away with the rhapsody! The mighty Father and Prophet was at this period to allow no arms to be used, no violence was to be committed. "Martin Luther, by the grace of God, Ecclesiastes of Wittenberg." (*Ep. ad falso nom. ordin. Epis.* t. ii,) was not then to approach towards the seven hilled city of the beast, "followed by 5,000 horse and 20,000 foot," (*advers. execrab. Bul. Antichrist.*) all was to be done by the prayers of Luther, of which I shall give a description in his own words. (*Ep. ad Geor. Sax.* t. ii.) "My prayer will not be like the thunder of Salmoneus, it will be no empty rumbling in the air. Luther's voice is not to be so easily stopped, and your Highness will find it to your cost. My prayer is an impregnable bulwark, more powerful than the Devil himself. Had it not been so, long since, no one would even have spoken of Luther; and men will not stand astonished at this miracle." Melancthon, amongst others, looked upon him at this period to be a prophet, and wrote to Erasmus, who undervalued the supposed gift, "We ought to prove prophecies but not to despise them."

And, Sir, it was after the discovery that his rumblings did indeed resemble those of Salmoneus, that he descended from his chariot and endeavored to collect his dogs of war for the death-chase of the Roman wolf.

It is quite true that Luther wrote those passages which you quote in your 52d paragraph—but it is equally true that he wrote another letter, as Sleidan informs us, urging the princes at the head of their troops, "to extirpate without pity those miserable wretches who would not follow his advice, and to spare only those who would voluntarily lay down their arms." And it is also true, as Sleidan elsewhere informs us, that he wrote a treatise expressly to prove "that no mercy ought to be showed to rebels (the dangerous fanatics as he called the Anabaptists) and that forgiveness was not to be extended to those whom the multitude had drawn even by force into any seditious action." Need I describe the desolation which followed? Mosheim gives it in a few words, after having touched as lightly as possible upon those parts which he would not wish to have fully developed, (*Cent.* xvi, *sect.* iii, *part* ii, § 21.) "It is well known that the better part of the motley tribe, terrified by the unhappy and deserved fate of their unworthy associates, whom they saw extirpated and massacred with the most unrelenting severity, saved themselves from the ruin of their sect, and at length embraced the communion of those who are called *Mennonites*." "The zeal, vigilance and resolution of Luther, happily prevented the divisions which the odious disciples of Munzer attempted to excite in the Church he had founded, and preserved the giddy and credulous multitude (where is the right of private judgment?) from their seductions. And it may be safely affirmed, that had it not been for the *vigor* and *fortitude* of this active and undaunted Reformer, the Lutheran Church would in its infancy have fallen a miserable prey to the enthusiastic fury of these detestable fanatics."

In another place, (*Cent.* xvi, *sec.* i, § 22,) Mosheim lets in more light upon the subject;

where he endeavors to defend his and your hero from the charge of having first urged these unfortunate fanatics to insurrection, by inspiring them with strange notions of Christian liberty; and then urging their extirpation because they would not confine their notions of that Christian liberty within the boundaries which he thought fit to prescribe: when upon his own principles, the true principles of Protestantism, each individual amongst them had an equal right, as Luther had, to interpret the word of God for himself and to prescribe the rule for his own conduct.

"The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government; another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to the diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burthens under which they groaned; another insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted Church, and to add weight to this demand, pretended that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view or any fixed purpose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong without reflection or foresight, into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrine of Luther concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that arose only from the manifest abuse of it. Luther himself has indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect, and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And, accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated and destroyed, in a pitched battle fought at *Mulhausen;* and Munzer, their ringleader, taken and put to death."

You will find another evidence of Luther's toleration in his treatment of Zuinglius, in 1525. Writing of his fellow Reformer, he says, "How is it possible to be silent, whilst these men disturb our Churches and impugn our authority? If they are unwilling to suffer their own to be weakened, the same reason should prevent their weakening ours. * * * There is no medium, either I or they must be ministers of Satan."

As soon as the Lutherans had grown strong, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, who was at the head of the Protestant confederation, raised troops under a pretext which he himself subsequently declared was without foundation, and which Melancthon and others of the party also state to have been evidently groundless, viz. That George, Duke of Saxony, and other Catholic princes, intended to exterminate the Lutherans. The principal object was, however, attained, with Luther's full approbation, the payment of large sums of money by the ecclesiastical princes to the Protestants, by way of indemnifying them for their expenses in raising troops. Luther added, on this occasion, that besides his prayers, he would give notice to the princes to exterminate such people as George, this greatest of all Saxon fools.

When, in 1530, the confederacy of Smalcald was formed, Luther formally abandoned his position that the Church was not to use arms. Sleidan informs us of a publication by him, in which, after declaring that he had hitherto thought that men should not resist the lawful powers, he stated, that when he adopted this maxim, he was not sufficiently acquainted with the legal principles, and that it was unquestionable that the political laws and the Gospel were in full accord, he therefore referred the decision to lawyers—and believed that in bad times, such as the present, not only would the civil law, but conscience also, require of men who held the true faith, to band themselves together and take up arms against all opponents, whether Kings or Emperors. Melancthon bewailed this change of Luther's sentiments—though gradually he fell into accord with the maxim, as may be seen in his letter to Camerarius.

Mosheim then informs us, (*Cent.* xvi, *sec.* i, 36,) "that the Lutherans formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were threatened by the edict of Augsburg, without attempting, however, any thing properly speaking, against the votaries of Rome." Here, then, is a very small minority of the princes and people of Germany, entering into an armed league, because they desired to change their religion. As yet, no one assails them, but they seek unconstitutionally foreign alliances.

"Into this confederacy they invited the Kings of England, France and Denmark, with several other Republics and States, and left no means unemployed that might corroborate and cement this important alliance."

Thus, the first league of Protestants is

entered into to invite foreign armed potentates to their aid.

Yes, "but they were not to attempt any thing, properly speaking, offensive to the votaries of Rome." Let us see what they did, not what they said. Luther gave his full sanction and encouragement to this league—save that as Maclaine remarks in his note (*h*) "Luther, who at first seemed adverse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it may produce, perceiving at length its necessity, consented to it, but uncharitably, as well as imprudently, refused comprehending in it the followers of Zuinglius among the Swiss, together with the German States or cities which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer." This, Sir, is another specimen of his toleration! The good Reformers of Zurich, as Hospinian informs us, whilst they acknowledged him to be an excellent servant of God, observed upon his intolerant spirit, and said, that their mildness in his regard, only served to make him "more inhuman and more insolent." His toleration to his fellow Reformers is also manifested in his letters forbidding the bookseller to send him any thing from those of Zurich, "for they were damned men who dragged others into Hell, and the Churches could no longer communicate with them nor consent to their blasphemies." In 1544, in his little Confession of Faith, he calls them "madmen, blasphemers, miserable wretches, damned souls, for whom it was not lawful to pray."

Looking, then, to the principles of Luther and his associates, as made manifest by their acts, they were not certainly those which in process of time would give religious toleration to the human race.

I shall now proceed to examine your questions. "Do we differ least from them (Catholics) in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church? And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?"

The author of the Appendix I to Mosheim's History of Lutheranism in the 16th century, did not make so bold a challenge; he endeavored to palliate what he could not deny. Whilst he endeavors to save the character of the leaders, he flings the obloquy of the misdeeds upon their followers.

"The sovereigns, the ecclesiastics, the men of weight, piety and learning, who arose to assert the rights of human nature, the cause of genuine Christianity, and the exercise of religious liberty, came forth into the field of controversy with a multitude of dependents, admirers and friends, whose motives and conduct cannot be entirely justified. Besides, when the eyes of whole nations were opened upon the iniquitous absurdities of popery, and upon the tyranny and insolence of the Roman pontiffs, it was scarcely possible to set bounds to the indignation of an incensed and tumultuous multitude, who are naturally prone to extremes, generally pass from blind submission to lawless ferocity, and too rarely distinguish between the use and the abuse of their undoubted rights."

Would the author of this pretty paragraph say that the following address was that naturally calculated to restrain this incensed and tumultuous multitude? "The Pope is a wolf, possessed by an evil spirit; from every village and every hamlet you must assemble against him." "Let this Roman homicide be slain!" These are the expressions of Luther.

I have before adverted to the arming and rapine, of sovereigns, men of weight, &c., under what Melancthon and other leading Protestants acknowledged to have been false pretexts. In 1532, a treaty was made between the Emperor and the Princes of the Protestant league, at Nuremberg, in which the latter obtained the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until after the decision of a general council, to whose decrees they affected a disposition to submit. But when this council was to be assembled, the Lutheran or Protestant party assembled in 1537 at Smalcald, protested against the council, even before it met, and drew up the new Confession of Faith, known as the Articles of Smalcald. In 1541, the Emperor sought in the Conference of Worms, subsequently continued at Ratisbon, to conciliate the differences, by the discussion of learned and moderate men. It ended only in agreeing, apparently, to submit to the decision of a Council. At the Diet of Spire, in 1542, the Pope notified that the Council would assemble at Trent, should the Diet consent to allow its sessions in that city, as other cities which he proposed, had been objected to. The majority of the Diet assented, but the Lutherans objected. In 1545, at the Diet of Worms, the Emperor still endeavored to prevail upon the Lutherans to have their disputes terminated by the Council, and to have peace restored to Christendom. They had no intention whatever of submitting, and had now, as they supposed, made their party sufficiently strong to act in the field. And up to this period not a single act of hostility had been committed against them, though the Catholics had suffered severe losses, and in many places endured much from violence and war.

Mosheim insinuates that the Protestants, in their measures of aggression, only acted in self-defence. The words of his translator are—"Upon which the Emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the violent measures

that were incessantly suggested by the court of Rome." There is not one particle of evidence for the assertion, that Rome ever had made any such suggestion, but there is not only abundant proof, but full acknowledgment, that there was no violence used up to this moment against the Lutherans. "Departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and listening to the sanguine counsels of Paul, formed in conjunction with that subtle pontiff, the design of terminating the debates about religion by the force of arms." There is not one particle of ground for this assertion, but the fact is evident that the only plan they were united in carrying into effect was the assembling of that Council for which the Lutherans cried out until it was about to assemble, but against which they protested when they perceived it would meet.

"The landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who were the chief protectors of the Protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took proper measures to prevent their being surprised and overwhelmed by a superior force, and accordingly raised an army for their defence." There was no menace made, there was no Catholic army raised. How could they be surprised?—Against whom were they to defend themselves? This was fully fifteen years after Luther had sanctioned the league, and published his pamphlet, justifying their taking arms. Yet Mosheim tells us, "while this terrible storm was rising, Luther, whose aversion to all methods of violence and force, in matters of religion, was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by Providence from this scene of tumult and the approaching calamities that threatened his country."

So far, then, we perceive that to the close of the year 1545, the Lutherans suffered no persecution, though in 1530, with the approbation of Luther, they had entered into a formidable league, to unite in which they had invited several foreign states and princes. They had appealed to a Council, and when the Council was called, it was not, they said, such as they appealed to, and they protested against it.

They saw it upon the eve of meeting, and then raised an army under the pretext of defending themselves against an alleged alliance for their destruction: just such a plea as they had used a dozen years previously, for the purpose of booty. Luther dies, but the Lutheran confederation survives.

I follow Mosheim still, in order to give you the benefit of your own historian. In his chap. iv of the same, sec. i of the xvi century, he opens by assuming the truth of what he had before gratuitously asserted, a league between the Pope and the Emperor for the destruction of the Protestants. The Protestants have an army raised, and yet, strange to say! the Catholics have not as yet armed a soldier. The Council of Trent is in session, and its opponents are left unmolested. Nay, at the Diet of Ratisbon this year, Mosheim himself states, there was a conference between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences: but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner in which it was carried on and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would be sooner or later decided in the field of battle." The Protestant army was already prepared for action—we may easily perceive why this conclusion was drawn.

The Protestant princes rejected the proceedings of the Council at the Diet. Mosheim says no more save that they were upon that account proscribed by the Emperor. It would have been more correct to state that they were required to disband their army, which had been illegally raised and organized—and upon their refusal, "the Emperor raised an army to reduce them to obedience."

The army of the confederated Lutherans was numerous and well organized; it was raised, not to oppose any tyranny or persecution which existed, or of which there was any reasonable prospect. They had, during a number of years, enjoyed full religious liberty. The army was raised, we are told, for protection and defence. Yet Mosheim himself informs us that they were the aggressors. "The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse led their forces into Bavaria against the Emperor," contrary to their duty and their oath, "and cannonaded his camp, at Ingolstadt, with great spirit." Mosheim says that if both armies had been then brought to a pitched battle, the Lutherans would have been victorious. He gives many reasons why they were not so, and amongst others, "the failure of France in furnishing the subsidy that had been promised by its monarch." Upon this statement I rely to show that the Lutherans had suffered no persecution or oppression from the Catholics of Germany, when they appeared in arms, leagued with foreign allies, to dispossess by violence the Catholics of their rights, civil, political and religious, and to introduce a new form of religion, I care not whether it was true or false, against the will of those who peaceably followed what they had learned from their fathers, and what they were convinced had been revealed by their Redeemer; and thus they placed themselves in the position of persecuting ag-

gressors. This is the first part of my answer to your questions, "Do we differ least from them in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church? And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?"

I might, if I would, here close my statement and charge upon the Lutherans all the cruel consequences of this effort to subdue by arms those whom they could not gain by persuasion.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. C.

Chareston, S. C., July 27, 1838.

LETTER XVII.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

REV. SIR,—In my last I quoted Dr. Mosheim to sustain my allegations, that the Lutherans were not more tolerant than the Catholics; that Luther exhorted the suppression of the Anabaptists by arms; that the first to take up arms and to sustain themselves by the sword in Germany, at the period which you call that of the Reformation, were the Lutherans; that they suffered no persecution; but that they illegally and unconstitutionally formed alliances with the foreign enemies of their liege lords, and that they, by force, stripped the Catholics of their church-property. I shall now bring a few passages from Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V, to sustain the same propositions. —And should it be necessary, I can produce from other authors, of high standing, many additional proofs.

You are aware, Sir, that in this case, Robertson as well as Mosheim, is a very unwilling witness.

"Meanwhile the German princes were highly offended at the insult offered to their dignity by Boccold's presumptuous usurpation of royal honors; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Christian name, filled men of all professions with horror. Luther, who had testified against this fanatical spirit on its first appearance, now deeply lamented its progress, and exposed the delusion with great strength of argument, as well as acrimony of style, called loudly upon all the States of Germany to put a stop to a phrenzy no less pernicious to society than fatal to religion." * * * * "The king, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and was exposed to all their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition; and he adhered with unshaken firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect. After this, he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death, with the most exquisite as well as lingering tortures."—(*Hist. Charles* V, *book* v, 1534.)

The following passage from the same book, and almost the succeeding paragraph, shows the means which the Lutheran party possessed at this period, not only to protect themselves against persecution should it be attempted,—but also exhibits to us that it had a power which was not neglected, of protecting every unprincipled tyrant who adopted the party, and whose crimes the historian excuses, because of his Protestantism.

"The alliance between the French king and the confederates at Smalcald began about this time to produce great effects. Ulric duke of Wurtemburg, having been expelled his dominions in the year 1519, on account of his violent and oppressive administration, the house of Austria had got possession of his duchy. That prince, having now by a long exile, atoned for the errors of his conduct, which were the effect rather of inexperience than of a tyrannical disposition, was become the object of general compassion."

What a change would be rung upon all the chimes of declamation against the spirit of Popery, should it grant such indulgence to tyrants? Yet it is but toleration and liberality and kindness of heart and charity, to excuse this indiscreet youth Ulric!

"The landgrave of Hesse in particular, his near relation, warmly espoused his interest, and used many efforts to recover for him his ancient inheritance. But the King of the Romans obstinately refused to relinquish a valuable acquisition, which his family had made with so much ease. The landgrave unable to compel him, applied to the King of France, his new ally."

The Duchy had been legally forfeited for oppression and tyranny, by the supreme law which Catholics had made, to curb oppressions and to punish tyrants. Every member of the Roman or German Empire was sworn to observe these laws. Yet, despite of that oath, here is the leader of the Lutheran confederacy, applying to a foreign enemy for aid, to violate equally his oath, the constitution of his country, and the principles of justice and benevolence.

"Francis, eager to embrace any opportunity of distressing the house of Austria, and desirous of wresting from it a territory which gave it footing and influence in a part of Germany, at a distance from its other dominions, encouraged the landgrave to take arms, and secretly supplied him with a large sum of money. This he employed to raise troops: and marching with great expedition towards Wurtemberg, attacked, defeated and dispersed a considerable body of Austrians, entrusted with the defence of the country."

Thus by means of foreign aid, given to a body of the conspirators at home, the laws of the land are violated, and the troops of the

lawful lord are assailed and defeated. But the historian does not stop here. He records a really miraculous event. The people, who sixteen years previously, had groaned under the tyranny and oppression of a profligate, whom they united to expel, are now so deeply enamored of him as to rush with emulation to welcome him to the repetition of that tyranny!

"All the Duke's subjects hastened with emulation, to receive their native Prince, and reinvested him with that authority which is still enjoyed by his descendants. At the same time the exercise of the Protestant religion was established in his dominions."

Thus they loved him so well, that they not only were emulous who should be the first to welcome the reformed tyrant; but they became heart and soul most conscientious Lutherans, to gratify him more highly. It is however rather unfortunate that other equally credible historians state that Ulric was forced upon them at the point of the sword, and against their will, and that Ulric compelled them to adopt the changes in religion, dictated by the leaders of that host which forced him upon the ducal chair. But why, it may be asked, were they not aided by the Catholics? Doctor Robertson himself answers it in the next paragraph.

"Ferdinand, how sensible soever of this unexpected blow, not daring to attack a Prince, whom all the Protestant powers in Germany were ready to support, judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which, in the most ample form, he recognized his title to the duchy. The success of the landgrave's operations in behalf of the Duke of Wurtemburg, having convinced Ferdinand, that a rupture with a league so formidable as that of Smalcald, was to be avoided with the utmost care, he entered likewise into a negotiation with the Elector of Saxony the head of that union, and by some concessions in favor of the Protestant religion, and others of advantage to the Emperor himself, he prevailed on him together with his confederates to acknowledge him King of the Romans."

Thus from their attitude, their force, their confederacy and their alliance with foreign enemies, the Lutherans not only suffered no persecution, but held a formidable position in the year 1535, and they renewed their league for ten more years. In his Book vi, treating of the concerns of this same year, 1536, Doctor Robertson gives farther evidence that the Lutherans had suffered no violence, nor even much molestation. I would say not any molestation in Germany. And also, that however they might have been aided by a Catholic Prince, still they would not return the favor by any service to him, should he express his attachment to his own religion. Thus because Francis had permitted the execution of six Protestants in Paris, not for the profession or practice of their own religion, but for grossly insulting the religion of the State and the royal family, men whom Robertson himself declares to have been influenced by "indiscreet zeal"—and whose public acts he styles "indecent,"—they refused to aid him who had aided them by virtue of a common treaty.

"The princes of the league of Smalcald, filled with resentment and indignation at the cruelty with which their brethren were treated, could not conceive Francis to be sincere, when he offered to protect in Germany, those very tenets which he persecuted with such rigor in his own dominions, so that all Bellay's art and eloquence in vindicating his master, or apologising for his conduct, made little impression upon them. They considered likewise, that the Emperor, who hitherto had never employed violence against the doctrines of the Reformation, nor even given them much molestation in their progress, was now bound by the agreement of Ratisbon, not to disturb such as had embraced the new opinions; and the Protestants wisely regarded this as a more certain and immediate security, than the precarious and distant hopes with which Francis endeavored to allure them. * * * * the Protestant princes refused to assist the French king in any hostile attempt against the Emperor."

In the same book treating of the year 1541, we are informed that when on the 28th of July, the Diet of Ratisbon, by a recess as displeasing to Rome as it was inconsistent with Catholic principles, gave some semblance of requiring the Protestants to submit to the decision of a general council, for which they had themselves been loud in their demands, these latter were sufficiently powerful to compel the Emperor to yield to their dictation: so that "he granted them a private declaration, in the most ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought oppressive or injurious in the recess, and ascertaining to them the full possession of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed." Thus we have no persecution or suffering to the year 1542.

The city of Goslar having entered into the league of Smalcald, illegally and violently plundered Catholic Churches. Henry, Duke of Brunswick, was directed by a decree of the Imperial Chamber, to cause the city to make restitution. Thus the plunderers were legally brought within the reach of justice, not of persecution; they being themselves the persecutors and the aggressors. The Protestants however, would not permit the sentence to be executed. They, not only as Robertson informs us, book vii, in 1543,

took every occasion of pouring contempt upon the Holy See; but the Emperor and King of the Romans found it necessary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favor by repeated acts of indulgence. At the Diet of Spire, in this year, they not only protested in the most disrespectful terms, against assembling the council at Trent, but they had their protest inserted on the records of the diet, and procured a suspension of a decree against the city of Goslar, with an injunction to the Duke of Brunswick, to desist from its execution; and under pretext of his having disquieted the people of Goslar, "the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, that they might not suffer any member of the Smalcaldic body to be oppressed, assembled their forces, declared war, in form, against Henry, and in the space of a few weeks, stripping him entirely of his dominions, drove him as a wretched exile to take refuge in the court of Bavaria. By this act of vengeance, no less severe than sudden, they filled all Germany with dread of their power, and the confederates of Smalcald appeared by this first effort of their arms, to be as prompt as capable to protect those who had joined their association."

Now this is an extraordinary contradiction to your assertion in paragraph 53. "After passing through the most memorable struggle that ever signalized any age, save that at the first introduction of the Christian faith by the Son of God, and after having endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power, our church at last became triumphant." * * * * "Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph. She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge. Her former opponents were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land."

We shall, however, again listen to Doctor Robertson. "Emboldened by so many concessions in their favor, as well as by the progress which *their opinions* daily made, the princes of the league of Smalcald took a solemn protest against the imperial chamber, and declined its jurisdiction for the future." This was exactly doing in the State, what they had done in the Church, but with this notorious difference. The constitution of the Church had been established by Jesus Christ and is unchangeable: the constitution of the German Empire was established by men and was liable to change,—but they violated its provisions and their own oaths by this irregular mode of proceeding. "Not long after this, they ventured a step farther, and protesting against the recess of a diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refused to permit their contingent for the purpose, unless the imperial chamber were reformed, and full security were granted them in every point with regard to religion."

Yet this is a poor persecuted sect!—At least Dr. Bachman tells us of their "having endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power." He tells us in paragraph 56, "The persecutions, the trials and sufferings of her (the Lutheran Church's) Reformers, and the labors of their mighty minds, will be handed down by history to the end of time: nor will her struggles in the cause of truth be forgotten," &c. The struggle made by Luther at the Diet of Worms to which you here refer, was a declaration which he made before those whom you poetically described as thirsting for his blood. Robertson says, (*Book* ii, *an.* 1521,) "The reception which he met at Worms, was such as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labors, if vanity and the love of applause had been the principles by which he was influenced; greater crowds assembled to behold him, than had appeared at the Emperor's public entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, (for this Robertson quotes Luther, *Oper.* 11, 414, and *Seckend.* 156,) and he was treated with all the respect paid to those who possess the power of directing the understanding and sentiments of other men; an homage more sincere, as well as more flattering, than any which pre-eminence in birth or condition could command." Placed under the protection of the Emperor, he remained and departed in safety; though his opinions were subsequently condemned.—Let us however proceed with the evidence. Treating of the year 1544, Robertson says, "such were the lengths to which the Protestants had proceeded, and such their confidence in their own power, when the Emperor returned from the lower countries, to hold a diet, which he had summoned to meet at Spire. The respect due to the Emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this assembly extremely full. All the electors, a great number of princes ecclesiastical and secular, with the deputies of most of the cities, were present. Charles soon perceived that this was not a time to offend the jealous spirit of the Protestants, by asserting in any high tone the authority and doctrines of the Church, or by abridging in the smallest article the liberty which they now enjoyed; but that on the contrary * * * * he must soothe them by new concessions and a more ample extension of their privileges. He began accordingly with courting the Elec-

tor of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, the heads of the Protestant party; and by giving up some things in their favor, and granting liberal promises with regard to others, he secured himself from any danger of opposition on their part." Yet the Protestants, the German Lutherans, "endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power!" At this diet every decree, regulation, or edict unpalatable to them was recessed or abrogated, the Imperial chamber was modified so as to allow them to be members of this court. In return for which, the Lutherans united with the Catholics, who formed the great majority of the Diet, in the declaration of war against France. Hitherto, it was usual to say that a general council, properly convoked, would be a proper body, qualified authoritatively to settle all differences of religion. The Protestants, now that the council was summoned to meet in Trent, declared it to have been irregularly called, to be a partial assembly, to have no authority: declared they would not accept its decisions. At the Diet of Worms in 1545, two topics were introduced. The Turkish invasion, to oppose which all were called upon to unite; and the religious differences, in respect to which it was expected that all would submit to the authority of the council now soon to assemble. The Catholics acquiesced. The Lutherans refused, and declined considering the question of defence against the Turk, until the religious question was disposed of, without any regard to the expected council: and now the members of the league began their preparations for the field. Henry Duke of Brunswick, a Catholic, under pretence of raising troops for the King of France, made an effort to regain those estates from which he had been driven by the Lutherans, but they armed and vigilant, destroyed his force, took him prisoner, and kept him in close confinement.

To this moment then, the Lutherans had suffered no persecution for religion's sake. And this brings us to the period of Luther's death. The writers who are anxious for the defence of the Lutherans give us a variety of conjectures and surmises concerning leagues, alliances and plans for their destruction, and all this without a particle of evidence, but from a conviction that their subsequent conduct is altogether indefensible, and that some effort should be made to furnish a pretext, if not ground for their bathing their country in blood. That the Catholics were unmoved by the insolence with which their religion had been treated, their revenue plundered, their dignitaries vilified and themselves and their friends despised and injured, is not to be imagined: neither can it be denied that the Emperor and the Catholic princes found that their efforts to conciliate tended only to provoke new demands, and they began to feel impatient. Robertson tells us, (*Book* viii, *an.* 1546,) "In the present juncture the sources of discord were many and as various as had been known on any occasion. The Roman Catholics animated with zeal in defence of their religion proportional to the fierceness with which it had been attacked were eager to second any attempt to humble those innovators who had overturned it in many provinces, and endangered it in more. John and Albert of Brandenburg, as well as several other princes, incensed at the haughtiness and rigour with which the Duke of Brunswick had been treated by the confederates of Smalcald were impatient to rescue him, and to be revenged on them." The confederates had been insolent, overbearing, successful, inflated, sustained by promises and alliances abroad and accustomed to dictate to the Emperor and to the majority at home, they, so far from having been persecuted, had been treated with the utmost forbearance; but having gone to the farthest limits, the Emperor and the Catholics saw that it was time to protect themselves and what remained of their property and rights. The Diet of Ratisbon assembled in 1546. Most of the Catholic members attended, the Protestants with scarcely an exception remained at home, under pretext of economy, and only their deputies were present. These deputies objected to the Council of Trent, they affected to be ready to submit to a *free council*, assembled within the limits of the German empire by authority, not of the Pope, but of the Emperor. The trick was now manifest, and as the Emperor was raising troops, the Protestant deputies demanded for what purpose and against whom they were levied. The Emperor replied that they were intended not to molest on account of religion, any person who should observe the constitution of the empire, but to preserve that constitution from wanton aggression. The Protestant deputies retired. They met at Ulm, their troops were in readiness, the members of the league applied to Venice, to Switzerland, to France and to England for aid, and took the field with an imposing force, 70,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, a train of 120 cannon, 800 ammunition wagons, 8,000 beasts of burden and 6,000 pioneers, forming altogether an army of about 100,000 effective men, which with proper arms, equipments and supplies, formed a formidable force belonging to the persecuted Lutheran Church! Yet there were Lutheran States that had a feeling quite assured of religious freedom, and were not disposed to domineer over their Catholic

fellow subjects or brethren. They were, the Electors of Cologne and of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine, who were neuter, John, Marquis of Bradenburg Bareith, Albert of Bradenburg Anspach, and Maurice of Saxony,—who united with the Emperor. Maurice subsequently became the Emperor's opponent and general of the league. This grand chief of the Catholics, the Emperor, had but a force of 8,000 men, when the ban of the empire was proclaimed and the Lutheran army sent an herald to offer defiance to this *pretended Emperor* as they now proclaimed him whom they styled *Charles of Ghent*, but even previous to this formality their troops were active.

Thus, I apprehend, it must be evident to every person who dispassionately considers these facts, that of all other religious bodies that ever existed, the Lutherans in Germany have least cause to complain of persecution from Catholics. We now leave them in the field, the instigators of a civil war, after having been the aggressors upon the religion, the rights and the property of the Catholics; and were it necessary to trace the history farther on, the same exhibition could be continued to the present day.

I shall conclude this letter by producing Robertson's observations respecting toleration. After giving his notice of the treaty of Passau, signed on the 2nd of August, 1552, generally called "the first peace of religion." After nearly six years of carnage and devastation, the following articles were the outline of their agreement: That the Protestants who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg should be allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; that the Protestants shall not molest the Catholics either in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or in the performance of religious ceremonies; the Protestants and Catholics shall sit indiscriminately in the Imperial Chamber. Three years later, on the 25th of September, 1555, the articles of the second religious peace were signed at Augsburg, by which each State was to determine the form of doctrine and worship for its subjects, and all who did not conform thereto, were to leave the territory. No Catholic priest was to claim any spiritual jurisdiction in those States that received the Confession of Augsburg. The revenues and church property of Catholics seized before the treaty of Passau were to be retained by the Lutherans.

In your paragraph 52 you ask, "Where has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?" I answer: in the treaties of Passau and of Augsburg, where she would not admit to their benefit any Protestant who did not receive the Confession of Augsburg. In her condemnation, as heretics, of other Protestants who acted upon her own recognised principle of private judgment. Robertson (*Book* xi,) after saying that the Catholics resting upon the infallibility of their judge, were intolerant, adds, "The Protestants no less confident that their doctrine was well founded, required with equal ardor the princes of their party to check such as presumed to impugn or to oppose it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments which were denounced against their own disciples by the Church of Rome upon such as called in question any article of their creeds."

Thus Sir, Doctor Robertson and a mass of historical facts answer your question "Do we differ least from (the Catholics) in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that church!"

In my next, Sir, we shall go to Prussia, Denmark and Sweden.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours,

B. C.

Charleston, S. C., August 2d, 1838.

LETTER XVIII.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—When we undertake to examine any remarkable occurrence, it does not suffice to consider merely the transaction itself, without its connexion with others, whose relations thereto may have an important bearing upon its character.

Thus when you tell us in your paragraph 53: "Our (Lutheran) church at last became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden," it becomes important to ascertain whether it was by mere force of the evidence of its conformity with the Gospel, it won its way, or whether it was by force of principles, unsanctioned by that Gospel. I shall briefly proceed with that examination, and shall commence with Prussia.

Strange as it may seem to some of my readers, I must enter upon that examination before the walls of Acre: in the camp of the crusaders. You may there behold a few poor tents, without any of the gorgeous drapery which decorated many others: they are constructed with the sails that aided their owners to traverse the ocean to this land of chivalry. Enter them. You behold the wounded, the fevered, the exhausted patients, far from the land of their childhood, laid on couches formed with some care, and sedulously attended by men, who are, as occasion demands, soldiers in the field, or attendants

upon the sick. This was in the year 1190. These were the tents of the men of Bremen and of Lubec. Previous to the siege of St. John of Acre, a few of them in Jerusalem, devoted themselves to prefer the comfort of the sick to their own, they extended this spirit through their brethren, and consecrating their lives to Christian charity and to Christian valor, they were distinguished as one of the bravest bands in the field, and the most tender, affectionate and indefatigable servants in the hospital. Upon the request of the principal officers in the camp, Frederick, the duke of Suabia, transmitted to his brother Henry VI, the Emperor of Germany, the recommendation that those men should be formed into a religious order, and have a good rule prescribed for their observance. Upon the Emperor's application, Pope Celestin III approved the Institute, placing it under the rule of St. Augustin, for the purposes of religion; under that of the Hospitallers of St. John, for their constitution and service of the sick, and the poor; and prescribing the rules of the Knights Templars for their military and ecclesiastical direction. The brethren were to wear a white mantle, with a large black cross over the left breast and arm. Forty German nobles were invested with the habit on the first day of installation before the walls of Acre, and they were known as the Hospitallers of our Lady of the Germans. Henry Walpot was their first Grand Master, their property was to be held in common for the benefit of the whole body, and for that of the sick and of the poor, to be disposed of under the direction of the chapter, or legislative body of the order; the executive power was lodged in the grand master, who was sworn to observe, maintain, and execute the statutes—and it was his special duty to preserve for the order its property.

The order, leaving a portion of its force in Syria, placed its principal establishments in Germany. Prussia was not then civilized. It was occupied by barbarous idolaters, who made frequent incursions on their Christian neighbors. Soon after, Christian, a Cistercian monk who had been consecrated bishop was sent to Prussia, which then was the name of a comparatively small district, lying about the gulf of Dantzic, and stretching South, on the East of the Vistula. The barbarians made a devastating irruption on the territories of Conrad, Duke of Poland, as he is sometimes called, but whose dominion was chiefly comprised in the ancient Mazovia and Cujavia. Neither age nor sex was spared: the best buildings were destroyed; the women and the children were borne away into captivity; Ploczko upon the Vistula, was the last retreat of those who escaped. Two hundred and fifty churches were burned; the priests were in many places massacred at the altars, the monasteries were made the scenes of every crime. An order of knights was created, bound by vow to defend the Christians against the barbarians; they were called the Knights of Jesus Christ, and from the chief place of their residence, the Knights of Obrin. But the Prussians reduced them so far, as to keep them shut up in their fortress, unable even to make a sally.

The Hospitallers of our Lady of Germany had at this period become powerful under the administration of Herman de Salza, their grand master, and were known as the Teutonic Knights. Conrad not only made application to them directly, but he procured the intercession of Pope Gregory IX, of the Emperor Frederic II, and of several German princes, to second his entreaties that they would engage to protect the Christian people, by subduing the Prussians, and taking possession of their territory. They were to be aided in their enterprise by receiving from Conrad immediate possession of the territories of Culm and Lubonia, and large supplies of troops from the German princes. They undertook the enterprise, and having repelled several efforts of the barbarians; in 1230, under the direction of the grand master, they crossed the Vistula, and carried on offensive operations. They in less than seven years, had fully established themselves as the owners of the lands that belonged to the vanquished pagans; but their dominion was not to be undisturbed: [in] 1240, an insurrection cost three years of exertions, and the effusion of much blood; a more formidable effort in 1260, cost fifteen years of disastrous warfare. The repose was short, when under the grand master Hannon-auf-Sanger-Hausen, there was a struggle of nearly seven years: one more trial of strength took place in 1286, but it was terminated within the year: the final blow was struck in 1295, but the country was now so filled with forts and castles, and the knights had so powerfully established their superiority, so that many of the barbarians had bowed their necks to the Christian yoke, that the contest was at an end. In this manner the Teutonic knights whilst they were made the bulwark of civilization and religion, on the North-eastern frontier of Germany, had acquired a large territory for their order. Their name of *Teutonic Knights*, is equivalent to their original ordinary appellation *Die Teusche Herren*, or "the German Order."

It is not my object to enter farther into their history than to state, that by mutual consent, the Knights of Livonia or "Sword-

bearers," so called from having on the left breast of their white mantles, two swords *gules*, in the figure of a St. Andrew's cross, were incorporated with the Teutonic order, by the authority of Pope Gregory IX, in 1238. Upon the death of Wolken Shenk, the grand master of the Livonian order, and who had himself, with the consent of his chapter, made the proposition to Herman-de-Salza. Thus the jurisdiction of the order was extended over a considerably larger territory.

Like all other sovereigns of that period, the order was under the necessity of engaging in several wars with various success. In 1453, Thorn, Elbing, Koningsberg, and Dantzic, with some other towns, revolted, and the King of Poland advancing with a powerful army into Prussia, received from those cities their troops, their homage, and their oath of fealty. Harassed by a war of thirteen years, the order concluded a disgraceful peace in 1466, ceding to Poland the province of Pomerania, together with the cities and forts dependent upon it, Marienburg, Elbing, and all the country and the towns of Culm and Obern.

The knights were by no means satisfied, with this treaty, and four successive grand masters endeavored to obtain a retrocession of the territory. In 1498, Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Marquis of Misnia and Landgrave of Thuringia, having been elected grand master, took energetic measures for the restitution, and appealed to the Pope, to the Emperor and to the princes of the Empire, for their mediation. They acquiesced, a day was fixed for a grand assemblage of the ambassadors and deputies at Posnan; the arbitrators decided in favor of the knights, but the King refused to make the restitution. The grand master, Frederick, dying in 1510, and Sigismund I being now King of Poland, the chapter expected that by placing a relative of his at the head of the order, the restitution would be more easily accomplished. His nephew, Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, was a canon of the chapter of Cologne, and was elected grand master. Following the example of his immediate predecessor, Albert refused to do homage to Sigismund for Pomerania and its adjuncts. This occasioned a war, in which Sigismund had considerable advantages, but upon the petition of his nephew, concluded a truce for four years. During this period, preparations were made in several of the commanderies, by appointing to those governments, men of whose principles there was great suspicion: Germany was in a religious ferment, by reason of the Lutheran disputes and the licentiousness of the boors. A treaty was privately made between the grand master and the King of Poland, in which Albert ceded a large portion of the territory belonging to the order to Sigismund, and stipulated to do homage for the remainder, as a fief of Poland, upon the condition that it should be confirmed to him and to the heirs of his body, (he was bound to celibacy) by the Polish power, and that he should be made Duke of Prussia. Thus violating his obligations to God and to man he betrayed and robbed the order which he was sworn to sustain in all its rights, and in defence of whose property he was bound to expose himself to death.

In 1525, Albert went to Cracow, and there on the 5th of April, he divested himself of his mastership, renounced the Teutonic Order, and did homage for the Dukedom of Prussia, and swore fealty to Sigismund of Poland, who undertook his protection. As by the laws of the Catholic Church, he had rendered himself liable to severe penalties and to restitution to the order, he renounced the church itself. He had already prepared a sufficient number of the commanderies with men ready to aid him; imitating his example, they renounced the order and assumed the title of lay-lords, and thus the Duke and a large party of the Prussian nobility, were prepared for professing the principles of Lutheranism by the practice of perfidy, treason, perjury and plunder! The other commanders and the knights who refused to unite in their misconduct, were ordered to leave the dominions of his new highness, who naturally was attached beyond measure to the glories of the new gospel. In 1526 he married the princess Dorothy of Denmark, and he confirmed to the commanders who joined in his treason, their Lordships to them and to their children in perpetuity. The preachers of the new religion were called in, such of the clergy as continued faithful, were stripped of their income, and driven from their churches, or monasteries, the goods of these latter were confiscated, the Catholics of note were forced to leave their homes and their country; the peasants and the artizans and laborers were accounted as nothing, and as you tell us, "Your church became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia." But if you have studied history, it is very strange that you should add—"Mark the temper which she has exhibited in the day of triumph: she commenced no retaliation against her persecutors." In Prussia, at least, Sir, it would have been exceedingly difficult to have done so, because no one had persecuted her! "She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge." There was nothing to be revenged. She was introduced by perfidy and power united, and

every one who did not submit to her was banished. "Her opponents of the Romish Church"—we thank you, Sir, for your politeness in bestowing nicknames—"were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land." Go, Sir, read the annals of the Teutonic Order; read Prussian history: and your own feelings of honor will dictate your retractation. "There, to this day, their temples and their monasteries remain as the monuments of the toleration of our church." Yes, Sir, the temples remain in the old duchy of Prussia, that of which we treat, and now, three centuries have elapsed since they have been occupied exclusively for Lutheran worship. Is this your monument of toleration? Why, Sir, it is just such toleration as England practised when she drove the Catholic clergy from the chancels of her churches, put men of a new religion in their places, bestowed upon them a portion of the revenues, bribed some of her powerful expectants and courtiers with the remainder, made laws to punish as guilty of high treason any one of the banished clergy who should return; and still keeps the possession which was thus commenced. And this is a monument of toleration in your opinion! Blessings on your notion of toleration! "There to this day their monasteries remain." *Where* is the *there?* In that spot which was Prussia three centuries ago? No, Sir! No monastery has within three centuries been occupied by the religious therein! Again, Sir, I request of you to read the history of the period of which you write. It will preserve you from sad mistakes. You may perhaps occasionally find the religious edifice, as it is found in England, the mansion of some nobleman, or the refuge for the peasant who finds shelter in a ruin; or perhaps it is such a monastery as Massachusetts loves to decorate that place with, where freedom struck her best and bravest blow—the blackened remnant of a smouldering edifice, whence in the bitter hour of night, a rabble of demon bigots drove helpless infants and trembling virgins, affrighted and unprotected and unclad, whilst they danced around the flames that gave light to share the booty which they had torn from the cave of the dead and from the altar of their,—*their*, did I write?—Yes, even *their* God. This, Sir is a monument of the toleration of a Protestant State! Yes, Sir, the Governor of that State and its legislature, whilst they affected indignation at the outrage against the majesty of the laws, gave every token of their inward gratification at the ruin that was made, and scouted the petition for redress from their tables! This, Sir, is a specimen of our toleration here!—But though the cruelty and the bigotry of Prussia were equal to those of Massachusetts, she had less hypocrisy, for she had no sickly affectation of being indignant at the perpetration of those crimes which she approved.

I am, however, astonished to find, that if you read history, you should praise Prussian toleration: and I am equally amazed, if you have not read it, that you should write and preach upon a subject which demands accurate historical knowledge. Ranting may be tolerated in others, but people expect information from you. "And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?" I answer you. In Prussia at her introduction, and for nearly two centuries after, and, I may add, even down to this day.

But to follow up a sketch of the affairs in Prussia with any accuracy, we must still keep our eye on the surrounding territories, most of which have become integrant parts of the modern kingdom.

Upon the death of Sigismund, King of Poland, in 1548,—his son, Sigismund II, or Augustus, was his successor, and immediately upon his coming to the crown at the age of 28 years, he privately married Barbara Radziwill who had been his mistress. The Poles were indignant when he demanded for her the honors due to a queen, and a diet was held to deliberate, whether they should not require her being set aside. Though Lutheranism was not openly professed in Poland, still there were several who espoused the opinions of the new sectarian leaders. Among those were found the principal supporters of Barbara's claims, and in return for their devotion to her, though the King did not openly support them, he permitted their children to be sent to Protestant colleges in other States for their education. Though Poland was not without its troubles caused by the efforts to destroy the old religion, yet the Lutherans suffered no persecution. Sigismund had Lithuania incorporated with the kingdom, and seized upon Livonia, usurping the possessions of the Teutonic Order which were immense, and pillaging the Archiepiscopal See of Riga of its income. He died in 1572, and in him concluded the male line of the Jaggellon dynasty. Poland may be considered as continuing Catholic, and Lutheranism unpersecuted and tolerated there.

The house of Hohenzollern became electoral in 1415, by the raising of Frederick VI, Burgrave of Nuremberg, to the dignity of Elector of Brandenburgh, which territory lay to the west of Prussia, on the right bank of the Oder. Joachim II succeeded his father, the first of that name, as Elector of Brandenburgh, in 1532, at the age of 27 years,—and in 1539 he embraced Lutheranism, and pro-

cured the Bishop of Brandenburgh and the chief persons of his court to unite with him in the transition, which was by no means unproductive in a pecuniary point of view. He acquired thereby large revenues and domains which formed the mensals of the bishoprics of Brandenburgh, Hawelburg, and of Lebus. He declined joining the league of Smalcald, being quite satisfied with these acquisitions and leaving to others the honor of fighting for religion. He obtained by purchase from the Emperor Ferdinand II, the duchy of Crossen in Silesia, and in 1569, his relative, Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, invested him with the right to succeed to the estate and title of Albert Frederick, son of the apostate grand master, and second duke of Prussia, should he die without issue. The duke was insane; his government was administered by Joachin Frederick, the eighth elector of Brandenburgh, and grand-son to Joachim II. John Sigismund, the son of this Joachin Frederick, married Anne, daughter of Albert, the mad duke of Prussia, and upon this, entered into possession not only of Prussia, but in right of his mother-in-law, Mary of Juliers, the wife of Albert, became master of Juliers, near Aix-la-Chapelle, and of Cleves near Holland, which had strong Calvinistic attachments, and he became a Calvinist. Thus, the duchy of Prussia, which was Lutheran, came into possession of the house of Hohenzollern, now Calvinistic—formerly Lutheran, and which had already a considerable domain. This history of the mode in which Lutheranism was established in Prussia, leads us to two conclusions. First, that its introduction was accompanied by the plunder of Catholic church-property, to the aggrandizement of the patrons of the new religion. Secondly, that Lutheranism had no struggle to make, had endured no persecution.

The Lutheran was then the established religion of the electorate of Brandenburgh, and the duchy of Prussia; the Catholics had been plundered, banished and were scarcely known: the Calvinists enjoyed a full toleration. But the ravages of the thirty years war made a large portion of this dominion a waste, not so much because the simpleton George William the 10th elector, was engaged therein, but because the hostile armies met and fought upon his territory. However, the great elector Frederick William, repaired much of the ruin, colonizing with Protestants chiefly from France and Switzerland, and at the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, secured extensive domains. He did not persecute Catholics, for he had none worth persecution in his realms.

When his son Frederick succeeded, he exhibited his ambition, and sought to obtain from the Emperor the title of King of Prussia, but in 1695, he could not induce Leopold even to recognise the validity of that of duke, nor in fact that Prussia was a lay dominion. Being however, five years afterwards in need of aid in his war with France, Leopold created as King of Prussia, him whom he had refused to acknowledge as its duke, and thus in 1601, the house of Hohenzollern became royal.

I might here balance our accounts, and for that purpose I ask you: In the first place, have the Lutherans of Prussia been, at any time, in any way, persecuted or oppressed by the Catholics? If they have, pray inform us: Where? When? By whom? In what manner? And if you are unable to point this out, what is the meaning of your assertion in parag. 53, "She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge."

Frederick William I, son to him, who from elector of Brandenburgh, became King of Prussia, succeeded to his father in 1713. He was a singular original, who with great qualities had great peculiarities. He perhaps was guilty of some persecution of the Lutheran clergy, though himself a Protestant, and having strict notions of religion. He did as much, perhaps more, with his cane than with his pen,—and when he met any clergymen at military reviews, of which he was specially fond himself, he was of opinion that a little persecution would teach them their proper occupation. Instead, therefore, of sending his aids to order them from the field: his majesty vouchsafed to go in person and bestow the parental admonition of his cane, upon their shoulders, with an injunction to go home and study the Bible, or compose sermons. Though it is certain that some godly men suffered this persecution; I have no documents at hand that would enable me to state the number of the afflicted. But it is a consolation to know that this was no persecution inflicted by the "Romish" Church.

The year 1740 saw Frederick the Great, as he is called, ascend the Prussian throne. An infidel of the school of what was mis-called philosophy, he was by law the chief manager of the Lutheran Church in his dominions. His notions of religion were unsettled, but he was a close observer of its effects. He made conquest of Silesia, in which there were Catholics, he added New Prussia to his dominions in the dismemberment of Poland, in 1772, and thereby incorporated some millions of Catholics with his people. He recognised their religious rights—and if he had any preference, perhaps it was for the evidences of the Catholic religion. A saying

of his upon the subject of the respective ceremonials is recorded, which perhaps is not new to you. Having been present at the Cathedral of Breslaw, at a high-mass, celebrated by Cardinal Zinzendorf, he said to the Cardinal after mass—"The Calvinists treat the Almighty God as their servant; the Lutherans treat him as their equal; but the Catholics serve him as their God." Frederick, though not a persecutor, still had no objection to plunder the Church occasionally. In the partition of Poland he contrived to get for himself a large portion of the revenues of the Bishop of Warmia. The prelate loved his majesty, and having come to Potsdam, in 1770, to pay his respects, the King remarked to him—"It is impossible you could love me." The bishop replied that he could not forget his sovereign. "For my part," said his majesty, "I am sincerely your friend, and I calculate a good deal upon your affection. If St. Peter should one day refuse me admittance to Paradise, I hope you will have the goodness to cover me with your cloak, and smuggle me in without being noticed." "That would be exceedingly difficult," said the bishop, "for your majesty has clipped it in such a manner, that at present I could not cover any thing contraband."

After the death of Frederick in 1786, the events of the French revolution left the monarchs of Europe little time for doing the work of bigotry. The spirit of the age was that of the fanaticism of infidelity and of the mysticism of the new school of Masonic adepts, and of the illuminated. Frederick William II left the religious state of his kingdom in 1797, nearly as he found it upon his accession eleven years before. But his successor, the third of that name, is now equally bigoted, as he is tyrannical, and has proved himself equally perfidious to engagements as he is despotic in his dominion.

He has given his attention to the manufacturing of a new religion, which is neither Lutheran nor Calvinistic, but a compound sublimation of both, under the title of Evangelical, he has framed a liturgy, which must be adopted, he has enacted a code of discipline which they must follow; he is the head of the Church in his dominions and he must be obeyed. The parents are not allowed to educate their children in the religion of their choice. The will of the monarch is the law, the law determines the religion in which the child must be educated, and the law must be obeyed! His Protestant subjects are discontented, but his army is stronger than his people, his fortresses are armed and his dungeons are prepared.

He allied himself with Napoleon against Russia when the star of that extraordinary man appeared in its culmination. He was the first to assail and to worry the unfortunate emperor when the flower of his army was buried in the snow. He dared to mingle with the triumphant allies in their hey-day of victory, and to boast of the manner in which he harassed and slew those who relied upon the pledge of his friendship. He claimed his share of the plunder, and when he was told that the portion which was to be assigned to him was Catholic, and must be protected, he made in the presence of the confederated monarchs of Europe, the solemn guarantee of their religious freedom to the Rhenish provinces, unshackeled, and unrestricted. He made a treaty with the Pope, by which he obtained important and valuable concessions, for the favor which he promised and the protection which he was to afford.

To the allies themselves and to the people whom they consigned to his government, he promised a written constitution upon liberal principles, and a form of legislation in which the people should be heard by their own representatives. Twenty years have elapsed, and the despotism of Prussia is unqualified, the notion of a constitution is scouted, and the prop of the Hanoverian in his insolent tyranny, is the perfidious despot of the house of Hohenzollern, in whose veins flows the blood of the traitorous grand master of the Teutonic knights.

Not content with domination at home, he would extend it abroad; he treated with cold cruelty, the sister whose talents and whose virtues would redeem his name, when he reproved the dowager Grand Duchess of Anhalt-Coethen and her illustrious husband, for following the decisions of their judgments and using the liberty which you proclaim to be their right, in returning to the bosom of that church from which their ancestors had strayed. The prisons of Minden and of Magdeburg, the complaints of the Archbishop of Cologne, of the Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen and of their suffragans, the insulted Catholic nobles who were spurned from the footstool of his throne, the remonstrances of the Holy See for violated faith, for dishonorable chicanery, for dishonest suppression and open violence; the efforts to stifle the complaints of the injured, and to cut off the Catholics of his dominions from all fellowship with their brethren in the faith, throughout the world: all these, and more than these, proclaim the character of your Prussian idol.

His uniform perfidy, his notorious bigotry and his indefensible tyranny, have raised him to an unenviable position. I leave it to others, if they can, to remove the carcass of his roy-

alty from the gibbet upon which it is suspended in the face of the world.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Aug. 9th, 1838.

LETTER XIX.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—Having disposed of Prussia, I go to Denmark, where you inform us that the doctrines of the Lutheran Church were established as "the national religion," where you tell us "Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph, she commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge. Her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land." Sir, you have read of the *Nero of the North*. You must know something of Christiern II, King of Denmark, surnamed *the Cruel*, who ascended the Danish throne upon the death of his father, John, in 1513, and who contrived to get himself elected king of Sweden, in 1520. You know, Sir, that it was he who treacherously invited the Swedish Senate to a feast, which was for them the feast of death. Amongst the victims were the aged father of Gustavus Vasa, and several of the most respectable dignitaries of the Church. When this same Gustavus, aided by the brave men of Dalecarlia, struck against the tyrant in Sweden; the one urged by a fiery spirit of vengeance, sustained by a mettlesome ambition; the others, for their ancient rights, and that freedom which the Northmen loved: you know, Sir, how the execrable Christiern, caused the mother and the sister of this same Gustavus to be tied in sacks and cast into the sea. A monster of blood, the incarnate spirit of relentless tyranny:—few were found willing to resist, until the yoke of his oppressions forced all to reject him. This, Sir, was the apostle of Lutheranism in Denmark. I should suppose that you have more than once read what your own historian, Mosheim, wrote upon the subject, and the notes of his translator, Maclaine; but as these letters are intended more for others than for you, and they probably have not perused the history, I shall here insert it.

"The light of the reformation was also received in *Denmark*, and that so early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by Christian, or Christiern II, of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of Luther. This monarch, whose savage and infernal cruelty (whether it was the effect of natural temper, or of bad counsels) rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition of *Rome*. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for Martin Reinard, one of the disciples of Carolostadt, out of *Saxony*, and appointed him professor of divinity at *Hafnia;* and after his death which happened in the year following, he invited Carolostadt himself to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but nevertheless, after a short residence in *Denmark* returned in to *Germany*. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, who used his utmost endeavors, though in vain to engage Luther to visit his dominions, and took several steps that tended to the diminution, and indeed to the suppression of the jurisdiction exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontiff."

"It is, however, proper to observe, that in all these proceedings, Christiern II was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigor to his reforming projects."

"His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his own character, evidently show that he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy, both in church and state: and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority, and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped, and of appropriating them to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprise. The states of the kingdom exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of *Denmark*, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of their ancestors, and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year 1523, by which he was deposed and banished from his dominions, and his uncle Frederick, duke of *Holstein* and *Sleswic*, placed on the throne of *Denmark*.—(*Cent.* xvi, *chap.* ii, *sec.* 1, §31.)

Mosheim, you observe, so far from linking "Popery and despotism" together, shows that the revolution was produced by an attempt to destroy their liberties and the Catholic religion, which he calls "the superstition of their ancestors." The Danish States issued a declaration of the motives by which they were urged to this revolution, it is to be found in Vol. V of Ludgewig's compilation called "Reliquiæ M. S. Sorum," and proves that they were not at that time consenting parties to the introduction of Lutherans. "Lutheranæ hœresis pullulatores, contra jus pietatemque in regnum nostrum Catholicum introduxit, doctorem Carlostadium fortissimum Lutheri athletam enutrivit." "*He contrary to right and to piety, introduced into our Catholic realm, the propagators of the Lutheran heresy, he fostered Doctor Carolostadt the strongest wrestler of*

Luther." Thus the men who stood for the rights and freedom of their country, were Roman Catholics, who held also to the institutions of their religion; and the Nero of the North, who sought to destroy every right of his people, and to trample into extinction the last spark of liberty, was the one who introduced the Protestant religion into Denmark to attain this object. Under him your Church suffered no persecution.

Speaking of his uncle and successor, Dr. Mosheim proceeds:

"This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation, than his predecessor had done. He permitted the Protestant Doctors to preach publicly the opinions of Luther, but did not venture so far as to change the established government and discipline of the Church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progress of the reformation, by his successful attempts in favor of religious liberty, at the assembly of the States that was held at *Odensee* in the year 1527. For it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every subject of *Denmark* free, either to adhere to the tenets of the Church of *Rome*, or to embrace the doctrine of Luther. Encouraged by this resolution, the Protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the Church of *Rome*. But the honor of finishing this glorious work, of destroying entirely the reign of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for Christiern III, a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and by restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by Bugenhagius, whom the king had sent for to *Wittenberg* to perform that arduous task, for which his piety, learning, and moderation rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the States at *Odensee*, in the year 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions; and thus the work of the reformation was brought to perfection in *Denmark*."

It is not a little curious to observe the self-contradictions of Dr. Mosheim? Christiern introduced Lutheranism, that by its aid he may "rise to a supremacy both in Church and State." "The States exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of Denmark." But when Frederick supports that same religion "the greater part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty." When they were Catholics they deposed that tyrant who sought to destroy their liberties: becoming Lutherans, they aid Christiern III, in "breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny," of whose existence they had not been previously aware!

Maclaine remarks upon the edict of Odensee of 1527—"It was farther added to this edict, that no person should be molested on account of his religion, that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the insults and malignity of their enemies; and that ecclesiastics of whatever rank or order should be permitted to enter into the married state, and to fix their residence wherever they thought proper, without any regard to monasteries, or other religious societies." Thus, Sir, the introduction of Lutheranism took place in Denmark without any persecution of the Lutherans, but accompanied by the enormous plunder of the Catholic Church.

I shall now observe that though Frederick professed the Lutheran religion some time after he ascended the throne of Denmark, it would not have been either prudent or politic on his part, to oppress the Catholics; when the introduction of the Lutheran errors into their Catholic realm, was one of the grievances of which the States complained, in their act of deposition of Christiern, and to which act Frederick himself was a party; and in consequence of which he obtained the throne. Nor did the policy which he adopted injure the cause which he undertook to sustain, for he succeeded in removing the obstacles to the introduction of the new teachers, and in having them effectually protected, until at the period of his death, every thing was ready for the hand of him who undertook the persecution, not of the Lutherans, but of the Catholics. The assault was to be made upon the Bishops, for when the flock is to be destroyed, the guardians must, if possible, be sacrificed in the first instance. The pretext was, that the bishops were too opulent, and too powerful. Let us examine the facts a little, for the examination will tend greatly to elucidate the main question. "Did the Catholic Church persecute the Lutherans in Denmark; or were the latter the persecutors of the Catholics?" The Catholic religion had been established during upwards of five hundred years in Denmark, previous to the accession of Christiern III. Though the first Bishops had much to endure, and little to possess, yet in process of time, their successors obtained not only the respect and confidence of the nation, but valuable gifts for the support of religion; the administration of whose funds was confided to their care. But their

own industry and their frugality, generally made those acquisitions more valuable in a succession of years. The lands which they received in a barren and uncultivated state, were improved by an orderly peasantry, amongst whom they endeavored to diffuse information, and to preserve moral and industrious habits. Thus, whilst the lands of the lay-lords, and even those of the crown, were frequently neglected, by reason of calling off the cultivator to the camp, and by the habits of idleness and dissipation, which the soldier had acquired; and whilst the estate became dilapidated by the extravagance of its owner; the church land went down from one occupant to the next, generally improved, frequently increased. And thus in many instances the property made valuable chiefly by the moderation and the industry of the bishops, presented a strong temptation to the poverty, the cupidity, the recklessness and the ambition of princes and their courtiers. And the former were generally sustained in their aggression by the latter, not merely because of habitual obsequiousness, or positive command; but from the more powerful motive of participating in the plunder. Thus, there never was a tyrant who did not at least endeavor to compel church-men to the observance of gospel poverty, and who was not eloquent upon the subject of clerical rapacity.

We must, however, go a little farther. The possessor of land was obliged, at this period, to provide for its defence, by studding it with castles. Thus, if the prelates did not erect and maintain the castles, they should forfeit the lands. Upon those lands there also grew up towns, and the owner was obliged under pain of forfeiture, to make some provision for sustaining and governing the municipalities. A limited civil and military jurisdiction, then necessarily vested in the trustee of this property, and as the property vested in the bishop for the purposes of the Church, he could not under the laws, preserve the property and divest himself of the power. They went together. There was a farther obligation: the prelate was not only morally bound to preserve all the property, and to administer it fairly for the purposes for which it had been originally bestowed, and which were indicated by the records of the diocess, but he was solemnly sworn to the faithful discharge of those duties, and to the maintenance of those rights and privileges "against every man." He was bound to maintain them, if necessary, against the monarch or against the Pope. They had their respective jurisdictions over him, but he had his rights to maintain, even against them if necessary. And the history of those ages, shows us, that when mailed monarchs bent their barons to the dust; the crozier alone, frequently was a barrier to their despotism. The bishop was therefore generally to the proud invader of popular or baronial rights or privileges, a most obnoxious individual, and yet strange to say, they of our opponents, who affect to execrate tyrants, and to love liberty, perpetually endeavor to impress us with the notion that those bishops were turbulent and criminal rebels, proud, arrogant, unfeeling men, who refused to the ruler of the land the homage due to his station, and who trampled upon the people as beings of an inferior race.

I will not undertake to say that every bishop properly discharged his duty, for I have evidence that several did not. But in most cases, where they were assailed by the monarchs, it was for the performance of their duty.

To apply these observations to the case before us, Dr. Mosheim says, that Christiern "began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops." He does not specify what this "despotic authority" was, but the annals of the times informs us that he abolished "their entire authority," and in the next paragraph, Mosheim himself informs us, "The bishops were deprived of their honors, privileges and possessions, without their consent," upon which Dr. Maclaine, his translator, appends the following note:

"What does Dr. Mosheim mean here? did ever a usurper give up his unjust possessions without reluctance? does rapine constitute a right, when it is maintained by force? Is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners? The question here is, whether or no the bishops deserved the severe treatment they received from Christiern III? And our author seems to answer this question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and necessary, in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on account of their resistance; all the church-lands, towns and fortresses, annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy forever abolished. It is also certain, that Luther himself looked upon these measures as violent and excessive, and even wrote a letter to Christiern, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide with moderation on this subject, and to grant that if the insolence and licentiousness of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may have been excessive. Nor indeed was his political prudence here so great as Dr. Mosheim seems to represent it; for the equipoise of government was hurt, by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility acquired by this a prodigious degree of influence, and the crown lost an order, which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest supports of its pre-

rogative. But disquisitions of this nature are foreign to our purpose. It is only proper to observe, that in the room of the bishops, Christiern created an order of men, with the denomination of *Superintendants*, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office, without sharing the least shadow of temporal authority."

Mosheim next says, that Christiern continued "by restoring to their *lawful owners*, a great part of the wealth and possessions which the Church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy." Who were these lawful owners? The church had, *by the sanction of law*, been in quiet possession of the larger portion of this property, during upwards of two hundred years. Neither does he inform us of the clergy who got it, of the persons who gave it, nor of the stratagems made use of to obtain it. But, as usual, we must pass a sweeping condemnation upon the Catholic clergy, without any evidence to prove more than that they had been robbed by the Lutherans, to whom in the simplicity of their hearts, they had given full toleration about a dozen years before! It is just the same return that the Catholics of Maryland received from the Puritan and the Protestant, whom they more than tolerated when these men persecuted each other. The Catholics of Maryland took them to their bosom, cherished them, and were stung by the enactment of the penal code. And the American Protestant proclaims that the Catholic is intolerant! "Do we differ least from them (Catholics) in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church." As yet, Rev. Sir, in examining your own cases, we find your intolerance and persecution to be exceedingly ill-favored samples to sustain your boast?

"The lawful owners" got the property. The king took it to himself and doled out a trifle to others; they were that portion of the Danish nobility, who got a sop to keep them in humor, and who, when deprived of the restraints which checked their ambition and turbulence, as Dr. Maclaine tells us, became more troublesome to the monarch than ever the calumniated bishops had been.

Now Sir, will you please to inform us in what part of the Danish history, evidence is found of a persecution of the Lutherans by the Catholics? I have shown you the evidence of a persecution of the Catholics by the Lutherans, carried on by confiscation, plunder, imprisonment, chains, banishment and death.

Mosheim feels the whole weight of his difficulty when about to treat of this persecution. Finding that he cannot escape detailing the facts, he uses every effort to separate the persecution from his religion, but he cannot succeed, and he asserts without a particle of proof, that which all evidence would destroy, if he ventured upon specifications,—that the bishops had appropriated to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom."

And was the Nero of the North a man to permit his property to be thus abstracted? Was Frederick so enamored with the bishops as to allow their undisturbed possession? The effort of your historian in struggling with the meshes, is not the least amusing exhibition of the power of truth over the disposition to misrepresent. Mosheim says:

"It is however to be observed, that in the history of the reformation of *Sweden and Denmark*, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinion, and the reformation of the episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet, in reality, they are so far distinct, that either of the two might have been completely transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been effected without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and that was generally received. In the measures taken in these northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing that deserved the smallest censure: neither fraud nor violence were employed for this purpose; on the contrary, all things were conducted, with wisdom and moderation, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity and the spirit of Christianity." Why, Sir, the historian appears to have strange notions of moderation. "The same judgment cannot easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of proceeding in the reformation of the clergy, and more especially of the episcopal order. For here, certainly, violence was used, and the Bishops were deprived of their honors, privileges and possessions, without their consent; and, indeed, notwithstanding the greatest struggles and the warmest opposition. The truth is, that so far as the reformation in *Sweden and Denmark* regarded the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; nay, a change here was become so necessary, that had Luther and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator. For the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had got into their hands such enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper: and in effect, already

abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such, therefore, was the critical state of these northern kingdoms in the time of Luther that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonored, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succoring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin."

The truth, Sir, is permitted to escape. The king wanted the property of the Church, and the establishment of Lutheranism; the bishops were mighty obstacles to his projects. They would not come into his views. They were deposed, dishonored, imprisoned, and some of them died in chains.

Nor did the persecution terminate with the bishops; but continued until the Catholic religion was rooted out of the country: and so high did Denmark stand in the esteem of the sect, that before the close of that century she beheld her monarch Christiern IV, at the head of the Protestant confederacy.

Thus it is manifest, that the Lutheran religion was introduced into Denmark by the worst of her kings, for the purpose of aiding in the destruction of the rights and liberties of the people, and of adding to his own despotic power, and of promoting his aggrandizement. That his successor was himself a Lutheran, and protected the professors of that religion. That therefore up to the death of Frederick the Protestants not only suffered no persecution, but were specially protected.

That upon the accession of Christiern III, the Catholic bishops were stripped of their honors, their possessions, their churches and their authority; that they were cast into prison, where most of them died in irons:—that the Lutheran religion was by law made the national religion, and the Catholics worried until not one was to be found in the realm, and that at this day the few Catholics who are to be found there, are in a state of humiliation and degradation scarcely deserving the name of toleration.

And now, Sir, having placed Denmark even lower than Prussia,—I ask you, how it has happened that you forgot yourself so far as to write your 53d paragraph? Did you imagine that no one had read the history of those nations or of your religion? Or is it possible that you never read those historians yourself? And if you did not, how was it possible for you to venture such assertions on such an occasion? And not only to make them from the pulpit, but to print and to publish them to the world? And you, not only the President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the United States, but also the President of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Charleston, South Carolina! We shall next, Sir, proceed to Sweden.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., August 9th, 1838.

LETTER XX.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—I now proceed to show that in procuring the establishment of Lutheranism in Sweden, your church endured no persecution, but that the Catholics were oppressed and grievously persecuted.

Those who have read my last letter to you will have observed that Christiern II, the *Nero of the North*, who introduced Lutheranism into Denmark, procured that he should be elected king of Sweden in 1520; in fact, he had a strong party there which gave him considerable influence long before that period. The principal opposition that he met with was in the senate, and from the higher clergy, who, having witnessed his tyranny in the neighboring kingdom that he ruled, were anxious to guard their rights and liberties against his power and despotism. As soon therefore as he found himself upon the throne, he sought to crush them, and to secure to himself an irresistible dominion. The mode which he adopted was congenial to his nature. He invited to a great banquet the senators and the great dignitaries of the Church, and in the midst of their festivity, his minions seized upon them, and seventy of the great defenders of the rights of Sweden, paid the forfeit of their lives.

The power of the senate was broken; but still the Swedes were Catholic, and he hesitated to strike so decisive a blow against their church. Whilst they continued Catholic, it would be impossible for him to unite the civil and ecclesiastical supremacy in his own person. He sought to do as he was practising in Denmark, to excite declarations against papal usurpations and tyranny, and to alienate the people from the clergy, by continual vituperation, by magnifying their faults, by inventing calumnious charges; and thus to prepare the way for enriching himself with that property which in ancient days had been consecrated by piety to sustain religion, and which had been improved through successive ages by the industry, the frugality and fidelity of the beneficiaries. To effect this, he encouraged the new preachers of the Lutheran doctrines to enter Sweden, and to declaim against the vices of the clergy and

the tyranny of the Pope. Amongst those who so entered and exerted themselves, Olaus Petri was conspicuous.

Amongst the Senators who were beheaded, was Eric Vasa, or Wassa, Duke of Gripsholm and Governor of Hatland, a descendant of the ancient Kings of Sweden. His son, Gustavus Vasa, or as he is sometimes called, Ericson, had, in 1518, been sent to Denmark as a hostage, but made his escape as soon as he learned the murder of his father. Burning with the desire of revenge, and indignant at beholding the murderer of his parent and of his friends seated upon the throne of his ancestors, he wandered for some time, and during a sojourn in Lubec, he made a more special acquaintance with the Lutheran teaching and some of its adherents. Privately returning into Sweden, he took refuge, as a wanderer, amongst the brave miners of Dalecarlia; there, for a time, he wrought with them and gained their confidence and affections, until the arrival of a moment when he believed that, at the head of those hardy lovers of liberty, he could strike that blow which he had so long meditated. On a fair day, he went into the midst of the throng and harangued them upon the oppressions of their common country, until he found their enthusiasm elevated to a proper point; then making himself known, he called upon the men of Dalecarlia to aid in the effort he was about to make for the restoration of Sweden. Gathering round him whom they admired for his assiduity in their common toil, and whom they now proclaimed as their deliverer, the honest band armed and came forward to assert the liberties of their country. The Dalecarlians were, to a man, devoted Roman Catholics.

How has my eye been moistened and my heart affected, when, in early youth, I pored with delight upon the description of the bird of liberty perched upon the craggy summit of those mountains, preparing his wings to cleave the opposing cloud and to lift himself in the storm! Gustavus was an idol of my devotion; the conclusion of an address made by him to his companions in arms, previous to an assault upon the troops of Christiern, seemed to me but the effusion of the poet as he viewed the individual hero—

"Like the bird of glory towering high,
Thunder within his grasp, and lightning in his eye."

The genius of freedom seemed to me to have attached the security of victory to his band; the mountain miners were invincible—were victorious: her shackles broken, Sweden shook off the yoke of her tyrant and thought herself free. Gustavus was the object of her love, of her gratitude, and the monarch of her choice.

Christiern fled before him, Stockholm received him, and he was chosen King of Sweden in 1523. Scarcely seated on his throne, he proclaimed himself a Lutheran, and encouraged the preachers who were already propagating the tenets of that sect; he invited others and gave a decided preference to the opponents of the Swedish church; he next seized upon a large portion of the Episcopal revenues and church possessions, and divided a small fraction among some of the nobility. Mosheim informs us, that whilst at Lubec, he was instructed in the principles of the Reformation, "and looked upon the doctrine of Luther, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favorable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions." The acts of Gustavus to regulate the political state of Sweden, will then be for us a good key to the discovery of his motives for the introduction of Lutheranism. Hitherto the Swedes had the right of electing their monarch. Gustavus procured, when he had fully established the dominion of the Lutheran Church, in 1544, that the crown should be hereditary in his family: he curtailed the privileges of the nobility: he deprived them of many of their ancient rights and left not to the people a shadow of liberty. He who dethrones a tyrant can often do with impunity what his predecessor dare not have attempted. Mosheim tells us that in the encouragement and introduction of Lutheran preachers, Christiern II was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. "It was the prospect of extending his authority, not a zeal for the advancement of true religion that gave life and vigor to his reforming projects," "he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy in church and state: and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of their overgrown authority and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped, and of appropriating them to himself." Thus, too, Feller says of Gustavus, "Pour affermir sa domination, il s'imagina devoir abolir l'ancienne religion du pays, et etablir le Lutheranisme dans ses etats. Il s'empara d'une partie des biens du clerge; mais pour que le peuple adoptat plus facilement ces changemens, il lui laissa des eveques, en diminuant leur revenu et leur pouvoir." "*To strengthen his domination, he imagined that it was necessary to abolish the ancient religion of the country, and to establish Lutheranism in his states. He took to himself a portion of the goods of the clergy; but that the people should more easily adopt these changes, he left them bishops with diminished income and abridged power.*" There is no need, Sir, of multiplying quotations or accumulating proofs. Nothing is more clear

[than] that the object of Christiern, of Frederick and of Gustavus was the same, to destroy the Catholic religion and to introduce Lutheranism, for the purpose of changing free constitutions into despotisms. The unfortunate pioneer was unsuccessful, but the two double dealers, who succeeded him, had more success.

Yes, I call Gustavus a double dealer, and the Abbe Berault, who is, in general, his panegyrist, is forced to avow "that he entangled his soul in the trickery of pretence and deceit, in low chicane, in notorious oppressions and in manœuvres unworthy of a man of common honesty." He prepared with adroitness the way for the accomplishment of his object. Under pretence of seeking for truth, he caused public disputes to he held, after which he affected to yield to a conviction of the truth of what he had six years before determined to sustain.

In 1527, at the convention of the States at Westeraas, he officially and authoritatively recommended the establishment of Lutheranism. Not only was he strenuously opposed, but the great majority was against him: yet by threats, by an affectation that he would resign his place and deliver them over to the evils of anarchy, unless they would reject the papal supremacy, he succeeded in getting himself made head of the Swedish Church, as well as King of Sweden. Thus was Lutheranism forced upon the kingdom in opposition to the wishes of the Swedish people; in complete domination over the free suffrages of the representatives of the estates of the kingdom.

I shall lay before my readers the account given by Doctor Mosheim, which, though exceedingly partial, and imperfect, yet discloses enough to sustain me in what I have stated:

"The reformed religion was propagated in *Sweden*, soon after Luther's rupture with *Rome*, by one of his disciples, whose name was Olaus Petri, and who was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public spirited prince, Gustavus Vassa Errickson, whom Sweden had raised to the throne in the place of Christiern, King of Denmark, whose horrid barbarity lost him the sceptre that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero had been in exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery; but having escaped from his confinement and taken refuge at *Lubec*, he was there instructed in the principles of the Reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of Luther not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favorable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always. And as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions, recommended by custom, and the doctrine of Luther, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the reformation, which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence. Accordingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible that had been made by Olaus Petri. Some time after this, in the year 1526, he appointed a conference at *Upsal*, between this eminent reformer and Peter Gallius, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions, that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. The dispute, in which Olaus obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm Gustavus in his persuasion of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and to promote the progress of that doctrine in *Sweden*. In the year following, another event gave the finishing stroke to its propagation and success, and this was the assembly of the States at *Westeraas*, where Gustavus recommended the doctrine of the Reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops, in particular, it was unanimously resolved that the plan of reformation proposed by Luther should have free admittance among the Swedes. This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch. From this time the papal empire in *Sweden* was entirely overturned, and Gustavus declared head of the church."—(*Cent.* xvi, *chap.* ii, *sec.* 1, § 30.)

Doctor Maclaine also in one of his notes, trumpets forth the praise of Gustavus in the following strain:

"This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once while he was absent from *Stockholm*, a great number of German Anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of *Munzer*, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to the highest extremities, pulled down with fury the images and other ornaments of the churches, while the *Lutherans* dissembled their sentiments of this

riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But Gustavus no sooner returned to *Stockholm* than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seized and punished, and covered the Lutherans with bitter reproaches for not having opposed these fanatics in time."

Now I would ask, what right had the Lutherans or had Gustavus himself to reform religion, that was not equally a right of these Anabaptists? Had they not as good a warrant to cast out images as he had to cast out the Pope? But the simple solution is easily discovered in the fact, that the Anabaptists would not acknowledge the headship of his majesty, but the Lutherans did him due homage in this new character.

It is also worth while to observe how the same Dr. Maclaine, in another note, roars lustily against the bishops:

"It was no wonder indeed that the bishops opposed warmly the proposal of Gustavus, since there was no country in Europe where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times than in Sweden and Denmark. The most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign, they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent of the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the State. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while the nobility of the kingdom were in misery and want. The resolution formed by the States assembled at Westeraas, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine, as to reform the discipline of the Church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was, however, resolved, at the same time, that the Church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferments should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the reformation."

Yet this is the same Doctor who roared out so gently in another note upon the same subject in Denmark, where he blames Christiern II for the very policy which he commends in Gustavus, as may be seen in my last letter.

But the character of Gustavus is not yet sufficiently developed.

The reader will recollect that it was by the energy and the love of liberty and the patriotism of the brave sons of Dalecarlia, Gustavus was enabled to liberate Sweden and to occupy its throne. The Dalecarlians were Catholics; they loved their religion as they loved their country; they soon practically felt the oppressions and the persecutions of the new head which was placed upon the Swedish Church at Westeraas, in 1527. They remonstrated; but in vain; they claimed their ancient usages, their religious rights, the inviolability of their worship. The stern answer was, that all must be obedient, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil concerns. They reminded the monarch of the principles which he proclaimed when the crow-bar of the miner levelled the ranks of Christiern. But the maxims of the mountain warrior were not the maxims of the King of Sweden. Dalecarlia rose once more to vindicate her freedom: but alas! —victory had deserted her. Hill after hill was carried, cavern after cavern was searched, and because Dalecarlia would not tamely bow to the dictates of Gustavus and adopt the religion of Luther, the bravest of her sons fell upon her fields and others expired under the hands of the executioner, and the subjugation of the hardy soldiers of the mountain by him whom they bore in the enthusiasm of their love of freedom to a throne, was the ruin of Catholicity and of liberty in Sweden.

In 1544, at his dictation, the States of Westeraas, now become the phantom of a deliberative body, decreed that Gustavus should be almost absolute in his authority, and that the crown should descend to his children. This monarch died in 1560, having nearly extinguished the Catholic religion in Sweden.

Thus, Sir, it is manifest that Lutheranism suffered no persecution in Sweden:—but, that at its introduction, it was cherished and protected; and the Catholics were grievously oppressed, their Church establishments destroyed, their clergy degraded, pillaged, and in several instances imprisoned and put to death, the professors of the ancient religion of the land, who first aided in the cause of liberty, butchered upon their own hills, because of their attachment to the creed of their fathers. Where, then, Sir, is the cruel tyranny of Catholics? Where the boasted toleration of your Church? You have referred us to Sweden; we have gone thither. Behold the result!

To follow up the history after the death of Gustavus, would be only to continue an exhibition of successive oppressions and revolts; yet perhaps an outline may be profitably given, for the purpose of showing how from that day to nearly this, Catholics have suffered for their religion, from the monarchs of this nation which you put forward as a

model of Christian meekness of Lutheran toleration.

His eldest son, Eric XIV, succeeded Gustavus. The ambition of this man was to become the husband of Elizabeth of England; disappointed in his scheme, he married the daughter of a peasant; which offended an aristocracy already disgusted with his tyranny. Whilst he gave his best attention to the confirming of Lutheranism, he, by his vices, his crimes, and his despotism, caused himself and the country which tolerated him to be despised. The ancient glories of Sweden were no more; the spark of patriotism which Dalecarlia once nourished with religious affection had been quenched in blood; Pibrac, the Chancellor of Henry IV, King of Navarre, seeking to express the most contemptible notion of royalty, said, that France had no more respect for Henry than it would had he been King of Sweden or of Cyprus. Upon the most unfounded suspicions, Eric shut up his brother John in prison, where he lay during five years. At the instance of an infamous favorite, he had some of the best of his nobility put to death: he stabbed with his own hand a nobleman, Sture, to whom he suspected the queen was partial. After eight years of a disgraceful rule he was deposed, and his brother John took his place upon the throne. Whilst the Swedish government was endeavoring to root out the last fibres of Catholicism from the land, Sigismund II, of Poland, a Catholic, in 1563, repealed the law of that kingdom which excluded all but Catholics from the higher civil offices. Was it not a little strange, Sir, that you overlooked this contrast when the 53d paragraph was issuing from your pen?

John III, second son of Gustavus Vasa, was married to Catharine, daughter of Sigismund of Poland, by whom he was induced to have favorable sentiments of the Catholic religion. When he was called to the throne in 1568, he found the kingdom at the lowest ebb, and involved in a war with Russia and Denmark.

He had in his service an able French officer, Pontus, Baron De La Gardie, whom he employed in negotiations and in the field. He found it necessary to procure peace by yielding Norway to Denmark and other provinces to Russia, though De La Gardie had been successful in the field. John became a Catholic and educated his son, Sigismund, in that religion, and also proposed to the people to return to the church of their fathers. De La Gardie was employed to treat for proper aid at Vienna, and to negotiate with Rome.

The nobility opposed all efforts to favor the Catholic religion; John was of a vacillating disposition, his queen died in 1583, after which he was prevailed upon once again to profess the Lutheran religion; he did not persecute the Catholics, but favored and sustained the Protestants. Thus up to the period of his death there was no persecution of Protestants, and scarcely any protection for Catholics.

Sigismund III, who continued in the Catholic communion, was seventeen years old at the period of his mother's death, and four years afterwards was crowned King of Poland. Upon the death of his father he went into Sweden to occupy that throne in 1594. His religion caused the Swedes to treat him with coldness. He constituted his uncle, Charles, Prince of Sudermania, who was a Lutheran, and youngest son of Gustavus, his viceroy. Upon disputes arising between Charles and the senate, Sigismund decided in favor of the latter, and Charles revolted, and after some defeats and trials, succeeded in securing to himself, in 1604, that crown which he wore under the title of Charles IX. The fact is notorious, that Sigismund, who was remarkable for piety, for justice, and for clemency, lost the kingdom of Sweden, because, and only because, of his profession of the Catholic religion. Probably, Sir, you would not deem this to be persecution; it is a species of toleration of which Protestantism furnishes us with numerous examples.

Upon the death of Fædor or Theodore Ivanowitz, the last male descendant of the Czars of Muscovy, of the line of Ruric, in 1588, Sigismund was entitled to the dominion, but his accession thereto was opposed upon the ground of his being a Catholic, and he preferred the loss of a realm, with a conscience void of offence, to an extensive dominion which could only be obtained by hypocrisy. It is true, Sir, that they were not Lutherans, who openly opposed his claims to Muscovy; but I make the statement to show that Catholics were the greatest sufferers from persecution.

Sigismund had, however, much more to undergo.

During the reign of Charles IX, the Lutherans were triumphant, and the few Catholics that remained were grievously oppressed. He died in 1611, and was succeeded by his son, Gustavus Adolphus, who was not only a Lutheran, but a strict observer of the principles of his sect. Having a decided propensity for war, he was as successful as he was enterprising. He in two years forced Denmark and Muscovy to make with him an advantageous peace: then uniting with him the German Lutherans, and placing himself at the head of the Protestant confederacy, he drove Sigismund from Poland, and undertook to subdue the Emperor and the Catho-

lic princes of Germany. In less than three years he overran two-thirds of Germany, from the Vistula to the Danube and the Rhine. He fell upon the plain of Lutzen on the 18th of November, 1633. He not only had the most severe penalties enacted in Sweden against the introduction of Catholic clergymen, but Catholic Germany felt in him the oppression of a hardened persecutor—churches robbed, altars overturned, the worshippers insulted and plundered at the discretion of his soldiers, and other such feats, signalize the zeal of the king and of his soldiers against the Catholic religion. In the midst of all this, he daily had, in his camp, at stated hours, prayers composed by himself, and gave a portion of his time to reading the Holy Scriptures. Under this prince, Lutheranism was sustained and triumphant, and Catholics suffered greatly by his armies, directed to break their power and to subjugate their country.

Christina succeeded to her father in 1633, with more splendid talents and extensive information. Hating war, loving literature, and liberty, she waited until after the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia to execute a resolve which she had made seven years previously, at the age of 20 years. In 1654, she abdicated in favor of her relative, Charles Gustavus, son of her father's sister Catharine, who had married John Casimir, Duke of Deux-Ponts-Cleburgh, and thus that house gave to Sweden a new dynasty, which continued to enforce the exclusion of the Catholic religion by the most cruel laws that were enacted against the clergy, with perhaps the exception of those in force in Great Britain and Ireland, and in the American colonies, now the United States. Shortly after her abdication, Christina returned to the Catholic Church, embracing the original Christian religion of her ancestors, at Brussels.

Charles X was ambitious of the laurels of a warrior, and died at the age of 37 years, whilst he was preparing to do what his son effected for absolutism. Charles XI, also active in the field, was not so fortunate in defence of his possessions in Pomerania; he, however, at the peace of Nimeguen, recovered what he had yielded in fight, and was subsequently chosen mediator to establish the peace of Ryswick. A despot over his people, he destroyed the power of the senate, he played the tyrant with his subjects, and strengthened the domination of Lutheranism in the country, adding also to the severity of the edicts against the introduction of Catholic priests.

Charles XII caused the North to bristle with bayonets, but was careless of the practice of religion, he professed and sustained Lutheranism. He had no Catholics to be objects of domestic persecution, nor did he care to worry them, if he had. Neither his sister Ulrica Leonora, to whom the crown devolved, nor her husband, Frederick, of Hesse Cassel, in whose favor she abdicated, had much to do with persecution or protection. The family of Holstein Hutin succeeded in 1751, in the person of Adolphus Frederick, a descendant of Charles the Ninth, from whom his mother, Albertina, was a fourth descent. He was a friend of science, but was greatly crippled in his efforts to promote its interests and to reform the laws, by the factions of the Senate, to which Ulrica, after the death of her brother, had restored its ancient power. He was succeeded in 1771, by his son, Gustavus III, who was assassinated in 1792 by Ankarstroem. Few better educated or more active monarchs then filled any throne in Europe. He found in his realms a very few Catholics, the shred that was left of a once powerful population, almost annihilated by an emaciating persecution, which, with little intermission, had now continued during upwards of two hundred and fifty years—begun by Lutherans, continued by Lutherans, aggravated by Lutherans, and of course approved of by Lutherans. He found this poor remnant without a church, without a monastery, exposed to the operation of cruel laws, and he took pity upon it. He conciliated the minds of many of the Protestants to mercy, and in 1781 he gave them liberty to make open profession of their faith, to build houses of worship, and to perform the rites of their religion! This may be considered the first relaxation of the heavy persecution of Catholics in Sweden.

And now, Sir, I trust I have answered your question, paragraph 52. "And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?" I have told you, "In Prussia, in Denmark, in Sweden"—and if this will not satisfy you, I shall furnish you with as much more.

Now, Sir, what think you of your 53d paragraph? "After having endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power, our Church at last became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden. Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph. She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge. Her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land, there to this day their temples and their monasteries remain as monuments of the toleration of our Church." You have selected Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, I have followed you thither

and from the records of history and by the testimony of your own writers, I have dissipated those fictions which your imagination put forward as facts. You have charged us with being persecutors, when we had it not in our power to persecute you, even if we would. You proclaimed your fortitude in sufferings, when we suffered bitterly from your abuse of our confidence and your exertion of force. You told us that toleration was your peculiar attribute, and upon your principles it ought, for you declare that although you think your surmises as to what God has revealed are probably correct, yet you cannot be certain that you are right and that they who differ from you are wrong; yet wherever you had authority, it has been exercised with peculiar intolerance. You told us that your Church in the day of triumph commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. In this you are correct, because there was no persecutor upon whom she could retaliate; so there was nothing for which she could seek revenge. You say that her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land, and you wrote this with the history of Prussia, of Denmark and of Sweden open before you! Be good enough to point out the temples of which we had not been deprived. Name the monasteries of which we had not been despoiled! And now Sir, how could you have asked, "And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?" "Do we differ least from the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that (Catholic) Church?"

To continue the historical view, would be only to show the efforts of a few Catholics to profit by the kindness which was shown to them, in their endeavoring to practice what they believed, without troubling those who differed from them. In fact, their number was so small, and their poverty so great, that they could scarcely be noticed in the review of the population; so effectualy had they been worn down by ages of persecution. Gustavus IV gave them neither annoyance nor aid from the period of his accession in 1792, to the year 1809, when upon the evidence of his folly and derangement, he was quietly set aside, to make room for his uncle the Duke of Sudermania, who succeeded by the name of Charles XIII. Under him there was no persecution. He had no child, and passing by the son whom his nephew had left, he procured the nomination of the French Marshal Bernadotte, as his successor. This man, like most of Napoleon's officers of rank, professed the Catholic religion, but had no idea of permitting it to be an obstacle to his wearing a crown. To please the Swedes and to remove the impediments which it might raise between him and the throne, he solemnly abjured the Catholic religion and made profession of the Lutheran opinions. On the 5th of April, 1818, upon the death of Charles XIII, he became King of Sweden, by the title of Charles John. Under his sway the Catholic religion has no serious impediment. A collection has been lately made in many parts of Europe to enable the Catholics to build a good church in Stockholm, and it has been raised and blessed. Some of the royal family vouchsafed to be present on the occasion. And thus, Sir, after a long and disastrous persecution, the Catholics again are permitted peaceably to worship in the way that was practised by those brave miners of Dalecarlia, who raised to power and to fame the faithless Gustavus, who smote upon their thresholds the men who preferred to their own lives, their country and their God.

And now, having made a partial settlement of our accounts upon the score of persecution, by paying you an instalment of Lutheran deeds, I beg to assure you, that should you or your friends demand it, there is more at your service in the fund from which this has been drawn.

Recollect, Sir, that you have provoked this yourself. We left you unassailed, until you thought proper, for the purpose of showing that you ought to be cherished in Protestant fellowship, to charge us with persecuting the Lutherans; you boasted of their kindness towards us. We have feelings like other men, and the records of history are open to us equally as they are to you. You have driven us to the necessity of producing them to vindicate ourselves. If we show that they contain what you did not imagine; we can only say that it would have been prudence on your part, to have consulted them before you ventured to assert what you cannot prove.

We believe, Sir, that you are as tolerant as any other Protestants are; but that is not more so than we claim to be, and it is much less than your flatterers proclaim.

There are, Sir, in your Sermon, a few other topics which I must notice. I shall dwell upon them as briefly as possible.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. C.

Charleston, S. C., August 23, 1838.

LETTER XXI.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., &c.

Rev. Sir,—In your 52d paragraph you ask, "Are we (*Lutherans*) most like the Roman Catholics in the power of our priesthood, and the pomp and parade of our religious worship?"

You must be aware that there is an inherent, essential power left by Christ in his Church, and bestowed by him upon the priesthood, if you admit the divine origin of ecclesiastical order. If you do not admit that it has such an origin, the priesthood, in your notion, is like every other human institution; a body of men created by the community or by its ruler, with certain specified powers, which it exercises in the name of that community upon the conditions laid down by the community, and as long as the community itself may think proper. I am unable to say what your opinion upon the subject is, but I shall assume it to be that which most generally prevails amongst Lutherans; that the clergy, or priesthood has been divinely commissioned by the Saviour; to teach the doctrine revealed by him, to administer the sacraments instituted by him, and to preserve discipline and regularity in the Church. This is power. The Roman Catholic Church teaches that it was thus divinely given and perpetuated by ordination and by mission. In what then consists the difference? You also claim this power, you claim it as derived from God and not from the community. You say that your "pastors are chosen by the people," but their ordination is not by the people, and their power is derived in the first instance from their ordination.

Neither is it true of Lutheranism, that in the German, the Danish, the Swedish or the Prussian dominions it is endowed with that right which it here possesses. The pastors in those places, Sir, I believe you will admit, are not elected by the people, but are appointed by the prince.

You treat of the whole Lutheran Society, of your 27,000,000, and not of your 50,000 communicants in these United States. You undertake to give us the character of the Lutheran Society through the world, and not that of the Lutheran Evangelical Church of the United States of North America. In this latter division, your pastors are indeed chosen by your people, but in the other places they are appointed by the State. Every where, their power is derived in the first instance from their ordination, Luther required a mission besides ordination. He held that ordination was not the bestowing of authority to perform the ministerial duties, but the qualifying a person to receive that authority, so that one who had not been ordained was incapable of receiving the authority; yet that ordination did not bestow it, but made the person ordained capable of receiving the power, from those to whom it appertained to send the ordained person with due authority, to perform the work; that is, to give the mission. In this, Sir, he agreed with the Catholic Church. Again, he agreed with her when he taught that the power to give this mission ordinarily belonged to the lawful pastors of the Church, but that God by a special interference and a manifest interposition may give to an individual an extraordinary mission, an authority to act. But the doctrine of the Catholic Church is, that God will never create an extraordinary authority to clash with the ordinary tribunal which he established, when he sent his Apostles to teach all nations, promising that he would be with them all days to the end of the world.

Luther asserted that his own mission was of this extraordinary character, and therefore he styled himself "Martin Luther by the grace of God, Ecclesiastes of Wittenberg"—and in his letter to the Catholic Bishops (t. ii, f. 305,) he states that "so many bulls and so many excommunications, so many condemnations from the Pope and Emperor, had stript him of all his former titles, and defaced the character of the beast in him; yet he could not remain without a title, and therefore had given himself this, as a token of the ministry to which God had called him, and which he had received not from man, nor by man, but by the gift of God, and by the revelation of Jesus Christ."—(*Ep. ad falso nomin. Episc. ordin.* t. ii.) The necessity of ordination, is held by all your churches. The necessity of a mission is taught by your great Reformer. Without these there is no power, according to your principles: with them and by their means, power is conferred on the ministry or the priesthood, and resides therein; and thus, Sir, you are like the Roman Catholics in teaching the power of the priesthood: I shall not undertake to say how far you are unlike them in the possession of that power.

Sleidan informs us (*lib.* v,) that when Muncer and the Anabaptists made exactly the same claims that Luther did:—this latter would not permit them to refer to the Scriptures for any proof of their doctrine, nor have them treated in any way as a Christian body, until Muncer should first answer the question "Who has given you a commission to preach?" "Should he answer 'God;' let him prove it by a manifest miracle; for when God intends to alter any thing in the ordinary form, of mission, it is by such signs that he declares himself." And in 1534, in his treatise on authority of magistrates, he writes, "That he had much rather that a Lutheran should leave a parish, than preach there against the consent of his pastor; that the magistrate ought not to suffer any private assemblies, nor permit any one to preach

without a lawful vocation; that if they had suppressed the Anabaptists, when, without any vocation, they began to spread abroad their doctrine, the evils which made Germany desolate, would have had a timely prevention; that no truly pious man should undertake any thing without a vocation: that this principle ought to be so religiously observed, that an Evangelical should not preach in the parish of a papist or of a heretic, without the consent of that pastor." This he writes for the instruction of magistrates, that they may treat in a proper way, "those prattlers, who brought not good and sure testimonials of their vocation, either from God or from men: that without such testimonials, they ought not to be allowed, even though they preached the pure Gospel, or were even angels dropped down from Heaven."

Thus, Sir, the only power which the Catholic priesthood claims, is that of preaching, of offering the mass, of administering the sacraments, and of preserving discipline, order, and regularity in the church. And that this power was conferred by Christ upon the Apostles, and has been transmitted to our day, by the ordinary succession to office, after vocation, ordination and mission. And you, Sir, in the Lutheran Society, keep as much of this power, or of its semblance as you can.

As to the "pomp and parade of our religious worship." They are, with us, so far matters of indifference, that we believe God is equally well worshipped upon the most humble altar which is occasionally fitted up in the tottering shantee of our rail road laborer, as in the midst of the splendid array which decorates the church of the Vatican on its highest festival. Yet we think this solemnity and pomp is calculated to inspire the mind with sentiments useful to religion, and we believe that such was the lesson taught by the Almighty, when he instructed Moses how to provide for the pomp and parade of religious worship in the desert; when he approved the resolution of David, and when in the midst of the pomp and parade of religious worship, in the presence of the assembled sons of Israel he filled the temple with his majesty and gave token of his protection, as the vicinity of the mercy seat was radiant between the wings of the Seraphim whose likeness he commanded to be made. We consider the pomp and parade of religious worship to be useful, only as it elevates the mind to God, as it reminds us of the important facts which are thus more strongly impressed upon the memory, as it exhibits to us more forcibly the grounds of our hope, in the promises of good things to come, and as it enforces the lesson for the performance of our duty. The Catholic Church regards all her ritual observances, except such as have been instituted by the Saviour for sacramental purposes, in this light; and if her erring children would but return to her bosom, upon the condition of her laying aside her decorations, we should soon again have the happiness of being only one fold under one shepherd. The taste and genius of nations differ widely, and the ceremony or the dress which one admires is ridiculous in the eyes of another. The pomp and parade of our religious worship should not then be cause of disunion, nor a matter of reproach.

You say also that "you have no overgrown hierarchy." But you do not vouchsafe to inform us what you mean by "*overgrown*." Surely you do not consider our American hierarchy to be "overgrown." Yet it is fully and substantially as much invested with power as any other division of our hierarchy in the world. We have fifteen diocesses for perhaps 1,250,000 Catholics, or about 83,000 Catholics to every diocess. It is true they are very unequally divided, for some of the prelates have nearly 150,000, whilst others have not 10,000 to their territory. The number of priests to serve them is very little over 400,—which is one priest to about 3,000 souls. Now if this be "overgrown" what shall we say of the Protestant Episcopalians, who are set down in the American Almanac at 600,000, having 850 clergymen or about 700 souls to each pastor, and having 17 Bishops, that is, one prelate to about 35,300 souls? Thus, Sir, if you take the ratio between the Hierarchy and the flock, the Protestant Episcopal Hierarchy of the United States is more than twice as much overgrown as is that of our Church, and yet you protest with both your hands against the existence of any similitude with us, whilst you desire to be recognised as their eldest brother! By the same Almanac, you have 267 Lutheran ministers for a population of 540,000 souls, that is, one minister to 2,000 souls. The Hierarchy is overgrown when the flock is too few to require the services of that sacred body. The Protestant Episcopalians of the United States, have the ratio of the prelates to the people, as, 1 to 35,300. The Catholics as 1 to 83,000. The Episcopalian Protestants have of clergymen, 1, to 700 laity: the Lutherans, 1, to 2,000: the Catholics, 1, to 3,000. Now whether does the Lutheran ratio approach nearer to the Catholic or to the Protestant Episcopalian? which is overgrown?

But why not take in Europe? Most willingly. In France the ratio may be fairly set down of three prelates to as many Catholics as there are in the entire United States. So

that if you add the Lutherans and the Protestant Episcopalians of these United States together, they would not give as many souls as form the charge of three French Bishops. Yet they have seventeen Protestant Bishops, and you can inform us how many Lutherans! Where now is the overgrown Hierarchy? In Germany?—No. The Catholic prelates there are fewer in proportion than in France! In Spain? The ratio here is 1 to 230,000! Italy? Yes; here, you say is an overgrown Hierarchy:—the seat of the power of the Beast! The ratio is one bishop to 89,000 of the laity. Now in Denmark, the ratio is of 1 bishop to 241,000 Lutheran population, in Sweden and Norway, 1 to 183,000. The Lutherans together give us an average of one prelate to 212,000 people. The average of the Catholics is, one prelate to 306,000 population. This statement is always found to be the best mode of correcting your vague assertions. Where now is the overgrown Hierarchy?—Clearly in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States!—It has one Bishop for 35,300 of the population: the Catholic Church in Italy and in Sicily has one Bishop for about 90,000. The average of the Catholic Church in Europe is one Bishop to 306,000 souls, that of the Lutherans in Europe, one Bishop to 212,000 souls. In Ireland the Protestant Episcopalians had lately one Bishop with a revenue equal to that of eight or ten Italian Bishops, to about 22,500 Protestant souls. Yet you who have no overgrown Hierarchy, and who taunt us with upholding it, aspire to a similitude with this Protestant Church, and declare that you are unlike us, for you do not love an "overgrown Hierarchy."

You tell us that "your church is destitute of wealth or power." If you mean this for the United States, I can tell you that you are not so destitute of either one or the other as the Catholics are. Do you mean it for Europe? To a certain extent the statement is true. But, go read the history of Europe, and you will easily perceive its cause. Why did the first Lutheran princes introduce your religion into their territory? Because it aided them to plunder the Church of its property, and to appropriate it to their own use, and to the use of their menials, and of their favorites; because by its aid they were confirmed in a despotic power, for Lutheranism proclaimed the principle that the civil ruler was the head of the Church in his own dominions. This Christiern saw, this Gustavus saw, this the renegade Grand-Master saw, as clearly as it was seen by Philip the Landgrave of Hesse, and by his associates. Hence, not only did Lutheranism unite in an indissoluble bond the Church and the State, but she became the handmaid of the monarch for the purposes of the State, and in Europe her clergy are kept under the supervision of the prince, with the same regularity and the same facility that the ordinary police are kept. They are the salaried officers of the monarch, and should the Church receive any donation from the piety of her children, it is disposed of by the head. Thus it is that your Church is destitute of wealth and of power. It is so by your own procuration. The monarch, accustomed to have every order instantly obeyed, becomes exasperated when a Catholic prelate resists his mandate in the concerns of religion; and the Archbishop of Cologne is now a prisoner in Minden, because the Prussian King will not understand that the Catholic religion cannot be modified as easily, at his pleasure, as the Lutheran religion was.

Your reformation, as you call it, despoiled of their independent income the clergy, who in the worst times were the most impregnable barrier for the protection of the people. Your religious changes took what the piety and the industry of ages had treasured for the purposes of religion: and with the sustenance of the clergy, the patrimony of the poor, and the gifts of the altar, were the avarice and the ambition of princes gratified, the clergy made a stipendiary police, the temporal and the ecclesiastical authority placed in the same hands and these hands left uncontroled. You may declaim against tyranny! You have, in the principles of your religious changes, done more to encourage, to support, to flatter and to uphold it, than had been done in Europe for centuries before; and in doing this you despoiled yourself and consented to your own debasement.

You recollect the fable of the envious man and of the avaricious man. You have prayed, Sir, to be deprived of some things, that we may be despoiled of every thing. Your Church is now reaping what your predecessors have sown.

And now, I ask you,—Do you covet the wealth or the power of the Bishop of Charleston?—This bloated member of the overgrown Hierarchy, at all events has hitherto, had an excellent mode of concealing that wealth and of wielding that power! But, seriously, Sir. You should not taunt him with his poverty. It is not his fault, if his flock are not rich and liberal.

You say that "your temples are without images or imposing pictures." Why, Sir, so is the poor wooden Cathedral of St. Finnbar, so was the Church of St. Mary. But, Sir, you ought to know that not only is the splendid statuary of Thorwalsden, the images of Christ and of his Apostles to be the deco-

ration of a Danish Lutheran Church, but in several others you may see what I have seen, the image of the crucifix upon the altar, and lighted candles, and pictures and other decorations. Some of the images I most admired as decorations, I have seen in Lutheran Churches. But I did not fall into the same mistake that a friend of mine did in Hamburg, where he waited a considerable time reading the prayers before mass, whilst he thought the clergyman was making the preparation, until an acquaintance informed him that he had mistaken a Lutheran Church for a Catholic one. You will not find every where that your forms "of worship are of the simplest kind."

In your 54th paragraph you ask "Do we differ least from them (Catholics) in withholding the word of God from the common people?" You should not have made this charge, until you had better examined the ground upon which it rests. You call the word of God,—*your* translation of the Bible. Sir, you beg the position you have taken: the ground is not yours. I deny that the book which you would give, is the word of God. The Catholic Church tells her children not to take *your* book, for she tells them that *your* book is not the word of God. When you prove that it is, you shall have advanced one step. But, Sir, with every disposition to treat you with respect, I tell you, that you never can, upon Protestant principles, make the smallest advance to that point.

Next, you give your book for the purpose of telling "the common people," to use it to aid them in forming a system of religion, each for himself. She tells them that the principle is an outrageous departure from the first maxims of Jesus Christ, as notoriously delusive as it is impracticable.

But, Sir, she gives to all her children the pure and uncontaminated word of God, to instruct them in the belief of what God has taught, and in the practice of what he has commanded. This is not the moment to enter upon so wide a field as this question would open. I merely make the remark to show that your charge is an unmeaning flourish, your position an usurped station. You have no evidence as a Protestant to know that any book contains a revelation of heaven, and if you had, you would not well have entered upon the question which you have so boldly begged.

In your paragraph 54, you show something of your own character for a moment. I should be sorry, were I driven to class you with the wretched group of the Slocums, Brownlees and other miserable ministers who have given to their names an unenviable notoriety for their mean associations, their virulent bigotry and their recklessness of truth.

You say that you "do not lend a willing ear to every idle tale promulgated by bigotry against the morals of our priests and people." This is I believe no idle boast. Rogues and renegades, fools and impostors, have, if I am rightly informed, endeavored to work upon you by tales of scandal. You had, at least, the good sense not to commit yourself. I will go farther, for I believe it, and will say; you had the honor and the generosity to use those powers of mind that you possess, not to defame the clergy of the Catholic Church in this city, but to sift to the bottom, the tales that were whispered to you, and you had the discrimination to detect their falsehood, and the honesty to say openly what you believed. As a Catholic; I thank you for what you have done. I respect you for your honesty. Though I may now inform you, that had you pursued a different line of conduct; you would have had difficulties to overcome, of whose existence you had perhaps no suspicion.

You say, however, that "you do not countenance our errors." You will not then blame me for not having countenanced your mistakes. I have dealt freely with your Sermon, I hope not discourteously with yourself, I have done what I conceived to be a duty. What we have written is before the little world that surrounds us.

Accept my apology, if any thing has escaped from my pen, that may be calculated to give you any personal offence, and be assured, that however I may feel myself obliged to differ from your religious opinions, there are not many who hold you in higher personal esteem. Adieu, if you will.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. G.

Charleston, S. C., August 30, 1838.

EXPLANATION OF A PASSAGE CITED FROM TERTULLIAN

AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

[The following Criticism upon a passage in Tertullian, often cited—as favoring the figurative sense of the words of consecration in the Holy Eucharist,—is extracted from the "U. S. Catholic Miscellany," Vol. III, for the year 1824.]

A PASSAGE taken from the works of Tertullian, which appears to contradict the doctrine of our Church, on this dogma, [Transubstantiation] has been sent to us for explanation, by two or three esteemed friends of our communion. It is amongst those adduced by Mr. Ratio, in the Missionary, and has been for some time bandied about by a Protestant clergyman of North Carolina, for whom we entertain sentiments of regard. In general we do not consider ourselves, by the nature of our work, called upon to devote our pages to explanations upon every objection to a particular tenet; for if we were so bound, we would no longer be masters of our publication, and some of our good friends might furnish us in one week with as many objections as would require our whole volume to answer. But upon the present occasion, we shall take up the passage which has been now adduced against the doctrine for probably the ten thousandth time within the last three hundred years, because, as far as we can observe, the answer has not reached the objectors, nor the Catholics in the present instance.

We must premise a few remarks. Suppose Tertullian did not believe in the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the holy Eucharist, but believed that sacrament to be only a figure of Christ's body and blood, should we therefore believe that all the other writers of the same and of the previous and subsequent ages, who did believe in the doctrine of the real presence, taught differently from the Church, and that Tertullian alone believed with the Church? A single name, how great soever, is not authority. Though the doctrine of Tertullian in regard to the Eucharist was in accordance with that of the Church, still at the latter period of his life he fell into the errors of Montanus, and so far as they went, he differed from the great body of Christians. If, therefore, a passage was found in his works in favor of the figurative commemoration, it would no more prove that to have been the true doctrine, than the passages which are found in favor of the Montanist heresy, prove that heresy to have been the true doctrine. Such a passage would only prove that the writer held and taught that doctrine.

Our next remark is, that when the Catholic writers quote passages from the Fathers, they only produce public, competent witnesses, to testify what was the doctrine of the Church in their day. Suppose Tertullian's works favored the figurative commemoration, and that many and unsuspected teachers of the same age, testified the doctrine of the real presence, we should decide by the number and the character of the witnesses, and say that the doctrine of the day was to be found by the testimony of the great body and not that of an individual.

Next: The sense of a writer is not to be gathered from an isolated passage, but from the examination of the writer's object and comparison with several other passages. Any person in the least degree conversant with the rules of sound criticism, must at once perceive that an isolated passage taken without reference to its general object, and the circumstances with which it is accompanied, so far from giving information, will mislead. This reminds us of the man who insisted he could prove Atheism to be a scriptural doctrine, and turning to the 13th Psalm, (14th *Prot. Version*,) read very distinctly the following words which are found in its first verse: *There is no God.* His half discomfited adversary, however, seizing the book, looked eagerly and found the words, it is true, as they were read, but he exultingly read the preceding passage: *The fool hath said in his heart*, and gave his opponent the choice between folly and defeat. The man of the strict letter was not, however, to be so easily put down, for he contended that it was not in his heart he said so, but with his lips. To be serious, however—It is clear an isolated passage will not be proof, unless the sense which it has in its separate state, be also that which it has in its conjunction with the context.

Another principle of explanation, which every good critic and every honest man adheres to, is, to pay full deference to peculiarities in style of the writer, because the object is not to find what the words can be brought to mean, but what was the meaning of the writer.

These observations being premised, we could furnish from Tertullian's works, three

other texts which would appear more forcibly to establish the figurative commemoration of the Eucharist than the one in question, and we could produce very few in plain support of our own doctrine, yet we have no doubt that he believed upon this head as we do.

The passage in question is taken from his 4th book against Marcion, and is the following:

Acceptem panem, et distributum discipulis' corpus suum illum fecit; Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei.

The translation which Mr. Ratio gives of the passage, is the following:

The bread being taken and distributed to his disciples, Christ made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body.

In the first place we object to this translation; not that the words might not be translated so, but because they ought not to be translated so. We do not say that it is not a good syntactical translation of those Latin words as they are found so isolated, but it is not a correct representation of the meaning of Tertullian in that passage.

First, the context will not admit this translation as correct; next, the style of Tertullian will prove it incorrect; and thirdly it would make Tertullian assert what was not the fact.

To take the last. It makes Tertullian assert, that our Saviour said what the Evangelists do not record, and what no person ever asserted the Saviour to have said, viz. that at the institution of the Eucharist Christ added to the words which the Evangelists relate, "This is my body;" those other words, "that is, the figure of my body." The good gentlemen who are so anxious to preserve the bare letter of the Scripture from notes or comment as to threaten us with all the plagues that are written in the book, if we add one word thereto, ought not even upon the authority of Tertullian to have added five or six words without some scruple of conscience. But we will be told, they are not added to the Scripture, they are the explanation of Tertullian. Then it is no crime to add a note to help out the Scripture, which is so obscure as that therein a body means the figure of a body. We shall be told this is quibbling—we shall soon, we trust show that it is not. If Tertullian's meaning then was that our Lord said these words, he asserts that which is not true. It will then be admitted that Tertullian does not give them as spoken by our Saviour, but as his own comment. The words of our Lord were "This is my body," and Tertullian says that by those words, he *made the bread, his body*, mark: Tertullian does not say, Christ by these words 'This is my body' "made the bread his body, that is, the figure of his body." Thus he neither says that the Saviour used these explanatory words, "that is the figure of my body," nor does he say that the Saviour made the bread the *figure* of his body, but he distinctly says, that "he made it his body." But what are we to do with those words "that is the figure of my body"? Have they no meaning, no force? Are we to throw them away? Were they not written by Tertullian? We shall keep the words very carefully, and put them into their proper place, because Tertullian wrote them, and his sentence would be very inapplicable to its object without them.

What was his object? To refute Marcion. One of Marcion's errors was that our Saviour had not a real body. Tertullian's object was to prove that Christ had a real body and that in the new law he fulfilled the figures of the old law, by substituting the realities, and in this very place he is proving the fact that Christ had real flesh and blood, from the circumstance that in the old law which was a figure of the new, there were several figures of the body and blood of Christ, which were all completed by the substitution of the reality of the body, in the new, for the figure of the body in the old. And in this special place his argument is to the following effect: "In the old law, the bread of proposition, &c. was a figure of the body of Christ, for which he was to substitute the reality in the new law, and he did substitute the reality when at his last supper he took bread and gave it to his disciples, and by the words 'This,' which in the old law was a figure of my body, 'is my body,' made it his body, therefore Christ had a real body and not a figure of a body, for he put his body instead of the figure of his body, which in the old law was bread."

Now we have to show the grounds of our statement. First, there is no question but the error of Marcion was what we state; next, the object of Tertullian was what we state; again, there is no question that his general line of proof is what we have laid down. Then if Tertullian's special argument was not what we have exhibited, his whole passage is nonsense, and so far from refuting Marcion, which all acknowledge he did, his words are without object, connexion or meaning, and so far from doing any violence to his style, we translate it most accurately. Whoever examines his works will discover them to exhibit a rapidity of thought which rushed to give his whole conception and then turned back to explain. This renders his style uneven, sometimes obscure, always crabbed and negligent; because whilst he

wrote rapidly, he also endeavored to be concise. We shall adduce one or two instances of his peculiarity of style. In his book against *Praxeas* he has this passage, *Christus mortuus est, id est unctus;* translated as the passage in the objection is translated by Ratio, this is, *Christ was dead, that is anointed;* this is perfect nonsense, for it is asserting death to mean being anointed if it would mean any thing. Tertullian first gave his whole proposition, "Christ is dead," then turning back to explain what he before omitted, but wishes state, he adds, "that is anointed." Where was the omission? After the principal word "Christ." Thus the meaning of his sentence is obviously this, "*Christ, that is, the anointed, is dead.*" Common sense shows this to be the meaning, and this is perfectly intelligible when we know that the word *Christ* signifies *anointed.* A little farther on we have this passage, *Id quod est unctum, mortuum ostendit, id est carnem.* Now by Mr. Ratio's rule we should translate it thus, *that which is anointed he shows dead, that is flesh,* and by construction *dead* must mean the same as *flesh.* But knowing the writer's style makes common sense give us the meaning, *that which is anointed, that is flesh, he shows dead.*

By the same rule we translate the passage in question, *Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit. Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei:* thus, *That bread which was taken and distributed to his disciples, he made his body, saying, This, that is what was the figure of my body, is my body.* In translating it thus we are certain, for many reasons, that we gave Tertullian's meaning. First, it agrees perfectly with his style as we have seen.

Secondly we do not make the writer contradict himself as the other translation does; for that makes him say that Christ made the bread his body, and then asserts that it was not his body, for it was only the figure of his body.

Thirdly, The very words which follow prove our meaning to be that of the writer, those words are: *figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus.* Now those words are the conclusion of his argument upon this topic, in this sentence against Marcion, which argument we have before alluded to—"The old law contained figures of the realities of the new law. Bread, in the old law, was a figure of the body of Christ; in the new law, Christ put the reality in place of the figure. He changed the bread which was the figure of his body, into his body, when he said, 'This is my body.' *But it,* the bread, *would not have been a figure* of his body, *unless that* sacrament *was the body of truth.*" That is, there could have been no figure in the old law, unless there was a reality in the other. The writer's object was to refute Marcion who held, amongst other errors, that Christ had not a body. Unless he admitted that Christ's real body was in the Eucharist, this line of argument would have been ridiculous, for Marcion could have easily retorted—"In the old law bread was a figure of the body of Christ, yet you avow that in the old law Christ had not a body. Now in the new law you say bread is a figure of Christ's body; your argument proves nothing against me, for I only require in the new law what you grant in the old law. In the old law there was a figure in bread and no real body, in the new law there is a figure in bread and no real body."

Fourthly, Tertullian takes up for his principle that which was used by St. Paul, viz. that the prophecies of the old law, faintly showed the facts of the new; and that the figures of the old law, were its facts which were but shadows, or types of the facts in the new law. In this same book against Marcion, a little forward, is this passage, "*Cur panem corpus suum appellat, et non magis peponem, quem Marcion loco cordis habuit non intelligens veterem fuisse istam figuram corporis Christi, dicentis per Hieremiam; Venite conjiciamus lignum in panem ejus; scilicet crucem in corpus ejus? Itaque illuminator antiquitatum quid tunc voluerit significasse panem, satis declaravit, corpus suum vocans panem.*" "*Why he calls bread, and not rather other food which Marcion had instead of a heart, his body, not understanding that that was an ancient figure of the body of Christ, saying by Jeremias: Come let us cast wood upon his bread, to wit, the cross upon his body? Thus the illustrator of antiquities has sufficiently declared what he then wished bread to signify, calling bread his body.*"

The writer shows in a variety of places, that in the old law bread was a figure of the body, and in the passage under consideration he shows Marcion, those figures were fulfilled by placing the reality in their stead; thus by his words he made the bread which in the old law was the figure of his body, his body, by the words, 'this is my body,' and bread would not have been a figure of his body, if his body was not given under the appearance of the bread: Jeremias foresaw the facts, and tells us that the wood of the cross is to be laid upon the flesh of Christ, when he carried it to the place of his crucifixion. Therefore he says to Marcion, Christ had real flesh upon which that cross was laid as Jeremias prophecied.

Fifthly, explaining the prophecy of Jacob, Genesis xlix, he has this passage in the same

book and for the same object, "*Lavabit in vino stolam suam: et in sanguine uvæ pallium suum, Stolam carnem demonstrat, et vinum sanguinem. Ita et nunc sanguinem suum in vino consecrávit, qui tunc vinum in sanguine figuravit.*" "*He will wash his stole in wine, and his cloak in the blood of the grape. The stole shows the flesh, and the wine the blood. So now, he who then figured wine in blood, has consecrated his blood in wine.*" The words "figured wine in blood," have according to Tertullian's style, this meaning, "made wine which is the blood of the grape, a figure of his blood." Tertullian's explanations of this prophecy fully accord with his explanation of the prophecy of Jeremias. The stole shows the flesh: he will wash his flesh in his blood, bread is a figure of his body, wine is a figure of his blood, he makes the bread his body, he has consecrated his blood in wine. The object of the writer was to show that Christ did not destroy the old law, but fulfil its figurative institutions and prophecies; instead of the figure bread, he gave his flesh; instead of the figure wine, he fulfils the prophecy by consecrating blood in wine; this argument against Marcion is then conclusive. Thus the old figures are fulfilled by the substitution of the reality, and Christ has real flesh and real blood, which he gave in place of the old figures.

Thus from the style of the writer and from his context we find his meaning, and do not quibble upon an isolated paragraph, which might bear to be translated in two or three different ways.

We now take a new view of the question. Tertullian's doctrine was not contradictory to itself upon this subject. It was consistent. Therefore, if we can find in his works other passages which exhibit a doctrine not of figurative but of real presence, it will confirm what we have written, if that confirmation should be necessary.

A few observations as to the circumstances under which he wrote may be necessary to show why the expressions of this and other writers of the same period are so obscure. Christians were under the persecution and were generally cautious of attracting much notice, they were ridiculed and were desirous of avoiding the irritation of their feelings, nothing was more fashionable than to hold up their doctrines and ceremonies to contempt, hence they studiously spoke and wrote in so guarded a manner as to be intelligible to each other, and not to the pagans, except in their Apologetic works, and even in those they avoided particulars as much as possible. Thus it is only by a minute knowledge of special facts their language is frequently to be understood. Tertullian flourished about the year 200. Amongst his works are two books to his wife. In the second he is stating the inconveniences which arise from a Christian wife being wedded to a Pagan husband, and amongst others he mentions that which will arise from the difficulty of her receiving communion: for she must altogether abstain from the Eucharist, or else it must be exposed to the contempt of her husband.

To understand the ground of his difficulty, we must advert to a custom which existed in those times of persecution. Christians who were faithful and approved of, were frequently permitted to take home the holy Eucharist, under the appearance of bread only, and keep it, lest upon the sudden breaking out of a persecution they might be deprived of their clergy, or lest they might be seized upon, and in order to give them the opportunity of communion in either case, they were allowed to keep the holy sacrament. Tertullian then expresses his difficulty thus: "*Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes; et si sciverit, panem, non illum credit esse qui dicitur.*" "*Your husband will not know what you may taste privately, before all food; and if he shall know, he believes it to be bread, not him who is said to be there.*" The guarded phraseology of Tertullian is sufficiently intelligible to one who has been taught that it is not bread, but HIM, viz. Christ, WHO is there in the sacrament which then and now, in our church was and is taken before all food, fasting, according to a discipline introduced originally by St. Paul, at Corinth, to remedy an evil which he describes, (1 *Cor.* xi, 20.)

Tertullian's difficulty could have been easily removed by a wife who could tell her husband, "This is sanctified bread, which is to me a figure to remind me of the principal doctrine of my belief." There would be nothing in this which her Pagan husband could not as fully believe as she could. But it would be very difficult indeed, for her to persuade a Pagan that it was Christ who was there, and her faith would be put to many trials by his contempt of her supposed folly; and the object of the writer was to guard against those trials of her faith.

In his book *De Corona Militis*, he mentions a few of the customs of Christians, amongst them he states the great anxiety of the faithful to guard against any falling of a particle, or shedding of a drop from the Chalice, evidently upon the principle and in conformity with the decree of Pope Pius I, who presided over the church from the year 142 to 157. The following is the extract from the decree:

Si per negligentiam aliquid de sanguine

Domini stillaverit in terram, lingua lambetur, et tabula radetur, si non fuerit tabula, ut non conculcatur, locus corradetur, et igne consumatur, and cinis intra altare recondetur, et sacerdos quadraginta diebus pæniteat. Et si super altare stillaverit calix, sorbeat minister stillam et tribus diebus pæniteat, &c.

If through negligence any of the blood of the Lord shall have dropped upon the ground, let it be licked up with the tongue, and the board be scraped. If there be no board; that it should not be trodden upon, let the place be scraped up, and the scrapings burned with fire, and the ashes be laid up within the altar, and let the priest do penance during forty days. If the chalice shall have left a drop upon the altar, let him who administers suck it up and do penance during three days, &c.

Origen who lived nearly at the same period as Tertullian, in his 13th Homily on Genesis, explaining chapter 25, has these words:

Nostis qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuevistis, quomodo cum suscipitur corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione, servatis ne ex eo parum quid decidat, &c.

You who are accustomed to be present at the divine mysteries know, how when the body of the Lord is taken, you keep it with all caution and veneration lest the smallest particle should fall, &c.

It will not then be doing any violence to the passage of Tertullian, to explain its meaning by the law which regarded the custom and by the more distinct testimony of Origen, we may call him a contemporary.

In Tertullian's book *On the resurrection*, he uses as an argument in proof that *our bodies* will arise, from the topic that the sacraments must all come in contact with the body, before the soul will receive their benefit. The following is one passage: "*Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur ut anima consecretur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi rescitur, ut anima saginetur.*" "*The flesh is washed, that the soul might be cleansed; the flesh is anointed that the soul might be consecrated; the flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ, that the soul might be nourished.*" In this place his argument would not have any force, nor would his words have their meaning if the FLESH *being fed with the* BODY AND BLOOD *of Christ*, meant only the flesh is fed with bread, which is a figure, because still it would be only bread, and NOT the body of Christ.

To understand the next passage, we must be aware of the mode in which communion was then given. The communicants held a small clean cloth of linen on the palm of the right hand, the sacrament was laid upon this, and they conveyed it themselves to the mouth. Tertullian in his book on Idolatry, reproving those who gave the sacrament into the hands of those who made idols in the way of their trade, has the following passage: "*Proh scelus! Semel Judæi Christo manus intulerant, isti quotidie corpus ejus lacessunt, O! manus præscindendæ, &c.*" "*Oh wickedness! The Jews once had laid hands upon Christ, these men every day abuse his body. O hands which should be cut off, &c.*"

There is another passage in the first book of this writer, against Marcion, which is quoted to show that he held the figurative sense. Speaking of the Eucharist it states: "*Nec panem, quo ipsum suum corpus repræsentat.*" "*Nor the bread which he represents his own very body.*" Thus we are told the bread was by this writer stated to represent his body, that is to be a figure of his body, therefore not his body. The question here is, how the word *repræsentat* ought to be translated. No doubt it can be rendered into the English word represents, but the question really is not how it can, but how it ought to be translated. We say the verb *repræsentat* may be translated correctly *exhibited* or *presented*; we could adduce many classical passages to prove this; but the question is, what was Tertullian's meaning. We find him use the word again in his 4th book against Marcion; in this passage stating the testimony of the voice of the eternal Father from Heaven, testifying for the son on Thabor. "*Itaque jam repræsentans eum: Hic est filius meus dilectus,*" *&c.* "*Therefore now representing him: this is my beloved Son,*" *&c.* Tertullian could not mean that it was a *figure* of Christ and *not real* Christ which was upon Thabor, especially when his object was to prove that Christ had a *real* body: the word *repræsentat* must then be translated *exhibited* or *presented*. We will then have the father presenting his son on Thabor, by his testimony, and we will have Jesus Christ not *representing a figure* of his body in his bread, but *presenting his body* therein.

We feel that we have been very tedious, but we were desirous to show that the testimony of our church is not that little quibbling carping at possible translations of ambiguous passages, but the result of deep research, close examination, accurate comparison, and the full investigation of facts. Thus we thought it but right to show that although a few ambiguous passages might be adduced to throw doubts upon the fact that our doctrines were held by *all the fathers*, still it would be folly in us to fill up our paper with critical exhibitions like the present upon every one of those which might be adduced. From the respectability of some of the appli-

cations on the present occasion, we thought ourselves called upon to give this article.

We shall add but one topic before we hasten to its conclusion. Tertullian was never suspected by his contemporaries nor by the writers since his day of having erred upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, though he did err with the Montanists. Now if he taught as the Sacramentarians do, the doctrine of only a figurative presence, he would have been as speedily arraigned and convicted for that as for his Montanist errors, by the host of writers whom we can adduce in the age in which he lived, and those ages which have since elapsed, teaching as we do. Yet they are all silent as to this alleged error of his respecting the Eucharist. They all assumed and believed that he taught as they did, and they taught not a figurative but a real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament.

Our facts then are—1. That Tertullian did in some passages plainly teach the doctrine of the real presence. 2. That in describing some circumstances regarding the sacrament, he alludes to those customs and laws which existed amongst the persons who held the doctrine of the real presence, and with whom he was in accord upon the subject. 3. That the passages which appear to favor the figurative meaning do so, only when translated in contradiction to his style of writing, and taken in an isolated way. 4. That those same passages, translated in accordance with his style, and paying due regard to the context, support the doctrine of the real presence. 5. That if he did not hold the doctrine of the real presence, his arguments against Marcion, which were universally acknowledged to be powerful, conclusive and unanswerable, would have no force or value. 6. That if those passages support the figurative sense, Tertullian has been guilty in those books of many self contradictions. And 7. That he was charged with no error on this score by those writers who, in his day and during 1,800 years afterwards, read his works, and believed the doctrine of the real presence.

Whence we conclude that Tertullian did hold the doctrine of the real presence, and that those passages which are adduced from his writings as opposed thereto, have not the meaning which is attempted to be put upon them by those persons who adduce them against us.

LETTERS ON THE INTENTION NECESSARY TO THE VALIDITY OF SACRAMENTS.

ADDRESSED TO MR. THOMAS WADDELL.

From the "U. S. Catholic Miscellany" for August 28, 1830.

DOCTRINE OF INTENTION.

A Mr. or Rev. Doctor Thomas Waddell, we know not which, wrote a long letter to us upon this subject more than a year since. We declined, for reasons which we stated on the 25th of July, 1829, to enter the lists with this writer, but he was not to be put off: he states himself the subsequent history:

"I sent the first of the following letters, in substance, to the Editor of the New York Truth Teller, and to the Editor of the Hartford Catholic Press, in June last, requesting them to explain or defend the Doctrine of Intention: but they both acted more cunningly than their brethren in Charleston—they wisely suppressed it. When I came to this city, I inquired of the Editor of the Truth Teller why he did not answer or notice that communication; he said, 'he did not receive it, for if he had received it, he would of course have answered it.' I asked him if he strictly attended to all such communications; he said he did. A few days after, I drew it out, and handed it to him again: he read it partially in my presence, and said I was entirely wrong—that I misunderstood their doctrine: and having pronounced it an absurdity, denied that they were bound to believe that the intention of the minister is necessary to the validity of their sacraments. He said, however, that he would answer the communication in the next number of his paper, or as soon as possible. I called upon him the week after, and he told me the thing was taken up by a clergyman. I do not accuse this gentleman of wilful deception, in denying the doctrine of his mother church: for the ignorance of the best informed laymen amongst the Romanists respecting the doctrines of the papacy—their pride and their boast—is inconceivable. That clergyman has not yet favored us with a solution of the hitherto insuperable difficulty, and *he never will*.

"Such is the badness and weakness of the papal cause that even the heroes of the Truth Teller fall before the touch of inquiry; and yet against the dictates of conscience, they mislead their ignorant dupes to perdition, by unblushing falsehoods and mean artifices. 'He that hath ears to hear let him hear.'

"I also sent the same arguments again to the Editor of the Catholic Press, about the 11th of January; pressing him to answer them, or to give his reasons why he would not; but he did not notice my communication till the 13th of February. He then published it in his paper with a reply, which occupies nearly five columns; in which he accuses me of ignorance and misrepresentation, but fails to support his charge. He then admits the consequences which I deduce from the doctrine, and grants that the defect may occur and prove ruinous in some cases, and *only* attempts to evince, that it cannot annihilate the *whole* body of the papal clergy, on account of the promises made to the church—that she cannot be destroyed. Thus, unable to stand against the irresistible conclusions fairly deduced from his doctrine, he retreats behind the fortress of his infallibility. If he does not yet see that this ideal fortress is overthrown by

his own concession, I hope he will soon be convinced by my further inquiries.

"It is therefore necessary, in these perilous times, when those arch seducers are abroad like prowling wolves, that this doctrine, with its consequences, should be fairly exhibited to the world. The following letters furnish an argument, intelligible to the weakest capacity, and the conclusion is irresistible—by which a boy of sixteen summers can gag and chase a thousand Jesuits or even the President of St. Joseph's College; who, it is said, has proffered to answer all the objections which can be made to the Romish doctrines. If he can refute my letters, I will immediately become a papist."

Mr. Waddell has now published a pamphlet of 71 pages which he styles—

"Letters to the Editors of the Catholic Miscellany: illustrating the Papal Doctrine of Intention! the Opus Operatum; Roman Infallibility, and the knavery of Popish writers, by Thomas Waddell.

"Unruly and vain talkers and deceivers—whose mouths must be stopped—teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.—PAUL."

In looking over this we found that our respected correspondent B. C. was the principal object of his attack, having sent him the book we received the following answer:—

To the Editors of the Miscellany:

GENTLEMEN—I have got the pamphlet of Mr. Waddell which you sent; I looked over it. I can have no objection to give an explanation of my assertions even in answer to that writer.—I shall send you a letter or two upon the subject, though I shall not have leisure to begin this week.

Yours sincerely, B. C.

August 25, 1830.

LETTER I.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

SIR,—The Editors of the "U. S. Catholic Miscellany" have some weeks since handed to me, a pamphlet of about 70 pages, purporting to be letters of yours to them. The letters are five in number, and they are followed by an appendix of two pieces. The subjects of the letters are exceedingly various, and would require many more letters to answer the charges than were required to make them. I am under the impression that the editors do not intend to notice your productions farther than they have done, and are willing to allow you all the merit and take to themselves all the shame that can arise from this silence.

I find however, Sir, that whatever might be the opinion of those gentlemen, they owe to me a little space, even in regard to you. I trust I shall make no indiscreet use of their concession, nor trespass too long upon your time. And first, sir, I have to thank you for the very great courtesy of your manner. You and I, in all probability. never met, and certainly do not know each other: I had never written any thing to you or of you, when you vouchsafed to state that I "slipped off by a beggarly evasion from a subject on which I pretended to refute Bishop Bowen." And not content with paying me this as an incipient compliment, you kindly designate me "that scribe," who makes a "barefaced denial" of what is "fairly stated and applied" on "the doctrine of intention," and one whom you are not surprised at seeing in the use of "mean artifices," one of which is making "a false and impudent charge of misrepresentation" with a "shabby appearance." For these and sundry such compliments, Sir, you have my due acknowledgments, and proper estimation.

"If you condescend to favor me with a reply, let it not be a beggarly evasion, like that with which your correspondent B. C. has slipped off from the subject, in one his letters to Bishop Bowen, which I have met with since I wrote to you on the subject. As I was looking over the Protestant Catechism, which he published in the Miscellany for the purpose of a pretended refutation, I saw the doctrine of intention fairly stated and applied. I then turned over hastily to his letter to the bishop, foolishly expecting too see a full discussion, that would, perhaps, solve the whole difficulty. I was anxious, indeed, to read what that scribe might say on that subject, which, on account of its difficulty, is seldom touched by any of your writers. How great then, must you imagine my surprise to have been when I saw the barefaced denial, and false impudent charge of misrepresentation make their shabby appearance! I would indeed have been surprised, had I seen it proceeding from the pen of a writer of any other class; but I have been too long and too well acquainted with your Machiavelians to be surprised by their mean artifices. In this trick we can see nothing of the *Divine*, but much of the *Jesuit*. Why did he not show it to be a misrepresentation, by stating the doctrine fairly, and defining your theological meaning of the word Intention? But why do I ask such an unscholarlike question? You know the reason as well as I do, and so must every man except his bigoted admirers, with whom every evasion, and every denial, and every dogmatism, pass for a demonstration. I would have you now to inform that fox, that he is required to come out from his retreat, and finish his work on that subject by stating that doctrine fairly, and defining your *theological meaning of the word Intention*, not by his *ipse dixit*, but from the standard books of Rome. Let him show us, if he can, the difference between the statement in the catechism, and my quotations from your acknowledged authorities.

"I again request you to publish an answer to my inquiries in your Miscellany.

pp. 25 and 26. THOMAS WADDELL."

You have required me, "that fox, to come out from his retreat and finish his work on that subject, by stating that doctrine fairly, and defining our *theological meaning of the word Intention*, not by his *ipse dixit*, but from the standard books of Rome." I am per-

fectly at a loss to know upon what score Mr. Waddell could have made the above charges. In the first place I never undertook to state in my remarks upon the Protestant Catechism, what the Catholic doctrines were; I only stated that I would point out where the passages of the catechism were misrepresentations of those doctrines. I not only did not undertake to refute the prelate to whom I addressed the letters, but I distinctly stated in Letter I, "I seek not controversy upon the doctrinal differences of the two Churches. My object is to show that the Church of which I am a member has been misrepresented, vilified and insulted."*—Thus, Mr. Waddell states the thing which is not the fact, when he asserts that B. C. published his letters in the Miscellany for the purpose of a pretended refutation.

Again, Sir, you have, in other places, thought proper to charge me with denying the doctrine of the Church to which I belong: (p. 42,)

"By these knavish tricks you may no doubt impose upon men of learning in controversy, who are ignorant of Popery and Popish artifices.—You may thus deny your doctrines, charge them with slander, and then assail them with your cunning sophistry, which they have perhaps never studied or provided against—in this way you may stand a mock fight, and may dazzle the eyes of your credulous admirers with a show of victory, but when you are assailed with fair inquiry, by any man who thoroughly knows your doctrine, you are struck dumb. You fall before the fatal touch of truth. Let it not be said that this false charge of misrepresentation, and denial of your doctrine, is in this affair to be laid only at the door of B. C., for it is chargeable to yourselves also, as you have published it with the rest of his work on that catechism, as a simple explanation and temperate maintenance of the doctrines of your church. Neither can it be said that you did it inadvertently, for you certainly examine what you publish, and you knew in your consciences that this was a false charge." * * * * * * *

"I should like very much to hear you account for your curious conduct on this head. The noble work of B. C. on this subject, has served no other purpose than to deceive the poor stupid subjects of the triple crown; to show that the work is indipensably necessary but impracticable; and to pour contempt and ridicule upon the great cause."—p. 32.

I shall add the following passage taken from pp. 44 and 45. I had written towards the conclusion of my Second Letter to Bishop Bowen, respecting the Doctrine of Intention.

"This is a very serious misrepresentation of our doctrine of *Intention*. I should scarcely believe it possible that it was an innocent mistake, but that I have lately discovered that the mode in which the general body of Protestant writers learn what Roman Catholics teach, is not by reading the works of Catholic authors. Hence I do admit that even you, Right Rev. Sir, might possibly, notwithstanding the station which you occupy, be yourself under a serious mistake upon this head, and that you perhaps do not know our theological meaning of the word "*Intention*," at all events your little Tract is egregiously incorrect upon this head."

You are pleased to remark upon the passage in the following way:

"Suppose the Bishop had been deceived into a mistake upon this head by Protestant writers, or by hearsay, or by a dream, or by some other way than by reading the works of Roman authors, I cannot see how his mistakes would be excusable; since he can have recourse to those authors from whom he could learn it correctly. Such a man should not suffer himself to be imposed upon by others, whether they be Protestants or Papists. The Bishop therefore cannot be excused on this ground, if he has misrepresented your doctrine: but perhaps he may be excusably ignorant of the meaning of the word intention: and this may be the case, if he be too stupid or simple to comprehend or remember it. He accounts for the possibility of this mistake in the Bishop, by the discovery he has lately made: 'that the WHOLE mode, in which the general body of Protestant writers learn what Roman Catholics teach, is not by reading the works of Roman Catholic authors.' How has he made this late discovery? I suppose by their writings; as they generally state the doctrine of the Church of Rome fairly: for these doctrines they could hardly learn from Roman authors. We might as well, indeed, expect to find wealth in a poet, sincerity in a lawyer, or truth in a gamester, as integrity and honor in a Roman writer in a Protestant country. Such writers are generally too near akin to B. C. himself and his quondam brethren. To Roman Catholic priests, when stating their doctrines in Protestant countries, where they apprehend danger from investigation, the complaint, I think, of Shakspeare, may very fitly be applied:

"'Why seek we truth from priests?
A lawyer's frowns, a courtier's smiles,
And mourning of an heir,
Are truths to what priests tell.
O why has priesthood privilege to lie,
And yet to be believed?'"

"This comparison may be thought lame, as it admits of exceptions; but it suits on this very account; as there are exceptions on both sides: for as we may sometimes find sincerity in a lawyer, or truth in a gamester, so we may sometimes see a Roman priest giving a fair statement of his doctrine. But such writers are rare birds: the general body of your priests are poor theological cowards, liars and deceivers. We must allow, however, they are wise in their

[* See "Letters to Bishop Bowen," in Vol. II.]

generation; for they know their cause would soon go to destruction if it were fairly exposed to the light. By thus raising the outcry of misrepresentation against Protestant writers, and aspersing their characters, they succeed admirably in filling the minds of their bigoted adherents with prejudice and hatred against them, and against the truth which they teach; so that Satan himself is supposed to be a far more harmless creature than a Protestant writer: if he has got one cloven foot, be sure a Protestant writer has got two. This piece of Popish policy succeeds so well in deceiving the poor sons of Papal delusion, that I have never yet conversed with one layman of your communion, whom I could not teach in the doctrines of his church, and who would not raise the outcry of misrepresentation against me, like B. C., when I stated the naked truth. Thus they conceal many of the absurdities and abominations of Popery, and daub the faces of Protestants and their doctrines so notably, that the minds of their deluded adherents are quite inaccessible to the light of the Gospel, and even to their own doctrines, which they conceit they know thoroughly, though they are generally ignorant of the worst parts of their system. By thus effectually excluding a part of their absurd system from their view, by telling them thousands of lies about their victories in controversy, their miracles, &c., and by their false pretensions to antiquity, telling their people that all the new articles of the Trent Creed, with the whole farrago of human inventions, are as old as Christianity itself; which they must well know to be arrant falsehood; they lull the poor people asleep in their dark and deadly errors. If you were once to relinquish such mean artifices; if you were once to publish and acknowledge the whole of your system, and to risk it upon fair arguments and explanation; we might then reasonably look for the speedy downfall of Popery in all nations. Should any person doubt the propriety of this remark, we can call in B. C. with his quondam brethren for an illustration; for they have shown themselves afraid to put their cause upon such a dangerous issue: and need we seek for better witnesses? It is amazing, however, to see you attempting to succeed by these pious frauds in so public a manner, and with Protestants of learning and information; but I suppose Popish controversy is a novelty here; and you think your tricks will not be suspected. At all events you know you cannot lose by it; for your poor dupes will never see your knavery, and you know you have no reputation to lose with Protestants: for Popish writers have long been known to be legitimate sons of the father of liars."—pp. 44 and 45.

I would have perhaps supposed it possible that the word WHOLE, which I have marked above in capital letters, was an accidental interpolation, but that in giving the passage itself, as quoted from my letter, in your page 39, you have it in exactly the same words: accidental error is not usually thus repeated.

I shall now produce another of your complimentary modes of expressing your charge against me: the extract is from p. 55.

"To keep off this light, they must raise an outcry of slander and misrepresentation against Protestants, and, like B. C., with his quondam brethren, deny her doctrines when fairly stated by them. By these unfair means, and by aspersing the characters of the Reformers and modern writers, and by telling thousands of palpable falsehoods, sufficient to make a devil blush, they get their pernicious ends too well accomplished, in deceiving the ignorant of their own and many of the unwary of other persuasions."

I could not indeed expect to be treated otherwise by a writer who in the fifth page of his introduction says of such Roman Catholic priests as "have studied," as each of them is obliged to do, "the Scriptures, the fathers, history and general councils;" "neither can I acquit any of them from wilful fraud and corrupt perjury, who deny any of their doctrines, which they are sworn to confess till the last breath of their lives. How awfully, then, do the general body of the Papal priests trifle with their consciences, whenever they are assailed with inquiry, and find it necessary to deny their doctrines! In these fraudful artifices they succeed amazingly in perverting the weak and ignorant, and in keeping their deluded people from ever knowing the blessed doctrines of the glorious Gospel; OR EVEN THEIR OWN CREED, WHICH THEY ARE SWORN TO TEACH THEM. Surely the Papal clergy are the most complete tools Satan has in this world; and the Papal system, besides being the most pernicious, is the most degrading to the human mind, that Satan has ever contrived."

I am not astonished, Sir, at finding that the Editors of the Miscellany have no ambition of your farther acquaintance, and can easily account for it, upon the same principle that creates the practical classifications and intercourse of society. Happening, Sir, to believe that it is possible for me to answer you without adopting your style, I shall endeavor to show that you are incorrect in stating as you do in p. 46:

"Your correspondent could not possibly expect to satisfy Bishop Bowen, and other Protestants, by this ridiculous conjecture; it is nothing more or less than a cunning fetch to deceive the ignorant and unwary, by casting a cloud of darkness upon the plain word; so that his simple readers would think that when used by such profound theologians as Popish priests, it was some technical scholastic term, of deep theological import, too profound for simple readers ever to understand, even though Peter Lombard, or Thomas Aquinas, should attempt to explain it for them. When he would thus set them a gazing at the word with wonder and

delight, he might escape from it to some other subject, and dazzle their eyes with sophistry.

"Now, sirs, I put him and his brethren to the test, and defy them to show me that your Church attaches any meaning to the word, different from that which it has in common acceptation. Whatever, therefore, your theological meaning of the word Intention may be, the overwhelming conclusion must be admitted, if it be Intention at all, in any sense of the word, which a school boy can conceive.

"I have long wished to see an explanation of this term, and I have been truly sorry that B. C. has not favored the world with it. I have often been at a loss to know whether it be the virtual or actual intention, which is by your Church supposed to be necessary to the validity of her sacraments. If we could ascertain this, I think we would then be able to calculate, to some degree of certainty, the danger to which you say you are exposed by the occurrence of this defect. As you have never given us anything upon that subject, though you say your paper is intended for the simple explanation of your doctrines, and as we may rest assured that you never will, I have to enter upon an inquiry into the meaning of this important word, myself—or rather into the meaning of the whole canon, that I may, if possible, ascertain what Intention is required—whether the virtual Intention, which consists in being free from a malicious or wanton design, or the actual Intention to administer the sacrament aright, and confer the necessary grace. If I can thus arrive at your theological meaning of this word, I may then, it seems, be wiser, perhaps, than Bishop Bowen."

There is one reason, Sir, which has frequently induced me to avoid giving to catechists of your description any reply to several of their inquiries respecting the religion which I profess. I had reason to believe that instead of seeking honestly for information, they only sought an opportunity to dispute, and though you may possibly question my veracity, yet I imagine, if I am not conscious, that I am averse to wrangling disputation. I believe there is good reason to question that a man who writes as you do, seeks for information. You know not whether I am a layman or a clergyman. In p. viii you state, "I have never yet known a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of intention." You could not seriously ask me for information, then, upon a subject on which you boasted superior knowledge. If I am a clergyman, it will be seen from your published sentiments how completely it would be wasting my time to undertake giving you my explanations. Hence, Sir, all your appeals to the charity, the zeal, the information of our members, whether lay or clerical, are too plainly seen to be mere flourishes, which have only the unmeaning appearance of desire for information. The editors of the Miscellany, well aware of this, felt no disposition to permit to you indulge yourself at the expense of their space, their money and their readers.

But, Sir, you have charged me with denying our doctrine and its consequences, and you have kindly furnished me with what I wanted before I could undertake to justify myself. In your 47th and 48th pages, you give me your notion of our doctrine. The little Catechism did not give any description of what it imputed to us; but it asserted that certain consequences which it enumerated necessarily flowed from our doctrine. I perceived that no such consequences could follow, and therefore I stated that there must be a misrepresentation or misconception of what we held. The Catechism did not give the description which you do, and therefore I could not examine what was not produced. You, however, say, that being perhaps wiser than Bishop Bowen, you go through the process of arriving at our theological meaning of the word *Intention*, and you lay out the following process, p. 47:

"This Intention, your canon says, is the intention of doing what the Church does. Here arises a question: What does your Church do? She consecrates and administers her sacraments effectually, and confers grace by them. The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has power to do, and what she actually does—he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually, and to confer grace by the work. If he does not believe he can do this, or if he does not think of the work, and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone. Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention, and all would be null and void. That it is this actual intention which your canon intends, is evident by the existence of the canon itself; for it was certainly formed with a view to guard as much as possible against the danger of this fatal occurrence, by informing the priest of the necessity of intention, that he might be upon the watch lest the defect should occur through his carelessness or inadvertency; and that he might have his thoughts exercised about his work, to exert this good intention at the critical time. Your Church surely could not have formed this canon with a view to prevent the occurrence of a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament; for she would, by telling a malicious priest that the efficacy of the sacraments depends upon this intention, inform him of the evil he had power to do, and would thus put him upon destroying, by wholesale or retail, the people who had offended him, if he only had malice enough. We see, then, by the language and manifest design of the ca-

non, that your Church insists upon the actual intention of her priests, in order to the validity of her sacraments. But let us consult the Rubric of your Missal upon this point, which is intended as a golden key to let every priest into the meaning of this canon, that he may see what this intention is, and how he may fail of having it.

"And first, we may see that the want of this intention, by being placed in the class of defects occurring in the mass, must be the want of the actual intention: for a positive, malicious intention is not a defect but a property, arguing indeed the want of an actual good intention, which may or may not occur without this malicious design. But the Rubric furnishes plainer language than this upon the subject; so plain, that any novice, I think, can understand it very clearly, whether Dr. Bowen does or not. Thus speaks that form of sound words: 'If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter; also if any wafers remain forgotten on the altar, or if any part of the wine or any wafer lie hidden, when he did not intend consecrating but what he saw; also if he shall have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant; in all these cases the consecration fails, because intention is required.'

"In the case of the wafers remaining forgotten on the altar, it appears evidently the actual intention is required. For as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them when he proceeds to consecrate, and so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted only to consecrate the wafers he had noticed. The other case of the eleven wafers is exactly parallel, and, if possible, more conclusive in favor of my opinion; for if he should by misreckoning, or any other way, think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven, his thoughts would be exercised only about ten, without determining what ten he meant, and so they would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them: not because he had a wanton, wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate. Should any thing therefore attract his attention from his work, he would fail of having the necessary actual intention.

"Thus Dr. Bowen, or any other man, whatever station he occupies, whether a bishopric or a barn, may easily see your theological meaning of the term, and that it is the actual intention that is required by the canon.

"The other case of a defect, in which your Church supposes the priest may intend not to consecrate but to cheat or banter, may very readily occur without a wanton, wicked intention. Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and his divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever, begin now to exist, and yet go on buzzing, crossing and mumming, through the whole form of the mass, pretending to consecrate; he then cheats; for he cannot intend to do what he knows or believes cannot be done."

Now, Sir, the question is reduced to very narrow limits, and all will be resolved by merely ascertaining whether you have stated our doctrine correctly. If you have, I deserve your censure, and I was wrong when I stated that the Catechism was a misrepresentation. This question I shall examine in my next.

I am, Sir, yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 17, 1830.

LETTER II.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

SIR,—The question between us is very simple; it is whether your description of our doctrine of Intention is correct. That description you give in p. 47 of your pamphlet, in the phrases which I copied into my former letter. Upon the ordinary principles of testimony, it would be easy to arrive at a decision; but, as if aware of the facility to convict you in this manner, you at once impeach the integrity of the witnesses. I need only refer to one passage of yours as a sample of several. In p. 44, speaking of our doctrines, you ask how Protestant authors could learn them, and then you answer:

"For these doctrines they could hardly learn from Roman authors. We might as well, indeed, expect to find wealth in a poet, sincerity in a lawyer, or truth in a gamester, as integrity and honor in a Roman writer in a Protestant country. Such writers are generally too near of kin to B. C. himself and his quondam brethren. The Roman Catholic priests, when stating their doctrines in Protestant countries, where they apprehend danger from investigation, the complaint, I think, of Shakspeare, may very fitly be applied:

"'Why seek we truth from priests?
A lawyer's frowns, a courtier's smiles,
And mourning of an heir,
Are truths to what priests tell.
O why has priesthood privilege to lie,
And yet to be believed?'"

Thus, Sir, you will not allow me generally to produce Roman Catholic witnesses to state what are our doctrines. However, in page 13, you quote Cardinal Bellarmine as upholding your cause, and he was not a Roman Catholic writer in a Protestant country. I shall therefore take the witness whom you produce against me, as my authority, and shall leave to his testimony the decision of the case between Mr. Waddell and B. C. You say of him and of Gabriel Biel, p. 13:

"Thus writes Bellarmine, that most able and steady supporter of the papal cause; and none of you can invalidate the conclusion which he deduces from your doctrine, which is necessary, and is admitted by a greater authority than Bellarmine or Biel, even by your Church herself, as is manifested by her consistent practice at the fountain head of Popery, where she can have her will, being there free from all control of the secular power."

Now, Sir, I shall take your description of our doctrine, clause by clause, and compare it with the statements of the Cardinal. You say p. 47:

"This intention, your canon says, is the intention of doing what the Church does. Here arises a question: What does your Church do? She consecrates and administers her sacraments effectually, and confers grace by them. The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has power to do, and what she actually does—he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually, and to confer grace by the work. If he does not believe he can do this, or if he does not think of the work, and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone."

You very correctly state that the canon requires that the celebrant shall have "the intention of doing what the Church *does*." But as soon as you proceed to reason upon this statement, you draw a conclusion of your own, which is not contained in the premises that you have laid down. You extend the meaning first to "doing what the Church *has power to do*," and you have thus changed the terms by substituting the phrase *has power to do* for the word *does*. Mr. Waddell ought to know that a man who gives only one dollar, might have power to give a million; that a governor who has power to pardon does sign a death warrant. Having made this false step, Mr. Waddell goes on to make another error by a similar process against the principle of that philosophy which warns him not to conclude that all which a person has power to do is done by him.

Mr. Waddell says, "The minister, then, *must have the actual intention* to do what the Church has the power to do, and what she actually does." I now quote from Bellarmine:

"Tertio, non requiritur necessario actualis intentio, nec sufficit habitualis, sed virtualis requiritur, quamvis danda sit opera ut actualis habeatur. Actualis dicitur quando minister actu habet talem intentionem: quæ quidem actualis intentio non requiritur," &c. (*De Sacramentis in Genere*, lib. i, cap. xxvii.)

"Thirdly—an actual intention *is* not *necessarily required*, nor is an habitual one sufficient, but a virtual one is required, although persons should try to have an actual one. It is called actual when the minister has the intention with the very act: which intention indeed *is not required*," &c.

Now in the Appendix he had under his eye the very words of Bishop Hornihold.

"Q. How many kinds of intention are men capable of?

"A. Chiefly three, viz. actual, which is accompanied with an actual attention of the mind, to the thing we are about. A virtual intention, is when the actual intention is judged to remain in its force, by not being expressly retracted, or interrupted by too long a time. An habitual intention is the faculty of performing a thing, obtained by a habit or custom, without any actual reflection, or vital influence, upon the work."

Mr. Waddell is also pleased to say that *actual* intention and *virtual* are perfectly synonymous. I can only say that Divines are all in the habit of admitting the distinction; and if you, Sir, are pleased to say that by what we designate *brown* you mean *white*, it is useless for us to converse, for our words only mislead. You can only find safety in confusing terms that you might be able to confound things and thus escape in the confusion—but, Sir, this is a privilege which you cannot be allowed.

Mr. Waddell, then, is contradicted not only by Bellarmine and by Hornihold, but by all our divines, when he says, "the minister *must* have the *actual* intention." Nay, even Bellarmine refers to a passage of St. Thomas of Aquin, which would appear to require still less than he and Hornihold correctly state to be necessary.

Mr. Waddell says, "he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually, and *to confer grace by the work*."

Sir, you are by no means the first who made this statement; some generations have passed away since Cardinal Bellarmine, writing upon the subject, stated of Tilman and Kemnitz, in the chapter quoted before:

"Uterque auctor locis notatis dicit, Concilium Tridentinum definivisse non ratum esse sacramentum, nisi minister intendat non solum actum, sed etiam finem sacramenti; id est, intendat illud, propter quod sacramentum est institutum: quod certe multum distat a nostra sententia."

"Each author, in the cited places, says, that the Council of Trent had defined, that the sacrament was not effected unless the minister should intend not only the act, but also the end of the sacrament, that is, should intend that for which the sacrament was instituted: which certainly differs very much from our opinion."

Hornihold has the same in the Appendix which you have given; you had there under

your eye the following contradiction to what you assert:

"Q. Is it necessary to intend the effect of the sacrament?

"A. No, otherwise heretics and pagans could not baptize validly. It is sufficient to have an intention of doing what the Church of Christ does, without considering which is the true Church."

Bellarmine is quite unceremonious in the epithet which, in the fashion of his day, he bestows upon the assertion which you repeat.

"Sed hoc merum mendacium est. Concilium enim in toto can. 11, non nominat finem sacramenti; neque dicit concilium, ut illi videntur accepisse, oportere ministrum intendere id facere quod Ecclesia intendit, sed quod Ecclesia facit. Porro quod Ecclesia facit, non finem sed actionem significat."

"But this is a mere lie. Because the Council, through the entire 11th canon, makes no mention of the end of the sacrament: nor does the council say, as they would appear to have understood, that the minister ought to intend to do that which the Church intends, but that which the Church does. Now that which the Church does, signifies not the end but the action."

Bellarmine then proceeds to show that the Church considers valid the baptism conferred by several who err greatly concerning the end, to attain which this sacrament is conferred, and who of course have no intention of producing an end which they look upon to be unattainable.

Thus, Mr. Waddell is again contradicted by both Bellarmine and Hornihold. You proceed farther in your description. "If he does not believe, he can do this, [confer grace by the work,] and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone." In page 48, you again describe this defect. "Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and his divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever begin now to exist." I shall observe that he would think very correctly: and if he were to imagine that what has previously existed and continues to exist, commenced only just now to exist, he would imagine an absurdity: but when Mr. Waddell put this absurdity as the Catholic doctrine, he was grossly ignorant or grossly criminal. I should hope it is the former. Catholics say and believe that what previously existed might become present at a point where it previously was not. And this they believe to be common sense, not contradiction. Your object, Sir, is to show that if a priest loses his belief he cannot intend to do that which he does not believe possible; and that of course, want of faith, or of correct belief in the minister argues want of sufficient intention, and destroys the sacrament. In p. 49, you state, "as therefore this actual intention may be *wanting through unbelief, carelessness* or inattention, we may, I think, ascertain pretty nearly the degree of the danger to which your Church says her children are exposed, by the fatal occurrence of this woful defect; for how easily may it thus occur?"

In your description of intention, then, Sir, you say that we require in the ministry correct belief respecting the sacrament or its effects.

Let us have recourse to Cardinal Bellarmine, to see how he agrees with you in attributing this doctrine to our Church. In chap. xxvi of the book previously cited, he states the question for examination thus:

"Utrum requiratur necessario fides aut charitas, ita ut hæretici, infideles, schismatici, improbi Catholici non possint sacramenta conficere, * * * an sit irritum quidquid faciunt infideles aut improbi homines, etiamsi alioqui legitime ordinati sint presbyteri aut episcopi, et nihil omittant eorum quæ ad substantiam sacramentorum pertinent."

"Whether either faith or charity is to be necessarily required, so that heretics, infidels, schismatics, or wicked Catholics, cannot confer sacraments, * * * if that which faithless or wicked men do be invalid, though otherwise they be lawfully ordained priests or bishops, and do not omit any of those things which belong to the essence of the sacraments."

Upon this question Bellarmine states that there appeared to be scarcely any, if at all any, difference between Catholics and Luther and Calvin, &c., for that they all appear to be agreed that neither faith, which is correct belief, nor morality, is required in the minister, in order to the validity of the sacraments. It is true that Luther writes in his book, *De Mis. Priv. et Unct. Sacerd.*, that if the Devil came in human shape and was ordained, the sacraments conferred by him would be valid. I trust, Sir, you will not require of Roman Catholics to go so far.

In the same chapter, Bellarmine proceeds to state not only the Catholic doctrine: that defect of faith, or of correct belief in the minister, does not injure the sacrament which he administers; but he gives the catalogue and history of those condemned by the Church at several periods for teaching that such faith was necessary to the validity of the sacrament. He mentions some Asiatics in the third century, of whom Eusebius informs us in book vii, of his history; they are also mentioned by Denis of Alexandria. Some Africans in the same century whom the

same historian mentions, and of whom St. Augustin relates in chap. 7, of his book ii, on Baptism, that they received their opinion from Agrippinus, the predecessor of St. Cyprian in the see of Carthage. The Donatists also fell into this error, and were combated upon that as well as other points by St. Augustin. St. Jerom counts it amongst the errors of the Luciferians. It was condemned by several popes, amongst whom are Stephen I, who died about the year 258, Siricius, who died at the close of the succeeding century, Innocent I, who died about twenty years later, Leo I, about the middle of the fifth age, and Anastasius II, at its termination. You might also, sir, have found upon inquiry that it was condemned at the first Council of Nice in 325,—as well as the first of Carthage 348. The first Council of Arles held in the year 314 made a decree against the principle, in its eighth canon. My object not being to prove the correctness of our doctrine, but its misrepresentation by you; and your having made an effort to deprive me of the benefit of my witnesses as well as having denied my own competency to testify the doctrines taught by my church, I have used against you the only witness to whom you appeared not to object, and upon whose works I could lay my hand. I have no access to those of Biel. I believe, Sir, I have then established by this testimony three substantial errors in your description of our doctrine of Intention. It will also be seen that Bishop Hornihold in your own appendix contradicts you here also, because he admits as every Catholic must, that the baptism conferred by heretics and infidels is valid, provided they observe what Christ instituted, though neither of them has correct belief or faith. Thus, Sir, you not only attributed to us, as our doctrine, what our Church condemn as gross error, but you did so with the evidence of its contradiction under your eye; and you very fortunately published that evidence.

You make a fourth assertion equally incorrect, p. 47. "Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention and all would be null and void." You then assert our doctrine to be that the existence of distraction or inadvertency would destroy the sacrament, by destroying the requisite intention. You therefore charge us with holding, 1, that actual advertence and attention are required for a sufficient intention. 2, That consequently where the minister acts without this actual attention, the sacrament is not conferred." If I prove the second or consequential proposition to be untrue, the first will necessarily be untrue. I shall, however, first show that I do not overstrain your meaning. Immediately after the passage above quoted you continue to develope your meaning.

"Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention, and all would be null and void. That it is this actual intention which your canon intends, is evident by the existence of the canon itself; for it was certainly formed with a view to guard as much as possible against the danger of this fatal occurrence, by informing the priest of the necessity of intention, that he might be upon the watch lest the defect should occur through his carelessness or inadvertency; and that he might have his thoughts exercised about his work, to exert this good intention at the critical time."

Now, Sir, having previously shown your assumption "That it is this actual intention which our canon intends," to be not only arbitrary, but untrue, and the actual attention or advertency not being required except for actual intention, it necessarily follows that its absence will not be fatal, because the virtual attention which is not destroyed by a little distraction or inadvertency will be sufficient for the virtual intention that suffices in the minister of the sacraments.

Allow me here to exemplify. I shall at present confine myself to the definitions which I find in your own pamphlet. In p. 46, you state the common meaning of the word *intention;* but I presume there is an error of the press. You write of Bishop Bowen thus. "For he could not without doing your Church an injury, suppose for a moment that she means by the word Intention, something quite different from design of purpose, which is the meaning the word always has in common acceptation." Johnson gives three meanings in which the word might be used,—the second of which is *design: purpose.* I should believe you wrote *or* and by mistake, it was printed *of.* I now accept the word *purpose* as expressing the correct meaning of the word which has so much perplexed you. In your appendix, you insert Hornihold's definition of actual intention, as distinguished from *virtual;* in this distinction we must find the character by which they are to be discerned. Hornihold says that "the actual intention is accompanied with an actual attention of mind to the things we are about." And this alone is its characteristic, by which it is distinguished from virtual intention: as long as this actual attention or advertency exists, so long does the actual intention exist, and no longer. This attention or advertency ceases, but the

purpose or "intention is judged to remain in force by not being expressly retracted, or interrupted by too long a time." Here then is what Hornihold calls "virtual intention," which clearly exists without any *actual* attention or advertency of the mind, at the present moment. We may easily suppose that a slight distraction of the mind from contemplating its original purpose to the contemplation of some other object caused this want of attention. Yet the agent is fairly judged to retain his original purpose, because it has not been expressly retracted, nor too long interrupted. There is therefore no actual attention, where there exists only a virtual intention, as our doctrine is that virtual intention, suffices for the validity of the sacrament, it necessarily follows that actual attention is not necessary, though desirable and becoming in the minister.

Yet, Sir, you are good enough to tell us that "actual and virtual intention as used here by the Bishop, are precisely synonymous." I am to suppose that you think so, and of course I can easily know the value of your arguments.

I shall now examine what a few of our divines say respecting the necessity of this actual attention for the validity of the sacrament. Bellarmine informs us (in cap. xxvii, lib. 1, *De Sac. in Gen.*) treating of actual intention.

"Tantum requirit ut homo sit præsens animo, et attente faciat quod facit. Ista enim dicitur intentio in actu exercito, ut loquitur Cajetanus, et ut diximus, non necessario exigitur; quia non est in nostra potestate, quin distrahatur aliquando nostra cogitatio etiam dum res sanctissimas agimus." "It only requires that a man be present with his mind and do attentively what he performs, for that is called intention in act, as Cajetan says, and as we have said,' it is not necessarily required, because it is not in our power, but that our thoughts might sometimes be distracted even when we perform most holy things."

Thus Bellarmine gives us actual attention as the character of actual intention, and states that it is not required. Respecting virtual intention he writes:

"Virtualis dicitur cum actualis intentio in præsenti non adest ob aliquam evagationem mentis, tamen paulo ante adfuit et in virtute illius fit operatio: et hæc omnium consensu requiritur, si actualis non adsit, et sufficit." "It is called virtual when because of some wandering of the mind, an actual intention does not now exist—yet it was in existence a short time before and the act is done in virtue thereof: and all agree that if an actual intention does not exist, this is required, and suffices."

Thus, Sir, Bellarmine distinguishes what you confound, and, contradicts your assertion that actual attention is necessary for that intention which suffices for the validity of a sacrament.

You have asserted that according to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church sacraments were not validly conferred, first, if the minister had not an actual intention of conferring them at the very time of the administration, or, if having such intention, he did not intend to confer grace by the work—or, if he was at the time an unbeliever in the doctrine of the Church regarding the nature or effects of the sacraments conferred—or, if through carelessness, or inadvertency he at the critical time, permitted his thoughts to wander from his work. Your assertions, Sir, are altogether untrue, and each of them is contradicted by every Catholic writer upon the subject. You have chosen Bellarmine and Hornihold, and I have confined myself to them; but, Sir. they agree with all the others in contradiction to you.—Yet you modestly inform us, at the conclusion of your fifth letter, to the Editors of the Miscellany:"

"I could, indeed, detect you on any point in the controversy, so as to know whether you stated your doctrine fairly or unfairly, or whether you denied it or not, without a book at all. But this would not be sufficient in controversy, to expose or silence you, or to convince others that you dealt unfairly; for it would be necessary in such a case to quote your authorities verbatim. For this purpose I would require more books of the kind than I have at present, were I engaged to go through the whole course of the controversy with you: but I have no occasion for any books to instruct me in your doctrine: for I know every point of it as well as you do yourselves, and this knowledge I have at present, by a certain faculty called memory. This you very well know might be the case when you made the above ungenerous insinuation; for I did not say that I had *no* books of the kind, or that I had never read any. All your italics heretofore, and your three little capitals amount to nothing, and serve no other purpose than to satisfy your simple readers. Since you have made this foul insinuation, however, I shall shortly let you know whether I have detected your mis-statements or not; for however indecorous it may seem to address you again in the way of controversy, after your refusal to meet me upon any subject, I cannot let you escape with this foul insinuation and your false statements. I shall cite you before the public again, and make the charge good; and then you may answer for your conduct if you can, or suffer judgment to pass against you by default.

"It is however after all, no disparagement to your parts or learning that you have fallen before the *fatal touch;* for who can contend with fate and unanswerable questions! But

truly your honor and honesty must be called in question. You must *know* that you are laboring by foul means to support a bad cause, and to deceive unwary souls."

I would advise you, Sir, in future to have a little less confidence in your memory, and more recourse to books. I might here close my case, satisfied that I have proved all that I cared to accomplish, which is, that Mr. Thomas Waddell misrepresented our doctrine of Intention. But I shall to-morrow determine whether I shall examine a little farther into the contents of his very extraordinary pamphlet. I remain, Sir, with becoming sentiments,

Yours, &c. &c. B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 12th, 1838.

LETTER III.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

SIR,—Having shown that you misrepresented our doctrine of *Intention;* I now state what I believe to be the fact, that you did not yourself understand it; I also admit that the consequences which you drew from your misconception, would generally flow from such a principle as you attributed to us, but as the principle is not ours, neither can the consequences be, on that account, charged to us. I might, as I before stated, here close my case. But, Sir, there are a few other passages in your production which it will not be amiss to notice.

You state in your "Introductory," p. viii:

"I have often thought that the argument of uncertainty drawn from the doctrine of Intention, has not been so generally and so exclusively urged in the controversy as it ought to have been. It had indeed been sometimes called in as an auxiliary, when the arguments were sufficient without its aid. I have never before seen it used as a principal except once; when it was tried upon a renegade Missionary, sent from Rome to Ireland, in consequence of a challenge which he offered to all Protestants, ministers especially; and, like the heroes of the Miscellany, he stood dumb before it. It is an argument with which few Protestants are acquainted, and I have never yet met with a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of Intention."

Indeed, Sir, your reading upon the subject cannot be very extensive: for a great many Protestant writers have, without as much boasting as yours, put forward the argument with far more ingenuity than you have done:—and I have seldom found a Protestant even tolerably imbued with the spirit of controversy, who has not been as fully acquainted with it as you appear to be; that is, he mistook its nature and urged his arguments as unanswerable because of his mistake. I have, Sir, met several of this description, and I do not recollect one of them who did not, as you have, when I endeavored to disabuse him, assure me that he knew the doctrines of my Church better than I did myself, or if I knew them as well as he did, that I disguised or denied them. Will you blame me, Sir, when I assure you that after such a declaration, I leave the field to the hero who makes it, unless there should be some weighty and sufficient cause upon other grounds for my continuing therein? Perhaps, Sir, the Editors of the Miscellany have similar feelings, and it would argue some charity in you, to attribute their silence as well as that of the gentleman whom you call "a renegade," rather to this, than to the cause which you have assigned.

"I was, indeed, in my early days, brought into doubts and difficulties by them; but I soon learned to see through their sophistry, and by degrees detected the various knavish tricks resorted to by the Popish sons of imposture to deceive the ignorant and to save their cause from destruction. I afterwards made the Popish controversy my study, and found upon trial it was a quick and easy piece of work to silence Roman gainsayers. I therefore determined, upon seeing the Catholic Miscellany, which contained nothing but the old silly arguments and wretched dogmatisms, to pose the heroes of it in short metre. As the distance was great, I made choice of an argument which I knew would gag them immediately. They trifled at first, and afterwards declined my invitation; the reasons they gave for declining the combat, show clearly that the work is impracticable, and their cause untenable."—(*Introduction*, p. viii.)

Sir, "To pose the heroes of the Miscellany in short metre," you have quoted Bellarmine. Will you excuse me for stating the grounds of my belief that you never read his works? I do not wish to come unnecessarily to the conclusion that you printed a deliberate falsehood: if you read that author you would have seen in the places quoted by me in my Second Letter, and in other places of his work, that the argument founded upon misrepresenting the doctrine of Intention, was used *as a principal* by several Protestant writers. I can as easily conceive that your imagination deludes you, regarding the extent of your theological acquirements, as it does regarding the nature of our doctrines.

I shall now take up the quotation which you make from the Cardinal; and it is somewhat curious to observe that one should not be produced from those books where he was writing expressly upon the subject, but one garbled from the midst of a paragraph upon another question in another book, and

the isolated piece becomes thus ambiguous. You refer to Bellarmine *Lib.* iii, *de Justificatione, cap.* 8. Your reference is imperfect for you omit the book, and your quotation is but the tail of a sentence, and you give the original of only a piece of that tail; however, this is the place in which the words are found. His third book is entitled *Qui est de incertitudine, mutabilitate et inæqualitate justitiæ.* "Which is concerning the uncertainty, the changeableness and the inequality of righteousness."

The Cardinal was defending the doctrine of the Church on those points, which doctrine is, 1. That no individual can be certain, without a special revelation, that he is in a state of righteousness. 2. That a righteous man might fall into sin again, and become a reprobate, and 3. That there are various degrees of righteousness, at the same time in several just persons; as also that there might be various degrees thereof, at different times, in the same individual. In the eighth chapter of this book he is arguing in support of the first of these doctrines, and answering persons who asserted that even besides the case of special revelation, a man can know *with the certainty of faith*, that he is in a state of righteousness.

In the fifth paragraph of the chapter an argument is taken up by him, which might be thus condensed: "You have the certainty of faith that God gives his grace and justification to those who receive the sacraments with proper dispositions. But you can know when you have so received the sacraments. Therefore you can have the certainty of faith that you have been justified, and are now righteous." In his answer to this, Bellarmine first denies that any man can know without a special revelation, that he has received the sacraments with proper dispositions; and next says that he cannot have the certainty of faith that he has received a true sacrament; and thus, although the first proposition be known with the certainty of faith, the second has not the evidence required as a basis for faith, and the man who imagined himself well disposed, might have labored under a delusion; thus there was not a *certainty of faith.* In the second paragraph of the chapter, the Cardinal had thus stated what is required for such a certainty.

"Non potest aliquid certum esse *certitudine fidei*, nisi aut immediate contineatur in verbo Dei; aut ex verbo Dei per *evidentem* consequentiam deducatur: Fides enim non est nisi verbi divine auctoritate nitatur."

"Nothing can be certain *with the certainty of faith*, unless it be either immediately contained in the word of God; or be deduced therefrom by *evident* consequence: because it is not faith, unless it rests upon the authority of the divine word."

Now we are not to confound the *certainty of faith* which requires the basis of the word of God, or revelation, with every other description of certainty; and in ascertaining the meaning of any author, we must use his words in the sense which he attaches to them himself. Bellarmine, in chap. ii of the same book gives us six descriptions of certainty, under two classes; one class is under the head *evident*, which arises from either mental or sensible perception; the other *obscure*, which arises 1, from divine revelation, 2, from human testimony, and 3, from circumstances. Thus besides faith, the author gives us five other grounds upon which we might build our certainty. Seeing his object and his language, let us now look to the quotation.

"Sed fortasse Catharinus respondeat, non exigi necessario perfectam conversionem et pœnitentiam, nisi extra sacramentum, eum sacramento autem sufficere, ut quis obicem non ponat. At neque potest quis certus esse *certitudine fidei*, se non ponere obicem, cum possit ex ignorantia crassa gerere affectum ad peccatum; neque potest esse certus *certitudine fidei*, se percipere verum sacramentum, cum sacramentum, sine intentione ministri non conficiatur, et intentionem alterius nemo videre possit."

"But perhaps Catharinus might answer, that perfect conversion and penance are not necessarily required, except without the sacrament; but that, together with the sacrament, it is sufficient if no obstacle be placed. But neither can any one be certain *with the certainty of faith*, that he does not put an obstacle, for by reason of his gross ignorance, he might bear an affection to sin; neither can he be certain, *with the certainty of faith*, that he receives a true sacrament, since the sacrament might not be without the intention of the minister, and no one can see the intention of another."

I have here given the passage at length: the object of Bellarmine was to prove as I before stated, that no man can without special revelation, which would, as being the word of God, give him a ground for *faith*, know *with the certainty of faith* that he was righteous. We know *by faith* what things are required for the existence of a sacrament; but it is *not by faith*, but by other motives of credibility, that we assured of the existence of those requisites. Intention is one of those requisites, we do not know of its existence by *faith*, but we can have that certainty *by circumstances*, which is according to Bellarmine a good ground of certainty, but not of the *certainty of faith*; because not founded upon revelation. In denying then that we have the certainty of faith, he

is far from asserting that we have no certainty; yet this is what you have assumed, p. 13—you draw an universal conclusion from particular premises.

"This uncertainty, the inevitable consequence of your doctrine, is admitted by some of your most celebrated divines.* "No priest that celebrateth can know evidently whether he be a priest, because he cannot know evidently whether he be baptized or lawfully ordained." And Cardinal Bellarmine† tells us why: "No man," says he, "can be certain, by the certainty of faith, that he receives a true sacrament; because it depends upon the *intention* of the minister, and none can see another man's intention."

You then must feel that you have given to Bellarmine a meaning which he has never intended. The Cardinal does not say, that the sacrament "depends upon the intention of the minister." When he uses the words "*intentionem alterius nemo videre possit.*" "No one can *see* the intention of another," I apprehend you do not give to the word *videre* "see," the meaning which the Cardinal did. In the sixth paragraph of his chap. ii, he explains himself thus, "Certitudo EVIDENS est earum rerum quæ aliquo modo *videntur.*" "*Certainty* EVIDENT *is of those things, which are in some manner* SEEN." In this class he places: first, principles,—next the evident consequences of first principles; lastly, that which is under the cognizance of well regulated senses. "Certitudo OBSCURA est earum rerum quæ sola fide, vel opinione nituntur," "*Certainty* OBSCURE, *is of those things which rest only on faith or on opinion.*" In this class he places: knowledge derived first from the testimony of God; next from human testimony; then, from circumstances. This explanation is the key which he gives to the meaning of his words throughout the book; *evidens* and *videre*, "evident" and "see," then regard only the first class but not the second. We cannot *see* the intention of another person, for it is not a first principle, nor a consequence of that principle, nor does it come in its own immediate form, under the cognizance of our senses. Neither can we know it generally from the testimony of God, but from the testimony of men, and from circumstances. Hence though a person cannot *see* the intention of another, he might know its existence with certainty; though neither with the certainty of faith, nor with the certainty of evidence. Thus, Sir, neither Bellarmine or Biel would admit our assumption, "That we are uncertain of the existence of our sacraments." Because we have two grounds either of which will assure us of their existence, though the special fact in each particular case is not an article of faith. Every reasonable man is perfectly certain of the truth of hundreds of facts, which though neither first principles, nor their evident consequences, nor having come under the cognizance of his senses, nor yet having been revealed by God, yet are sustained by motives of credibility which produce infallible certainty.

When you add this, Sir, to the four egregious blunders which you made in your description of the meaning of the word, Intention, as described in my second letter, probably I may leave to yourself to appreciate the value of your compilation.

I stated in that letter that I accepted the English word *purpose* as expressing the meaning of the Latin technical word *Intentio*, or that which in our language is more equivocal, *Intention*. In your p. 12, you state that a canon is found upon the subject in the proceedings of the Council of Florence; your words are, "This canon is found in the Council of Florence and that of Trent,"—the canon of which you make this statement, you describe thus p. 11, "According to a certain canon you are bound to believe that 'the efficacy of every sacrament depends upon the Intention of the officiating minister;' so that if he should fail of having this necessary intention, the apparent sacrament is null and void." Now, Sir, perhaps you will think it, to use your own polite language "knavery," "a pious fraud," "a shameful denial," when I inform you that the Council of Florence made no such canon, nor is any canon of our church couched in such phrases, though you were so accurate as to place them between inverted commas. The Council of Trent indeed made a canon upon the subject which you quote accurately in a note to your p. 12, but the Council of Florence did not. However, Sir, Pope Eugenius IV, who remained at Florence after the departure of the Greeks, together with some of the Cardinals and Bishops of the Latin Church continued the sessions in 1439, for the purpose of receiving into communion some of the Armenian Eutychians, and upon their reconciliation, the Pope in his decree of instruction did, in treating of the sacraments mention the necessity of the intention of the minister, besides the matter and form, to constitute a sacrament. I state this, not charging you with being guilty of misrepresentation in this place, but

* Nullus celebrans, potest evidenter scire, se esse sacerdotem, quia non potest evidenter scire se fore baptizatum, aut legitime ordinatum.—*Gab. Biel, in Epit. Can. Missæ.*

* Sacramentum non conficiatur sine intentione ministri, et intentionem alterius nemo videre possit.—*Bel. Lib. Just.* cap. 8.

merely to show you that besides "a certain faculty called memory," a certain quality called information is necessary for a person who undertakes to write upon these subjects. Your appendix even would have taught you this. But, perhaps, you do not know the difference between a decree and a canon.

"Q. What are we to believe as to the matter and form of the sacraments, and how they are to be conceived?

"A. Eugenius IV, in his decree, in the Council of Florence, which was held in the year 1439, declares that every sacrament requires matter, form, and intention of doing what the church does."

I now come to the "simple explanation" of our doctrine which you have so completely enveloped in your effort to show it sustaining your conclusions.

The whole doctrine may be thus expressed, "It is required that in the creation or administration of the sacraments, the minister shall use the elements and the words, in a reasonable manner, for a Christian purpose."

I shall take one sacrament as an exemplification—Baptism. Pope Eugenius states that three things are necessary, the matter, (water) the form, (the words) and the intention of the minister; (the purpose).—I shall now give a few instances where the matter and form would be applied to the proper subject, and yet no sacrament be conferred, because of the want of intention or purpose.

1. A priest desires to show the sponsors how they ought to attend, and tells them that he will rehearse the ceremony, but not baptize the child at present; he then uses the water and repeats the words, for the purpose of making them acquainted with the manner of proceeding, but not for the purpose of conferring the sacrament.

2. One minister is desirous of teaching another how to confer the sacrament; and for this purpose, but not for the purpose of conferring the sacrament, he seriously and deliberately goes through the whole rite, using the elements and the words.

3. A person undertakes to mimic the ceremony, and uses the water and the words to amuse those present, but not for the purpose of baptizing.

4. At a theatre, a baptism is to be represented; the matter and the form are used, but not for the purpose of doing what the Church does, that is conforming to the institution of Christ, but for the purpose of representation.

5. A person intends to administer the sacrament, and actually commences, but is requested to defer it for a few hours, consents, but still, for the purpose of instructing the sponsors or others, goes through the remainder of the ceremony.

6. A person during his dream, or a somnambulist, uses the matter and form upon an unbaptized subject which is near him.

7. A person stupidly drunk, or

8. A person who is an idiot or crazy.

9. An ignorant person might use the matter and form for the purpose of procuring the bodily health of a child, without even knowing that it was ever a church ceremony.

In these and a variety of other cases there is the matter and the form, but there is not the intention; the sacrament is not conferred, hence it has always been held in the church that the existence of matter and the intention of doing what the church does, is necessary. And you, Sir, had under your eye, in your appendix, the very words of Hornihold, to show what our meaning was.

"Q. In what cases is there a defect of a sufficent intention.

"A. If a minister performs the work in a ludicrous manner. If he is asleep, drunk, or mad; he has either no intention, or only an habitual one."

All that we require is that it shall be a reasonable act done for the purpose of religion, that is for the purpose of doing what the Church does. This also you saw in your appendix from Hornihold.

"Q. What intention is required in the minister?

"A. In the first place, intention, in general, is a volition, or act of determining of a thing by the means; it is requisite to every rational action, and much more to every religious action."

You gave the canon of the Council of Trent in p. 12, pretty correctly. You only omitted the words *at least*. "If any man shall say that when the ministers make and confer sacraments the intention, at least, of doing what the Church does, is not required: let him be anathema." I cannot conjecture what your object in omitting those words *at least* could have been, except to destroy the distinction which we admit between two persons who both validly confer sacraments: viz. the minister who knew and believed and gave actual and willing attention with a desire to procure grace for the recipient; and the careless infidel who looked upon the ceremony to be idle and vain, but who nevertheless went through it, for the purpose of religion, or of doing what the Church does. Our doctrine is that each of those persons confers the sacrament, but the Church exhorts her clergy and others to have the first and better disposition. There are several intermediate dispositions of mind between those two; it is useless to describe them,

these are the two extremes, and in each of those as well as in all the intermediate cases, there exists a sufficient intention for securing the validity of the sacrament, because in all those cases the minister acts for the purpose of doing what the Church does, that is, for the purpose of performing a Christian rite. All our authors agree, that it is not necessary for the minister himself to believe the rite holy or efficacious, or even useful: but that it is sufficient, if he should do the act for the purpose of administering a rite which Christians consider holy.

I shall now suppose a man who has ever a malicious disposition, called upon by a parent to baptize his child. The parent believing the rite to be of divine institution and destined to remove original sin, beseeches this person to administer that baptism which Christ instituted: he is answered by the person to whom he applies, that the whole is an idle and useless ceremony, and the person strives to disuade the parent from its performance; the parent answers; that he is otherwise convinced, and entreats this person to perform it. Thus urged, the infidel complies, uses the water and pronounces the words in accordance with the request of the parent. Is it not manifest, that whatever his own private malice might be, his act was in compliance with the parent's request, and that the purpose was to perform the Christian rite? —I may be told that in his soul he wished to prevent the effects of the rite. My answer is, that his act was for a purpose which was determined by the circumstances, and he had no control over those; he might have desired to destroy the effect of the Saviour's institutions, but the providence of God saved them from the power of his malice. The mercy of heaven is not made subject to his indiscretion, but is administered according to the institutions of the Saviour; of those he is a minister but not a despot. He may refuse to act, but if he acts for a particular purpose, it is impossible that he should not act for that purpose; to suppose otherwise would be to suppose a contradiction. The matter and the form of the sacraments might be used for a variety of purposes; but when used for the purpose instituted by Christ, then and only then, they form a sacrament. This is the language of our Church, and, Sir, I believe it is the language of common sense. In this view, though we have not the certainty of Faith, or that which arises from divine revelation, for the existence of a sacrament in each special case, nor the certainty of evidence in the scholastic meaning of the word as before laid down, we can have what is usually called evidence, in the ordinary use of words, for we can have that certainty which arises from human testimony and from circumstances.

You will then perceive, Sir, that it was from the want of knowing our doctrine of Intention, you charged upon us that state of uncertainty, in the consequences of which you triumph.—pp. 14, 15.

"Such then being your state of uncertainty and misery with respect to your sacraments, how can you possess peace of mind for a moment? And how can we look upon a Church as infallible, and a sure guide to heaven, which involves all her children in such miserable circumstances, that they can never know whether they be Christians, or whether the clergy be true priests, or Christians at all? How deplorable and miserable must your condition be, if this doctrine be true! And how poor must be your chance for salvation! What an awful amount of sin and damage may one of your *lay priests* be the cause of to thousands, who may attend upon him continually! All his consecrations so many nullities, causing the continual practice of idolatry by himself, and the unfortunate creatures who attend upon him; all his absolutions so many deceptions, leaving the people still in their sins. And how much damage may be done even by a true priest, through the want of due Intention in his ministrations, none of you can know. Through the fatal and frequent occurrence of this woful defect, many of his *apparent marriages* may be mere *nullities*—states of licensed concubinage; many of his *apparent baptisms* may be mere *nullities*, leaving the poor children in a state of something below the level of heathenism, out of which they can never rise. And these children, by getting into the priesthood in their turn, may be the ministers of damnation to thousands and tens of thousands, who may have the misfortune to attend upon them. And suppose some of these *blank priests* should get into bishoprics, how much more sin and destruction might be caused by them! No mind can conceive half the amount; for they might send out a number of sacrilegious pretenders, to deceive the multitude, who would be lost by hundreds and by thousands, by worshipping false hosts and receiving false absolutions, from their pretending priests, who would fall and perish with their people, all through the occurrence of this fatal defect, in some careless or dishonest bishop, priest, doctor, old woman, or some other person, in the long lapse of eighteen hundred years. Thus the devastation once commenced by one *blank bishop*, might proceed with the celerity of geometrical progression, and in a few generations might unpriest a whole nation. Thus your church in the plenitude of her infallibility, has plunged you all in an awful abyss of uncertainty and misery, and so your infallibility has undermined itself, and ruined its advocates. Live as you will, you can never know whether you be Christians or not, or whether your practices be lawful, or wicked and ruinous. How melancholy and distressing must the consideration of these doleful

and fearful truths be to every thoughtful, feeling heart!

"But your priests and people, notwithstanding this awful uncertainty and danger, seem to be quite easy in their minds, and talk as confidently about their absolutions, baptisms, marriages, oblations, ordinations and consecrations, as if the above canon had never existed. How shall we account for this stupid inconsistency! Only by the fact, that *you do not sincerely believe this doctrine*, and attentively consider its import and ruinous consequences.

Sir, you have here some semblance of correct reasoning, for we do not sincerely believe in the doctrine which you described as ours.

I am Sir, yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 20th, 1830.

LETTER IV.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

SIR,—I shall now examine how far you were accurate or correct in your extracts from the rubrics of our Missal, and your comments upon them. I have published the passage in my first letter, extracted from pp. 47 and 48 of your production. I shall, however, again lay it before my readers:

"Your Church surely could not have formed this canon with a view to prevent the occurrence of a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament; for she would, by telling a malicious priest that the efficacy of the sacraments depends upon this intention, inform him of the evil he had power to do, and would thus put him upon destroying, by wholesale or retail, the people who had offended him, if he only had malice enough. We see, then, by the language and manifest design of the canon, that your Church insists upon the actual intention of her priests, in order to the validity of her sacraments. But let us consult the Rubric of your Missal upon this point, which is intended as a golden key to let every priest into the meaning of this canon, that he may see what this intention is, and how he may fail of having it.

"And first, we may see that the want of this intention, by being placed in the class of defects occurring in the mass, must be the want of the actual intention: for a positive, malicious intention is not a defect but a property, arguing indeed the want of an actual good intention, which may or may not occur without this malicious design. But the Rubric furnishes plainer language than this upon the subject; so plain, that any novice, I think, can understand it very clearly, whether Dr. Bowen does or not. Thus speaks that form of sound words: 'If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter; also if any wafers remain forgotten on the altar, or if any part of the wine or any wafer lie hidden, when he did not intend consecrating but what he saw; also if he shall have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant; in all these cases the consecration fails, because intention is required.'

"In the case of the wafers remaining forgotten on the altar, it appears evidently the actual intention is required. For as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them when he proceeds to consecrate, and so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted only to consecrate the wafers he had noticed. The other case of the eleven wafers is exactly parallel, and, if possible, more conclusive in favor of my opinion; for if he should by misreckoning, or any other way, think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven, his thoughts would be exercised only about ten, without determining what ten he meant, and so they would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them: not because he had a wanton, wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate. Should any thing therefore attract his attention from his work, he would fail of having the necessary actual intention.

"Thus Dr. Bowen, or any other man, whatever station he occupies, whether a bishopric or a barn, may easily see your theological meaning of the term, and that it is the actual intention that is required by the canon.

"The other case of a defect, in which your Church supposes the priest may intend not to consecrate but to cheat or banter, may very readily occur without a wanton, wicked intention. Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and his divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever, begin now to exist, and yet go on buzzing, crossing and mumming, through the whole form of the mass, pretending to consecrate; he then cheats; for he cannot intend to do what he knows or believes cannot be done."

In the beginning of this passage, you inform us that it was not *a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament* the canon which required intention regarded. To sustain this position you assert that *a positive malicious intention is not a defect, but a property*, and as the rubric of the Missal treats only of defects, it could not mean malicious intention, for that would not be properly considered a defect. Now, Sir, your translation of the words of the Missal will, I apprehend, be sufficient to correct your mistake: the words of the Missal are, "si quis non intendit conficere, sed delusorie aliquid agere." "*If a person do not intend to make, (a sacrament,) but to do something in a delusive way*," or as you translate it, "If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter." In all these expressions

we have the defect of a proper intention, viz. "If a person do not intend to consecrate, i. e. not purpose to do what Christ instituted and the Church does; but we have also the positive purpose of cheating or bantering, which on such an occasion must be positively malicious.' Thus, Sir, where a man, instead of doing an act of religion, intends to cheat or banter, he has a malicious intention. It was on your part a mistake to say that he had not.

In the case of wafers forgotten upon the altar, you tell us, "for as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them, when he proceeds to consecrate, so they miss of being consecrated *through the want of his actual intention*, which was exerted to consecrate only the wafers he had noticed."

You again assert here, as if upon the authority of the Missal, that it is because of the want of *actual* intention the consecration failed. This, Sir, is another mistake; I shall help your "faculty called memory," by quoting from the very head of the rubric which you garble:

4. "Si intentio *non sit actualis* in ipsa consecratione propter evagationem mentis, sed virtualis, cum accedens ad altare intendat facere quod facit Ecclesia, *conficitur sacramentum*, etsi curare debet sacerdos, ut etiam actualem intentionem adhibeat."

4. "If the *intention* BE NOT ACTUAL, *at the very consecration, because of some wandering of the mind*, but virtual, *when the person going to the altar intends to do what the Church does*, THE SACRAMENT IS PRODUCED, *yet the priest should carefully endeavor to bring with him an actual intention.*"

You are very unfortunate, Sir, in conceiving wrong notions of our doctrine, and making very unwarrantable conclusions, because of your mistakes. You speak of "one forgotten particle which is mingled with those placed for consecration," and seen amongst them, which of course every priest intends to consecrate according to the direction of the Missal which you are so careful as not to notice. "Quilibet sacerdos talem semper intentionem habere deberet, scilicet consecrandi eas *omnes*, quas ante se ad consecrandum positas habet." "*Every priest ought always have such intention, viz. that of consecrating* ALL *those which he has placed before him for consecration.*" The direction follows immediately after the passage which I shall presently copy respecting eleven hosts, where he imagined there were only ten. The case which you imagine of a forgotten wafer mingling with the others, is not in the Missal.

The case there described is that of particles which are not so mingled, and which do not at any time become mingled with those placed separately for consecration; but which in the preparation of the altar might have been laid aside upon some part of it, different from that where those for consecration are placed; and which it was intended to remove, but which, through forgetfulness, had not been taken away. If, previous to the consecration, they did get mingled with the others which the priest laid for consecration, they would be consecrated, for they would be seen with others, and his purpose was to consecrate all which he saw in that place, but if they were forgotten on a remote part of the altar, they would not be consecrated, upon the same principle that those lying hidden would fail of being consecrated.

They who are in the habit of officiating at the altar, could inform you that there are a variety of cases in which a host might be hidden. I shall give once instance, which shall be sufficient. The particles to be consecrated are laid upon a small cloth called a *corporal*, because the *corpus* or body rests upon it; in preparing the altar, and placing this cloth, some particles might *lie hidden* under it, and not be noticed by the clergyman, having fallen there without being observed, and as not being known *could not be forgotten*. The plain purpose of the priest is to consecrate all that he placed upon the corporal, to this his ministry is directed, he has no farther object. He has performed this duty, he has given communion, he has removed the remaining particles from upon the corporal, if any be there: he now proceeds to fold the corporal itself and finds that some unconsecrated particles lay under it, others lay at a distance from it, forgotten and overlooked; he never proposed to consecrate any of them, he knew nothing of them. The Missal says they are not consecrated: it is only the language of common sense; for when a religious act is to be performed, it must, like all other acts, be done in a reasonable manner; when any thing is to be consecrated, it must be designated, and the effect of the consecrating process does not go beyond the boundary of the designation. Suppose a clergyman is asked to baptize two children: they are presented him, pointed out, designated and named; he proceeds to the baptism, and without any intimation to him, altogether without his knowledge, a third child is placed so as that the water shall flow upon it from the body of one of those whom he intends to baptize, the water flows whilst he uses the words, without any reference to this child, of whose presence he is perfectly unconscious. I hope, Sir, you would not say, that religion requires that it is reasonable to assert [that] this

third child was validly baptized. Suppose this child, so surreptitiously introduced, dies immediately; it is now too late to administer a sacrament; had the clergyman known of the existence of the concealed child, he would have baptized it; it was the child of a dear friend—one of those baptized was the child of an enemy, to whom he bears a deadly malice, whose child he would keep from heaven if he could. Now, Sir, we would say that his affection cannot supply to the dead child what it has not received, nor can his malice prevent in the living child the effects of that ministry of divine institution in which he has officiated.

I trust, Sir, you will perceive that it is only the language of common sense which the Missal uses, when it states that a clergyman does not consecrate particles which he either removed from those selected for use, but forgot to remove from the altar, nor particles of whose existence he knew nothing, because of their being hidden under the cloth, or the book, or in any other way.

But let us see Mr. Waddell's object. It is to infer [that] because these are not consecrated, therefore we cannot be certain that the particles upon the corporal are consecrated, because as the clergyman did not intend to consecrate the forgotten and hidden, it is also possible that he did not intend to consecrate those which he saw, and to which he referred his acts. We have, as in the case of the children, the certainty arising from all the circumstances, of the intention to act, and of the actual agency in the one case, whilst we have upon the same grounds, the certainty that he had no purpose of acting and no rational agency in the other. And yet, Sir, you would expect with this evidence of a difference between the two cases, that we should not draw any distinction between them!

I now come to the last case which you take from our Missal, "if he have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant, consecration fails, because intention is required." You state, "if he should by misreckoning or any other way think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven," &c. Now, Sir, it is impossible that you could have read the Missal when you make the assertion, that this regards a case of mistake by misreckoning, because the next paragraph, 2, which you do not quote, takes up the very case of such a mistake, and informs us that the consecration is valid. The case is thus described:

"Si sacerdos putens se tenere unam hostiam, post consecrationem invenerit duas fuisse simul junctas, in sumptione sumet simul utramque," &c. "*If the priest, thinking that he held only one host, should, after consecration, find that there were two joined together, let him receive both together*," &c.

Here we see that the *mistake* regarding the number would not invalidate the consecration. What, then, is the former case? It is what Mr. Waddell says it is not. He says, "they would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them: not because he had a wanton wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate." Such, as we have repeatedly seen, is not the fact. The case would be exactly parallel to this. Eleven children are placed for baptism: a person pours water on all the eleven, saying, "I baptize ten of you," &c. The act is not that of a rational being, it is not a consistent, but it is a foolish, or a wanton, or a wicked one. Could Mr. Waddell point out any of the children that was baptized? From the circumstances, it is plain that the man's purpose was not to baptize but to banter. There is no consecration in the other case, as there is no baptism in this case.

I have to remark, Sir, that in the Appendix No. 2, which you give as an extract from the Roman Missal, you have indeed given, not a continuous extract, but a number of pieces selected from different parts of the Rubrics, in such a manner as to favor the view which you take of our doctrine, but which would no longer support your position if you were fairly and fully to give the whole context. However, as you proceed by "a certain faculty called memory," you have been rather fortunate in recollecting even so much.

Another ground upon which you assail our doctrine of Intention, is thus described by you in pp. 13 and 14:

"If a husband or wife at Rome, should declare solemnly that he or she had not the intention to be married when the nuptials were solemnized, the *apparent* marriage is then pronounced a mere *nullity;* the parties are separated. We have this account from Bishop Burnet,* who, in Rome, obtained full and satisfactory information on the subject, and was perhaps an eye-witness to the practice. He says, also, that such divorces are very frequent there. Nor is the fact incredible, but highly reasonable and feasible; for the practice is justifiable and even necessary, and ought to prevail in all places, amongst Papists, if your doctrine of Intention be true. For, if the validity of the sacrament depends upon the Intention of the receiver, as well as of the Intention of the minister, there can be no sacrament, and therefore no real marriage, unless the priest, man and woman, all exert their Intention to accomplish the work.

* See Burnet on the 39 Articles, Article 25.

According to this doctrine, we may reasonably suppose that vast numbers of your people are living in concubinage, who are apparently married. I think, then, it would be a fair question to ask, why does not this good practice prevail amongst you in all places? And why are the people not exhorted to consider and inquire whether they have had, on their part, the necessary ingredient in their marriage; that if upon fair inquiry, it could be found they had it not at the critical time, they might be separated and delivered out of a wicked state of life, that would lead to everlasting ruin. Many would then no doubt join your Church, with a view to accomplish fraudulent purposes, under the sanction of your new law, which ought thus, by the rule of consistency, to open a wide door to perfidy, knavery, and other evils. Query—Is this practice, which they observe at Rome, and which, according to your doctrine, ought to prevail in all places, one of those laws which has descended in your Church by oral tradition?"

Now, Sir, there is a little difference between Bishop Burnet's statement, such as it is, and your assertion: he states that "solemn *swearing*" is required, you make him say that "solemn *declaration*" is sufficient. However, even here you and he are both under a mistake. Again you lead us to believe that he "was perhaps an eye witness of the practice." The Bishop says nothing to warrant this supposition. As the Bishop is just as much in error as you are, I might as well give his text and yours at once to my readers. Writing of marriage, he has the two following paragraphs, Art. xxv:

"The matter assigned by the Roman doctors is the inward consent, by which both parties do mutually give themselves to one another: the *form* they make to be the words or signs, by which this is expressed. Now* it seems a strange thing to make the secret thoughts of men the *matter*, and their words the *form* of a Sacrament; all mutual compacts being as much sacraments as this, there being no visible material things applied to the parties who receive them; which is necessary to the being of a sacrament. It is also a very absurd opinion, which may have very fatal consequences, and raise very afflicting scruples, if any should imagine that the *inward consent* is the *matter* of this sacrament; here is a foundation laid down for voiding every marriage. The parties may, and often do marry against their wills; and though they profess an outward consent, they do inwardly repine against what they are doing. If after this they grow to like their marriage, scruples must arise, since they know they have not the sacrament: because it is a doctrine in that Church, that as intention is necessary in every sacrament, so here that goes further, the intention being the only *matter* of this sacrament; so that without it there is no marriage, and yet since they cannot be married again to complete, or rather to make the marriage, such persons do live only in a state of concubinage.

"On the other hand, here is a foundation laid down for breaking marriages as often as the parties, or either of them, will solemnly swear that they gave no inward consent, which is often practised at Rome. All contracts are sacred things; but of them all, marriage is the most sacred, since so much depends upon it. Men's words, confirmed by oaths and other solemn acts, must either be binding according to the plain and acknowledged sense of them, or all the security and confidence of mankind is destroyed. No man can be safe if this principle is once admitted; that a man is not bound by his promise and oaths, unless his inward consent went along with them: and if such a fraudulent thing may be applied to marriages, in which so many persons are concerned, and upon which the order of the world does so much depend, it may be very justly applied to all other contracts whatsoever, so that they may be voided at pleasure. A man's words and oaths bind him by the eternal laws of fidelity and truth; and it is a just prejudice against any religion whatsoever, if it should teach a doctrine in which, by the secret reserves of not giving an inward consent, the faith which is solemnly given may be broken. Here such a door is opened to perfidy and treachery, that the world can be no longer safe while it is allowed; hereby lewd and vicious persons may entangle others, and in the meanwhile order their own thoughts so, that they shall be all the while free."

I assure you, Mr. Waddell, that I am quite at a loss whether most to admire Bishop Burnet or you, in comparing your productions. Allow me, however, as you are now my principal object, to get rid of the Bishop as quickly as possible, for though he had been in Rome, he has made some sad mistakes. 1. He gave us a mere school opinion for a Catholic doctrine. 2. He distorts the opinion from its natural shape, giving us only its caricature. 3. He thus argues against a phantom of his own creation. 4. He confounds what the Church distinguishes, viz. the matter and the intention. 5. He mistakes the nature of intention itself. 6. He asserts a gross theological absurdity in stating that "if there be no marriage they cannot be married again." 7. From this false position he draws a false conclusion. 8. He states what

* "Upon the whole doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning the Sacraments, as it is explained by the schoolmen, I have followed the account given by Honoratus Fabri, in his Summa Theologica, who is dead within these ten years. I knew him at Rome, anno 1685. He was a true philosopher, beyond the liberties allowed by his order, and studied to reduce their school divinity to as clear ideas as it was capable of. So that in following him I have given the best, and not the worst face of their doctrine. His book was printed at Lyons, anno 1669."

is not the fact, where he asserts that a foundation is laid down for breaking the marriage where the parties or either of them solemnly swear that they gave no inward consent; if by laying a foundation he means that this is considered sufficient evidence of the fact, as his words and context seem to imply. 9. All his conclusions, of course, drawn from this assumption, are unwarranted imputations against the Roman Catholic Church. I might, perhaps, should my leisure permit, dedicate a letter to his Lordship's misrepresentations in the above extract.

Mr. Waddell, then, has built upon the authority of Bishop Burnet the assertion, 1. "That if a husband or wife at Rome declare solemnly that he or she had not the intention of being married when the nuptials were solemnized, the *apparent* marriage is then pronounced a *nullity;* the parties are separated." Yet Bishop Burnet makes no such assertion, and if he did, he would have asserted an untruth. The principle of the Church is, that when there is no circumstance at the time to create a reasonable doubt of the consent being freely given, no examination shall be subsequently permitted, and under any circumstances, the oath of either party is the most suspicious testimony that could be adduced: because there is the prior and the more solemn evidence of the party itself given to the contrary assertion at the time of the marriage. 2. Mr. Waddell asserts that the Bishop obtained in Rome full and satisfactory information on the subject, and was perhaps an eye-witness to the practice. The Bishop does not appear to say any such thing, but merely states in a note that he took the doctrine concerning the sacraments from the work of a well informed divine with whom he conversed in Rome. 3. Mr. Waddell states that the Bishop asserts such *divorces* to be very frequent in Rome. The Bishop, I think, makes no such assertion, he merely says, "the swearing is often practised at Rome," and for which we have only Burnet's mere assertion. All that Mr. Waddell adds about the doctrine of intention respecting marriage, is totally at variance with the statement of the doctrine as laid down by Burnet, who makes the parties and not the priest the ministers of the sacrament, by making their words the *form*, whilst Mr. Waddell requires the intention of the priest and thus makes him the minister. His object is to show that we cannot know when marriages are good. The answer is, that which our practice exhibits: that is, we have the evidence of circumstances to show the intention of contracting, this produces certainty, and unless there be at the time of the contract some very suspicious circumstances, no declarations nor oaths of either or both parties will be considered equivalent to the evidence of the solemn contract of their marriage. Thus the statements put forward are palpable misrepresentations, and the conclusions drawn from them must partake of their nature. I have been drawn farther after you, Sir, than I intended. But I have not done as yet.

I am, Sir, yours, &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 27, 1830.

LETTER V.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

SIR,—Having shown your misconceptions of the authors and documents which you adduced to sustain your notion of our doctrine of Intention, I shall take the liberty of inserting a few other passages of your letters for the purpose of more clearly and fully exhibiting your mistakes.

In my remarks on the Protestant Catechism, I stated the consequences of the doctrine which is imputed to us, in the following words which you give in your letter, p, 38.

"Roman Catholics cannot be certain that the Eucharist is duly consecrated, neither can they be certain of receiving any sacrament, and must at least be in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments, as the effect depends upon the secret and concealed intention of the priest."

Upon which you remark,

"This proposition does not differ from the statement and conclusion of the catechist, except in the adjectives secret and concealed, which are not in the catechism, though they must be implied if the observation of Bellarmine holds good, 'that none can see another man's intention.' The conclusion, also, that 'Roman Catholics must at best be in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments,' I believe is not in the catechism, though it is also implied: did you sincerely believe your doctrine, which if we can credit your most eminent writers, is not the case."

I have already shown that you mistook Bellarmine's meaning, and that Roman Catholics had every reasonable certainty, in the testimony or circumstances which removed the doubt here assumed to exist. In reference to the doctrine imputed to us and its consequences as described in the above paragraph I had written,

"This is a very serious misrepresentation of our doctrine of Intention. I could scarcely believe it was an innocent mistake, but that I have lately discovered, that the WHOLE mode in which the general body of Protestant writers learn what Roman Catholics teach is not by reading the works of Roman Catholic authors. Hence, I do admit, that even you, Right Rev. Sir, might possibly, notwithstanding the station you occupy, be yourself under a very seri-

ous mistake upon this head, and that you perhaps do not know our theological meaning of the word Intention; at all events, your little tract is egregiously incorrect upon this head."

You took the liberty of introducing the word *whole* which I disclaim; and alluding to this paragraph of mine, you had the kindness to write,

"Against this proposition, however, your correspondent raises the following piteous outcry, which is indeed something like the bold beginning of a good reply, but as it wants the trifling particular called *proof*, is only like a piece of half begun work, which serves no other purpose than to show it can never be finished in such a way that the end will accord with a bold beginning."

Full of your anticipated victory, and under the impression that you were not only right but unanswerable, you thus commenced your fourth letter,

"In my second letter I requested to inform your correspondent B. C. that he was required to resume his work upon the doctrine of Intention, or rather upon the statement of that doctrine, in the Protestant Catechism, and the conquences deduced from it by the Catechism, for which he holds Bishop Bowen accountable. As he has given us nothing in support of his charge of misrepresentation, I have thought it necessary to enter upon an inquiry into your theological meaning of the word intention, that I may repel the heavy charge which now stands against my letters on that head, as well as against Bishop Bowen, the Catechist, and the general body of Protestant writers; and that I may ascertain in some measure the degree of danger in which your Church says by this doctrine her children are exposed, in the worship of the host and through a failure in her other sacraments by the want of this necessary intention."

Alluding to my declaration that our doctrine was misrepresented, you wrote,

"What a bold beginning is here! When I first saw it, I expected something very clever would follow, and I prepared my mind to examine and study it very attentively. How great was my surprise, when I saw the whole affair end in a pitiful, broad assertion, just where it began! Must it not be disgusting and mortifying even to your own bigoted admirers, with whom every unsupported dogmatism and every beggarly sophism passes for a demonstration? One who was not thoroughly acquainted with your credulity and stupidity would be disposed to think they could not but see the difficulty in which your favorite champion was involved, and his knavery to deceive them, that he might seem to deliver himself and his wretched cause from confusion. Must they not know it was incumbent upon him to state his doctrine fairly and to institute a comparison, that the very serious misrepresentation might appear to the confusion of the Catechist and Bishop Bowen; and also to explain his theological meaning of the word intention, that his doctrine might be delivered from the consequences deduced from it by the Catechist and many other Protestant writers, as well as by some of your own doctors of the first rate? But why need I ask such questions, for the poor deluded people are too simple and credulous to see any thing that makes against the doctrines of Rome! But did he think Bishop Bowen, and other Protestant readers, were fools and blind, and capable of being satisfied by the ipse dixit of such a writer? This indeed would have been a poor subterfuge for any man to fly to who even belonged to any honorable tribe of writers.

"How can this be accounted for? Only by the deplorable distress and confusion of the writer. What could he do in such a desperate case? If your doctrine can be neither explained away, nor maintained, it must be denied if possible."

I am very far, Sir, from imagining myself to be as favorite a champion of one side as probably you esteem yourself of the other. I have not rejoiced at the resuscitation of controversy, I did not feel confident that I could overthrow my opponents, nor did I find upon trial that although I believed myself upon the side of truth, it was a quick and easy piece of work to *pose the heroes* of the opposite party.—I was reluctantly dragged forth, —I was taunted by you, with cowardice and inability,—I was threatened with a gag,—I was sneered at and held up to ridicule. (*Introduction*, vii.)

"When I first heard of these proceedings, I rejoiced very much that the long dormant controversy was about to be renewed; for I felt confident that the Papal system would quickly be overthrown by being brought to a public investigation. The weapons of warfare used by the Romanists, are nothing but frivolous sophistry, subtle distinctions, barefaced denials and forgeries, and inconclusive, plausible arguments. By these, they may indeed, do incalculable mischief amongst the silly and thoughtless; but if they can bring nothing more powerful against us in controversy, then let no man's heart fail because of them. I was, indeed, in my early days, brought into doubts and difficulties by them; but I soon learned to see through their sophistry, and by degrees detected the various knavish tricks resorted to by the Popish sons of imposture, to deceive the ignorant and to save the cause from destruction. I afterwards made the Popish controversy my study, and found upon trial it was a quick and easy piece of work to silence Roman gainsayers. I therefore determined upon seeing the Catholic Miscellany, which contained nothing but the old silly arguments and wretched dogmatisms, to pose the heroes of it in short metre. As the distance was great, I made choice of an argument which I knew would gag them immediately. They

trifled at first, and afterwards declined my invitation; the reasons they give for declining the combat show clearly that the work is impracticable, and their cause untenable."

Yet, Sir, when you forced me to come out, have I not shown from your own selected authorities that you misrepresented our doctrine?—In p. 51 you asserted,

"But of all the doctrines calculated to favor them most and raise them to their highest wish, the doctrine of intention appeared foremost. This doctrine showed the great power with which the priest was invested over the sacraments and over the souls of the people. Except he possessed the actual intention in his consecration, there should be no sacrament; it would be null; then, though apparently married, baptized, &c., yet would they nevertheless be unmarried, unbaptized, &c., so would they be in a state of heathenism and concubinage; their penances, confessions, and absolutions, would be of no avail! the worship of the host would be wicked idolatry: and so they would be all damned together.

"To prevent all this, and seeing their salvation depending almost entirely upon the intention of the priest, they must feel it necessary ever to be attentive to him, and to endeavor to please him upon all occasions, that he might be always careful to have and to exert this good intention."

I have shown that we do not require this actual intention, you draw your train of consequences from the false assumption that we do. All these assumed or fancied conclusions are then baseless visions. I have, Sir, stated our doctrine fairly, I have instituted a comparison between what we hold and what you imputed, and I have brought the testimony regarding our doctrine from the very authors which you pointed out, from Bellarmine and the Missal. Yet, Sir, I am far from thinking that though I have delivered myself from what you are pleased to call the difficulty and the knavery and the confusion of my wretched cause, that you are either satisfied, or "posed," or silenced: and when I undertook to write these letters, I assure you, I had no hopes of attaining this object.

However, Sir, before we separate, and probably for ever, I shall take the liberty of instituting a few more comparisons; the result may be useful to others, if not to you.

In your page viii, you inform us, "I have never yet met with a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of Intention." Really this appears a little strange since in p. 12, you inform us,

"This canon is found in the Council of Florence and that of Trent, and teaches the doctrine thus: 'If any man shall say, that when the ministers make and confer the sacraments, the intention of doing what the Church does, is not required, let him be anathema.' Reily's catechism teaches the doctrine in much the same phraseology. That the intention insisted on by the above canon, is in order to the efficacy of the sacrament, is manifest, by the sense which is attached to it in other books of equal authority. *The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine*, a book publicly authorized and of general use in Ireland, as a book of instruction for the common people, teaches it in the following plain, unequivocal language.

Q. Is the intention of the minister to do what Christ ordained, a condition without which *the sacrament subsisteth not?*

A. It is, as also the intention of the receiver, to receive what Christ ordained, if he be at years of understanding.

Q. Why do you say if he be at years of understanding?

A. Because for infants in the sacrament of baptism, the *Intention of the Church* sufficeth."

Reily's catechism was then generally used by all the Catholic children in Ireland, and, if the doctrine was taught therein it must have been taught to all the children who learned their catechism. Strange that the laity did not know the doctrine which they were taught!

The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine, publicly authorized and in general use for the instruction of the common people, teaches the doctrine in plain and unequivocal language, and yet, "you never met with a Romanist who knew" what he had thus been taught!

But it seems that although they had been thoroughly instructed in those doctrines of their Church, yet they did not know them; for in p. 45 you inform us:

"That the general body of our priests are POOR THEOLOGICAL COWARDS, LIARS AND DECEIVERS, who know their cause would soon go to destruction if it were fairly exposed to the light. By thus raising the outcry of misrepresentation against Protestant writers, and aspersing their characters, they succeed admirably in filling the minds of their bigoted adherents with prejudice and hatred against them, and against the truth which they teach; so that Satan himself is supposed to be a far more harmless creature than a Protestant writer: if he has got one cloven foot, be sure a Protestant writer has got two. This piece of Popish policy succeeds so well in deceiving the sons of Papal delusion, that I have never yet conversed with one layman of your communion, whom I could not teach the doctrines of his church, and who would not raise the outcry of misrepresentation against me like B. C. when I would state the naked truth. Thus they conceal many of the absurdities and abominations of Popery, and daub the faces of Protestants and their doctrines so notably, that the minds of their deluded adherents are quite inaccessible to the light of the gospel, and even to their own doc-

trines, which they conceit they know thoroughly, although they are generally ignorant of the worst parts of their system."

Now, Sir, to me it appears very strange that those Catholics should have in their hands the very books from which you make your quotations, should have in their childhood been instructed in their doctrine from those very books, and yet not understand them. Some of them, as for instance, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Shiel, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Coppinger, (for you seem to confine yourself to Ireland,) might be supposed to have as much understanding as Mr. Waddell, and have, we should suppose, at least, as much information as the COMMON PEOPLE, who learn the abridgment. Really Mr. Waddell, it is difficult to suppose that there are not laymen amongst the *Romanists* who do know their own doctrine of Intention, though they might not have the honor of your acquaintance. Now, Sir, there is only one circumstance, which I shall state hereafter, which prevents me from asserting that you contradicted yourself when you asserted they did not know their own doctrine, and yet that it was contained in the books from which they were taught.

You have charged our laity with stupidity, ignorance and carelessness. It would indeed take almost a reprint of your whole production to exhibit the manner in which you libel our clergy. The following extract respecting the venerable Doctor Challoner, Bishop of Debra, and one of the most eminent, learned and pious of the English Vicars Apostolic, may be taken merely as a specimen. It is found in pp. 15 and 16, of your production.

"But this magic charm, whatever [power] it may possess in laying your difficulties and doubts asleep, has never yet been sufficient to enable your writers to maintain their cause, by giving a fair and solid answer to those who have not tasted of the powerful opiate. To illustrate the above remark, that your priests and people overlook the import of this doctrine, and are blind to the danger implied by it, I shall produce the opinion of your great Dr. Challoner on this subject, who sings one note with his brethren.

'Q. Is there no danger of idolatry in this practice; (the divine worship of the host?)

'A. No, certainly; because this honor is not paid to the outward veil, or the sacramental signs, but to Jesus Christ who lies hidden there. Now Jesus Christ is no idol, but the true and living God.'

'Q. But if the doctrine of the real presence and transubstantiation should not be true, should we not then at least, be guilty of idolatry?

'A. We are as positively certain, by divine faith, of the truth of the doctrine of the real presence and of transubstantiation, as Protestants can be of the divinity of Jesus Christ; and therefore we are as much out of the reach of the danger of idolatry, in worshipping Christ in the sacrament, as they are of worshipping him in heaven.'—*Cath. Christ. Inst.*, p. 77.

"Throughout the above questions the writer pretends to justify the worship of the host only by the doctrine of transubstantiation; and argues that as that doctrine is true, he is *as far out of the reach of the danger of idolatry* in the divine worship of the host, as Protestants can be in worshipping Christ in heaven. Now, if he does not overlook the above canon, he tells a wilful falsehood: and if he does not contradict his Missal, there is no contradiction between the Council of Trent, and the articles of the Church of England; for the greatest of books asserts positively, that 'Mass may be defective.'

"Thus Dr. Challoner, and the general body of your authors, write, speak, and act, as if this canon had never existed. It is only therefore, by this fact, that they do not sincerely believe this doctrine of Intention, that I can account for their inconsistency, and the honesty and sincerity of their conduct in the worship of their host, and in speaking with such certainty of their consecrations, absolutions, &c., and for their stupidity in being blind to the danger to which they are exposed from all quarters, if the above be not true. Nothing but a fond conceit in their infallibility, can make them capable of thus receiving the doctrines implicitly, without attending to their obvious, plain import. As, therefore, you do not sincerely believe this doctrine, we charitably hope your practice may be sincere in the divine worship of the host, if you believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation; and that as your mistake extenuates your guilt, the Lord will forgive you, '*as you know not what you do.*'"

It is in perfect keeping with this, that you had previously asserted:

"But your priests and people, notwithstanding this awful uncertainty and danger, seem to be quite easy in their minds, and talk as confidently about their absolutions, baptisms, marriages, ordinations and consecrations, as if the above canon had never existed. How shall we account for this stupid inconsistency? Only by the fact, that *you do not sincerely believe this doctrine*, and attentively consider its import and ruinous consequences."

Hence you assert in p. 39, that we do not sincerely believe the doctrine: "The conclusion also, that Roman Catholics must be at least in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments:" I believe is not in the catechism, though it is also implied: "*did you sincerely believe your doctrine, which if we can credit your* MOST EMINENT WRITERS, *is not the case.*" I could continue extracts of this description as I pleased: but I am disgusted and tired, and hasten to an obvious conclusion; which is this: Mr. Waddell declares that he never yet met a layman of our

church who understood his own doctrine of intention; and that our most eminent divines do not sincerely believe our doctrine. It is clear that a man must believe his own doctrine, and that another might mistake it. Mr. Waddell and other Protestants impute to us a doctrine which is not ours, by giving to the doctrine of intention a meaning which our most eminent divines do not admit, which our laity do not know, which our Missal contradicts; and from this imputed doctrine they draw consequences which do not follow from what we believe: and when they impute the consequences to us and to our doctrine, we complain that they do us injustice and misrepresent our tenets. I leave to any rational being to decide whether this is not a more natural conclusion, than to assert that our laity do not know a doctrine which they are taught, and that our clergy do not believe the truth of what they profess and teach. Nor is this a singular instance of the pertinacity with which men like you will endeavor to fasten upon us follies which we disclaim. All the *religious* papers of the different Protestant churches continually bear false witness thus against us. And when we complain of the calumny; like you, they call us KNAVES, POOR THEOLOGICAL COWARDS, LIARS, DECEIVERS, and every other vile epithet which the decorum of society would not permit in any other case: but here, unfortunately, the public taste is vitiated, and public justice has yet to awake in these United States, to protect the feelings of a large body of citizens who have been the unpitied butt of every drawcansir, whose ambition for polemic fame urged him to pick up and use the poisoned arrows which defeated men of prowess had cast away, when they left the field with blushes other than those of honor and of fame.

Thus, Sir, you confess that the doctrine which you impute to us is not that of our clergy nor of our laity, consequently not ours.

I know not, Sir, whether I shall spare time to make a few more extracts from your pamphlet. Yours, &c., &c. B. C.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 4, 1830.

LETTER VI.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

SIR,—I shall trespass once more upon you, and recommend to your consideration, in the first place, what I conceive to be a few of the contradictions which you have put forward in treating of the doctrine of intention, so that if you should favor the public with a second edition of your pamphlet, you might be able either to attempt their reconciliation or their correction.

In your p. viii, you inform the world, regarding the mighty argument, by the use of which you fancied you would "pose the heroes of the Miscellany in short metre." "It is an argument with which *few Protestants* are acquainted." You also state, "I have never before seen it used as a principal (argument) except ONCE, when it was tried upon a renegade missionary from Rome to Ireland." Yet in page 21, you assure us,

"I am not the first Protestant that has deduced these consequences from your canon; for this argument of uncertainty is one of the objections of Protestants which have been standing against your Church FOR AGES, unanswered and unattempted."

In page 39, writing of this doctrine, you are good enough to say that we should state it fairly, that it "might be delivered from the consequences deduced from it by the catechist, *and many other Protestant writers.*"

When you shall have reconciled these assertions, it will be for you, who have read Bellarmine, and of course perused the 16th chapter of his first book "On the Sacraments in General," to inform us of the fact, that in the tenth and eleventh paragraphs thereof he shows the difference between the doctrines of Luther and Calvin, and of the Catholic Church, upon this topic. You are, I suppose, also competent to inform us of the statements and arguments which are concontained in chapters xxvii, and xxviii, of the same book, where, in ten closely printed folio columns, he explains the doctrine at length, and at least *attempts to refute* the statements of those two gentlemen, and of one of their followers. As I cannot suppose you would have ventured to assert that Bellarmine taught the doctrine in your mode of exhibiting it, without your having read what he wrote upon the subject; it appeared to me very like a contradiction in you to assert that the argument has been "standing against our Church for ages *unanswered and unattempted.*" You appear to be so well acquainted with our whole system, for you assured us in page vii, "I felt confident that the Papal system would be quickly overthrown by being brought to a public investigation: the weapons of warfare used by the Romanists are nothing but frivolous sophistry, subtle distinctions, BAREFACED DENIALS AND FORGERIES, and inconclusive plausible arguments:" that I took it for granted you had read many of our theological works, and that you must of course have observed that every theologian who wrote upon "The Sacraments in General," *did attempt to answer the objections.* I thought it strange that you should contradict this palpable fact by asserting that they were "for ages *unanswered and*

unattempted." I could never, Sir, after the assertions and the display of superior acquirements made by you, suspect or permit the insinuation that you had never read those authors, but that you merely repeated what others had said or written concerning them. Far be it from me, Sir, to place you amongst those "Protestant writers who learn what Roman Catholics teach, not by reading Roman Catholic authors." Your honest indignation at the charge is your vindication. To what then am I to impute your ignorance of the fact that not only have attempts been made but answers are continually given? Yet, Sir, to save your honesty, I fear I must tax your memory with being seriously defective.

To the above I might add your assertion in p. viii. "I have never met with a Romanist who knew their own doctrine of Intention"—and ask you to reconcile it with your assertion in p. 12, that "Reily's Catechism teaches the doctrine in much the same phraseology" as "the canon of the Council of Florence and of Trent." And also, that the doctrine "is taught in plain unequivocal language in '*The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine*,' a book publicly authorized, and of GENERAL USE in Ireland, as a book of instruction for the COMMON PEOPLE."

There are several other contradictions to which I could easily refer, but my object is not to exhibit your imperfections; I sought merely to justify myself in asserting that our doctrine of Intention was misrepresented. However, I shall give one other specimen of your consistency. In page 15, you have the following passage:

"For the sincere belief and clear view of the above necessary consequences of this doctrine would so confound both priests and people, that your priests would no more venture to minister in holy or unholy things, than I would, if I sincerely believed it; neither would their people venture to attend upon their masses, or place any confidence in their sacraments; nor would they talk so confidently about these things as they do. What! you ask, do you think our priests would swear to a doctrine they do not believe? This is the most charitable construction of their inconsistency. I do not say, indeed, that they would wilfully and knowingly forswear themselves; for this inconsistency can be accounted for without such a supposition, when we consider that you hold the doctrine of infallibility, which requires implicit faith in the decisions of your church."

In this passage you are kind enough equivalently to declare that you do not charge our priests with perjury. This, Sir, is exceedingly charitable; but I am at a loss how it shall be reconciled with the following passage in p. v.

"They not only declare upon oath, that, at the time of swearing, they believe the creed of Pope Pius, but that they will never deviate from it. Of course they swear, that they will shut their eyes against all arguments, however strong and conclusive, that they may be offered against the absurdities of that creed. They also swear, that they will teach the people that they cannot be saved, unless they believe all its gross, contradictory, and palpably false articles. Therefore, every priest who is true to this oath, must necessarily blind himself to the glaring absurdities of the papacy. Such bigots I do not accuse of wilful fraud in recommending their system to the world—but I can, by no means, exempt those from the heavy charge, who have studied the Scriptures, the fathers, history and general councils; *neither can I acquit any of them from* WILFUL FRAUD AND CORRUPT PERJURY, *who deny any of their doctrines, which they are sworn to confess till the last breath of their lives.* How awfully, then, do the general body of the Papal priests trifle with their consciences, whenever they are assailed with inquiry, and find it necessary to deny their doctrines! In these fraudful artifices they succeed amazingly in perverting the weak and ignorant, and in keeping their deluded people from ever knowing the blessed doctrines of the glorious Gospel; or even their own creed, which they are sworn to teach them. Surely the Papal clergy are the most complete tools Satan has in this world; and the Papal system, besides being the most pernicious, is the most degrading to the human mind, that Satan has ever contrived—but it is to be hoped its end is fast approaching, and that its votaries will shortly be aroused to a spirit of inquiry."

How will you reconcile it to your assertion in p. iv, when you state of the priests whom you designate as "emissaries of the man of sin"—that respecting their own doctrines "These things they KNOW to be arrant falsehoods," and this other extract from p. 43.

"Is it not then evident you have leagued together to deny your doctrines, when it can be done, that you may impose your false system upon the world by the lump; to entrap the desultory, ignorant and unstable; and to keep your own poor sons of delusion within your pale! The Church of Rome is like a ship on sea, in which there are smuggled goods. When she is pursued and in danger of being searched, those contraband goods are sometimes thrown overboard to save the ship and cargo from being taken and confiscated. So in your bark of various wares, when she is assailed by inquiry; some of her absurdities must be sacrificed at the shrine of falsehood and deception, to save the whole cause from destruction by the rays of light.

"And now gentlemen, what are intelligent Protestants to think of yourselves and your great cause! When we see it deserted and denied in the time of need by its most able ad-

vocates, who propose to maintain it, and publish a weekly paper for the purpose, can we imagine for a moment, it can be the cause of God and truth? Blush gentlemen, if you are capable of blushing; for once own that you have acted criminally, and away for the future with such disingenuous artifices. Avow your doctrines unreservedly and fairly, like honest men, and defend them if you can; and if you cannot, let them go to destruction.

"The noble work of B. C. on this subject, has served no other purpose than to deceive the poor stupid subjects of the triple crown; to show that the work is indispensably necessary, but impracticable; and to pour contempt and ridicule upon the great cause. Priest Hughes of Philadelphia, has lately found fault with the editors of the Church Register, for representing the Romish clergy as knaves, and their people as fools. If they have ever said any thing to that amount, have you not illustrated their remark? Have you not shown yourselves to be knaves in a public paper, by attempting to palm such a flat denial of your doctrines upon the world?—And have you not treated your readers as the silliest fools, by showing that you could impose such a palpable fraud upon their ignorance and credulity?"

We have it stated by him in p. v, that every priest at his ordination takes an oath to keep, to profess and to confess unto the last breath of his life, constantly whole and inviolate, the true Catholic faith, of course, if at any period, he shall willingly and knowingly deny that faith, he is a perjurer. You say, you do not accuse them of perjury. Will you reconcile that assertion with this charge in p. 55.

"It is no wonder, indeed, that her priests oppose, with all their might and influence, a book so admirably calculated as the Bible is to lay the axe to the root of all her pernicious absurdities—no wonder that priest Hughes inadvertently classes it amongst the books that are circulated against Popery—with Blanco White, Father Clement, and Andrew Dunn. To keep off this light they must raise an outcry of slander and misrepresentation against Protestants, and like B. C., with his quondam brethren, deny her doctrines when fairly stated by them. By these unfair means, and by aspersing the characters of the Reformers and modern writers, and by telling thousands of palpable falsehoods, sufficient to make a devil blush, they get their pernicious ends too well accomplished, in deceiving the ignorant of their own, and many of the unwary of other persuasions. But the time is coming, and now is, when your much injured people will read, and hear, and think for themselves: and when the Lord shall "consume the man of sin with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his coming."

"If, moreover, you cheat your readers by pretending to explain and maintain your doctrines, while you slyly keep some of them in the back ground, and even deny them when others happen to bring them forward; and above all, if you wilfully and knowingly make false statements of your doctrines, with a view to deceive the whole country, you cannot surely think that *all* your neighbors are so totally destitute of charity and regard for the truth, as to suffer such pious frauds to pass unnoticed in broad day-light."

And with this in pp. 64 and 66.

"That 'you make false statements of your doctrine,' is, indeed, an offensive charge and one of a very heavy nature; and I confess it shows very clearly, to you at least, that no benefit *to your cause* could result from a controversy with me, but rather much hurt and damage; for you know very well that I could substantiate this charge very hastily!"

I am tired, and so probably are my readers. As I have not given to them all your beauties, I shall now insert a few to edify them, and to gratify yourself.

I have in every extract from your production given sufficient specimens of your vituperation, but the following extract from your 52d page is too curious to be overlooked. I do not believe the letters which appear to the American reader so unintelligible, are either Greek, Hebrew or Arabic, I am told that they are wretchedly spelled Irish, in every polysyllable of which there is a palpable violation of the first rule of orthography which has been thus furnished to me; *Leathan le leathan 's ceal le ceal.*

"Now that Priests do expect and receive this cringing submission from their flocks, very far more than any other description of clergymen do, is a fact that meets the eye of daily observation, in every place where they can have their people wrapt in tenfold night, and had exercise this absolute despotism. Therefore are their people so foolishly afraid of their curses on the one hand, (which they so frequently thunder out against them,) and so superstitiously fond of their blessings, which they must have upon every occasion. And so far from discouraging this baseness of mind, this intoxicating superstition, the Priests promote it with all their power, from tender years up to gray hairs; so that the people, they who fear so little to break the decalogue on every hand, and under the Priests' very eye; yet look up with fear and awe to them, as if they were little Gods upon earth. Their common saying is, 'Who has such virtue as the Priest?' 'So far Innoid Iosa Croisda aguinn er a taliv e.' 'He is the man whom we have in the place of Jesus Christ on earth.' This the Pope always claims to be, 'Christ's Vicar on earth,' and every Priest is a little Pope in his own parish.

"This was exactly the error of the Jews. They hated a rejected Christ and his Gospel, and thus cleaved to their Priests who taught

them for doctrines the traditions of men, till God's wrath came on them to the full. A sad warning to all!"

I assure you, Sir, that to us in this quarter of the Union it is quite a novelty to be informed that the Catholic priests thunder out curses; though it is a fact that we like to partake of their blessings and their prayers. They possess our esteem and affection; but we neither know of their being Popes, nor of their having parishes.

A specimen or two of your boasting will perhaps edify those who have read these letters, and are thus qualified to estimate the foundation on which it rests. I make the extract from pp. 53, 54, and 55.

"Now, as by these false and fraudful doctrines, the people have been the trembling dupes and slaves of the Papal clergy, and the world troubled; so by the simple inquiry of the people, when they shall once be roused to it, will the whole body of them fall into instant annihilation. This I prove to demonstration intelligible to the meanest capacity, thus:

"Let any inquirer approach the next Priest or Bishop, Do you allow there is a canon, which insists upon the necessity of intention in the minister, in order to the integrity of a sacrament? If he shall say 'there is no such canon,' he is then confronted by the canon itself, and the rubric of his own Missal; but if he admit it, yet says, 'it is frivolous and not binding,' he then destroys his own foundation, and ruins himself; for if the canon be foolish and false, then the infallibility which in two councils decreed it, and the church founded on it, which for three centuries back has taught it, are foolish and false, and so drop headlong with it; but if he allow 'there is such a canon, and it is true,' then he is in a labyrinth of difficulties, out of which he can never extricate himself, without a magic wand; for the next question will be, 'How can you possibly know whether you are a Priest, or whether you are a Christian at all?' At this question he is startled! He is amazed! He trembles! He can't answer, or if he will answer at all, he stammers out, 'Indeed, I confess, it is a very difficult business; I must own, according to our Church, it is a thing impossible to be known whether I am truly baptized, or truly ordained at all!'"

"'And if you don't know, and if none of you know, how alarming must be the situation of all those to whom you have ministered; not knowing but we have been receiving false sacraments, and worshipping false hosts, all our lives! How came you to be guilty of so great wickedness as to assume the office at all, to bring destruction upon yourselves, upon us, and our little ones? You tell us your infallibility is a safe guide to Heaven: if so, why does it not lead yourselves out of these difficulties that so press you, and defend you and us from the risk of that damnation which is consequent on receiving a false sacrament, and worshipping a false host as you own? If it will give us no help, no relief; it is good for nothing. How then can it be a sure guide to Heaven, or from God? Then we must turn away from you forever to the Scriptures, nor suffer ourselves or our little ones to be deceived any longer.' Inquiry thus spreading through the land, nay, through the world; and being pressed upon the Massmen, they cannot stand before it, they must fly and hide themselves; so 'one chases a thousand, and two puts ten thousand to flight.'"

"Thus are they overthrown to a man, from the Pope on his throne to the meanest ecclesiastic. Thus the whole Papal Church, with all its apparatus, goes to ruin at once; even as the mill-stone which the mighty angel cast into the sea. Thus Babylon will sink, to rise again no more forever. Thus will the world be rid in a moment of this great mother and mistress of all churches, as she arrogantly styles herself. This haughty and furious disturber—this prolific parent of deceits and artifices! who filled the world with pernicious superstitions, grievous contentions, confusion, intolerance and blood! None who know history, can deny this. O Lord, hasten the time, and stir up the people quickly to this so necessary and salutary inquiry.

"And now methinks the ingenious edifice of the Papal building, put together with such care and industry, for so many ages, of which its partisans have so mightily boasted, crying out, 'What church is like unto it, or can make war with it!' is like a curious piece of mechanism, called a puzzling stick, brought forth by children, which, with great triumph, they exhibit to the ignorant, who stand gazing at it with great wonder and delight, praising the wonderful hand that formed it. But while they are in this rapture of admiration, behold! an unsuspected hand takes it to look on, pulls out the little key peg, and lo! instantly it falls to pieces. Their joy is turned into mortification, their little show is over; they hang down their heads and retire. So it fares with your cunning disputants, when the key peg is pulled out of their sophistry by the hand of fair inquiry.

"Having thus battered down your strong fortress, and damaged some of your inner works, by your own canon of Intention, I intend, if God permit, after perhaps doing a little more damage, to examine the foundation upon which this ideal fortress was built by the proud sons of imposture, as well as the materials and curious construction of the work, which has for ages been the eighth wonder of the Papal world: and I think when strictly examined, it will be found to have been the baseless fabric of a vision!"

The following from page 60 is a specimen of combined virulence, boasting and self-contradiction:

"Upon these creatures you could impose very easily; for if you could say any thing at all, they would clap it and shout applause. I will not say, however, that all your readers are such simpletons; for there are no doubt, a few

amongst them who are men of some penetration: but these again are as easily satisfied as the others. Should you deceive the multitude, you would please them; for they are so much in love with the great cause, that they like to see it supported and advanced by any means, right or wrong; AS THEY ARE AS GREAT KNAVES AS YOURSELVES. But should you once bring this subject on the carpet, and then not be able to say one word upon it to invalidate the obvious consequences, which I have pointed out, you would be in a hobble; for THE KNAVES, would be offended with you for betraying the secret; and THE SIMPLETONS would then perhaps see that your church is not only fallible, but foolish, and *far from being invincible.*

"There is also another reason why you cannot with safety, or even a good grace, bring this subject now before your readers. You remember well that you had it before them once, some time ago, and that you had (O wretched case!) to deny it, even to a Bishop: should you, therefore, bring it on the carpet now again, and acknowledge it to be your doctrine, fairly stated, how would it look? All men would then see YOUR KNAVERY, who would read your paper with any degree of attention; even perhaps your own poor admirers; your KNAVERY would perhaps be exposed to the world, and would reflect such infamy on your wretched cause, which, it would be found, is maintained by such *pious frauds*, that your fond hopes of promoting it, and of gaining blind converts in this part of the world, would perhaps be blasted for ever.

"It is indeed impossible to conceive the amount of damage that might accrue to your Diana should you thus lay this doctrine before your Ephesians, and acknowledge it after your *shameful denial;* and therefore you do well not to lay it before them in the way in which I have proposed. I acknowledge indeed that this doctrine is taught to the common people in their catechisms and other books of instruction; but they read it over without ever perceiving its consequences, and afterwards deny, and even forget, that they have heard of any such doctrine."

One extract more is all which I shall produce, it is so characteristic. It is found in page 41.

"This shameful practice, *the disavowal and concealment of your doctrines*, is the main point in your controversy. By this blessed expedient you keep millions of miserable stupid souls fast locked in the thraldom of Popery in all parts of the world where you cannot use compulsion, and then boast of these poor deluded millions, as a conclusive argument for your great cause. We can see by this trick very clearly, what this large argument fairly amounts to, and how far the testimony of such deceived stupid witnesses, though millions in number, ought to go in important matters in all soul concerns. By this cunning policy I was once deceived myself into a belief that you were an injured, misrepresented people, and was brought into difficulties and perplexities by your plausible arguments; but when I afterwards obtained from your own best writers and standard books a correct knowledge of your system, and learned to see through their sophistry, my doubts and difficulties soon vanished, and I saw clearly the cloven foot of Popery: and the mean artifices by which it is maintained served no other purpose than to stamp eternal infamy on a cause which needs such deceitful support. In this way thousands of ignorant persons are imposed upon by your machiavillians, and deluded into the pale of Popery. Their specious arguments easily go down with them, when they hear of your promises of life upon the performance of easy conditions, while they are permitted to walk after the lusts of their hearts, and to retain their idols—their venial sins, from the temporary punishment of which you can afterwards easily deliver them by your holy, or rather unholy water, your extreme unction, masses, indulgences and other impositions. O Syren song! surely *Satan himself was the author and promoter of such pious frauds.*"

Permit me, Mr. Waddell, to take my leave, and to cherish the hope that the readers of the Miscellany will, in the statements which I have made, feel that I was justified in asserting that our doctrine of Intention is misrepresented by Protestant writers; also, that from the extracts which have been made from your production, they will see that the editors of the Miscellany would have been wanting in self-respect and have failed in the duty which they owe to their patrons, had they descended to a contest with you; and Sir, allow me to add the expression of my trust, that no circumstance shall again require of me to be engaged as I have lately been. I remain, Sir, with sentiments becoming the occasion,

Yours, &c., &c., B. C.

Charleston, S. C., October 11, 1830.

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO A LADY, ON SOME OBSERVATIONS OF REV. MR. BEDELL,

RESPECTING TRANSUBSTANTIATION AND CONSUBSTANTIATION.

[The following Letter, which contains in itself an explanation of its occasion, and the circumstances under which it was written, appeared in Volume VII of the "U. S. Catholic Miscellany," for 1827.]

To Miss * * * * *

My Dear Madam,—Our friend, * * * to whom you sent the treatise of Bickersteth on the Lord's Supper, with notes by the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, A. M., has asked me for an explanation of the following passage which you marked for her consideration, and my solution.

"These terms, *transubstantiation*, and *consubstantiation*, though they may be understood by the great majority of the readers of this work, are not properly understood by all, and it is therefore hoped that a definition of them may not be considered out of place, or unimportant. By *transubstantiation*, is meant that immediately on the act of consecration, the elements of bread and wine, become actually the *body and blood of Christ*, so as no longer to be bread and wine. It is easy for any one who will calmly reflect on the subject, to see the monstrous absurdity of this dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. It is attempted to defend this doctrine, upon the principle that it is a great mystery; and I once heard Bishop England remark, that the miracle is still more extraordinary, because that while to the senses there appears nothing but bread and wine, there was, in fact and essence, no bread and wine present, but the real body and blood of Christ. A mystery, as correctly understood, is something which transcends the limited powers of reason, but which has nothing in it contrary to reason. In the doctrine of transubstantiation, however, there is a palpable contradiction; for the evidence of our senses cannot mislead us as to the reality of the thing submitted to examination. If the consecrated bread appears like bread, feels like bread, smells like bread, and tastes like bread, it is utterly impossible to conceive that it should all the while, be real flesh and blood, of which, to the senses, it has not one appearance or attribute. One great error of this kind generally paves the way for another equally or still more monstrous. On the idea that the consecrated wafer is the real body and blood of Christ, is founded the denial of the cup to the laity; for the wafer being changed into the body of Christ, and the body being composed of flesh and blood, so whoever eats the wafer, does of necessity eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of God. Thus much for the absurd and most unaccountable doctrine of transubstantiation with its concomitants.

"*Consubstantiation*, a kindred doctrine, was held by many of the early Lutherans. I do not know that it is held by the modern Lutherans, and though I am not prepared to say, I am rather of opinion that it is not, but that they agree in sentiment with our own Church. There is some doubt, however, on this point. The doctrine does not vary very materially from transubstantiation when critically examined; and there seems to be rather a nominal distinction between the terms than a real difference. By consubstantiation is to be understood, that after the consecration of the elements, the body and blood of Christ are *really present*, though the bread and wine remain the same in their nature and qualities.

"In contradistinction of these enormous opinions, our Church holds the doctrine that the bread and the wine are simply the emblems or symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and the 28th article declares, that 'the body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.'"—G. T. B.

I was not aware until I read this note that I had the honor of being introduced to the readers of the work. I have, however, little reason to complain of having been misrepresented, because I have frequently testified that in the holy Eucharist, although to the senses it appears to be bread and wine, there is not in reality either bread or wine: but the reverend note-maker has mistaken my meaning if he believed me to say that this was "still a more extraordinary miracle than transubstantiation," because transubstantiation means that at the consecration, the bread and wine are substantially, though not visibly changed into the body and blood of Christ, so that the latter substance retains the appearance of the former. I therefore must say that it is one and the same miracle and not two, one of which is less and another more extraordinary.

I am one who has calmly reflected on the subject, and must avow that I do not find it easy to see any monstrous absurdity in this dogma; neither have I ever known an attempt made to defend the doctrine upon the ground of its being a mystery, which would indeed be a silly effort, and no proof; but I have always known it to be defended upon the ground of its being within the power of God to effect such a change, and declared by Christ that God would make it. If the Reverend gentleman has not learned those grounds before, I trust he may now become acquainted with them, and I regret my inability to convey my ideas intelligibly to my auditors; for when the Reverend gentleman heard me make the statement which he gives, I certainly must have attempted to urge those grounds, and not the flimsy one which he adduces, for I always gave the two above stated and never gave the last.

Admitting his definition of a mystery: when he proceeds to apply his fact to that principle, the gentleman is quite too hasty; the term of comparison which he assumes in the definition is the phrase "contrary to reason:" in fair argument this same term is what should be used in his application of the fact: instead of this, however, he give us the phrase "contradiction to the senses." This is a looseness of language which I should not have expected from a gentleman who finds it so "easy to see the MONSTROUS ABSURDITY of a dogma" held to be reasonable and true by the most learned men whom Christendom has produced. I shall not remark upon the plain logical distinction between "*contrary* propositions" and "*contradictory* propositions," which shows me that two of the former may be together false, which can never occur as regards two of the latter; but I will remark that the gentleman must have been very hasty indeed, in making the thoughtless assertion that *senses* and *reason* mean the same. In opposition to this doctrine several examples might be easily furnished, but I shall defer adducing one until we examine his next expression, which is put forward in semblance of proof for this position.

He says that "the evidence of the senses *cannot* mislead us to *the reality of the thing* submitted for examination." I really do not understand the meaning of this, unless it be merely to assert that the evidence of the senses is sufficient to prove to us *the reality*, that is the *real existence* of the object. I am not disposed to quarrel with him upon this, though a learned Bishop of the Irish Protestant Church, Berkley of Cloyne, would never admit his proposition, and would contend that it was impossible to defend the Christian religion against infidels, except by denying its truth: however, I differ from this learned prelate, and I avow to the Rev. Mr. Bedell, that the evidence of my senses testifies to me the *real existence* of a body or substance, or *thing*. But a subsequent question is, what is the *nature* of that substance or thing; and with all deference I will assert that the evidence of the *senses* alone will in several instances, grossly mislead us as to the nature of the substance whose reality they testify: and if I can establish a single case in which the nature of the substance is widely different from its appearance to the senses, "contrary to the senses," will not be "contrary to reason," and the entire of Mr. Bedell's illusive fortress will vanish. I could exhibit several instances in the mineral kingdom and other departments of nature, as well as in its more unusual phenomena, not to mention works of art, that would bear powerfully upon the case; but no one of these would answer my present purpose with equal fitness as an instance taken from the Bible, and that, like the mystery of which we treat, is above reason, but not contradictory to it. The Reverend gentleman will not ask me to refer to chapter and verse, for what he so well knows to have frequently occurred; the appearance of angels in the human form; where the substance was of one nature and the appearance, of which alone the *senses could* take cognizance, was of a nature altogether different. Surely the spiritualized body of the Saviour in the Sacrament differs not more from bread, than the spiritual substance of an angel does from a human body. Would the Rev. gentleman allow the following to be good argument for an infidel in such a case. "If it appears like a human body, feels like a human body, smells like a human body and tastes like a human body, it is utterly impossible it should be all the while a real, angel," therefore I will not believe that it is an angel but a human being? Would it not be more congenial to your Bible and to your common sense, to argue thus? "The appearance indeed is that of bread, but God who can clothe one substance with the appearance of another, and who has clothed the angelic substance with the human appearance, has declared to me that at the consecration he changes the substance, continuing the former appearance unchanged: what his power can effect his word can testify: my senses have frequently deceived me, but the word of God is true, nor am I deceived, for my senses testify truly that there is some *real thing* here bearing the appearance of bread, but God testifies that its *nature*, is now the body and blood of Jesus Christ; thus my senses which testify *only* to the appearances,

but not to the nature of things, testify truly, for the appearance exists; but this does not contradict reason, which testifies that God can clothe one substance with the appearance of another; nor the declaration of Christ, who says of the substance, "*this is my body, this is my blood.*"

Do not then, my dear madam, I entreat you, despise my intellect, nor reproach me, as the reverend note-maker does, with believing A MONSTROUS ABSURDITY, A PALPABLE CONTRADICTION and a GREAT ERROR; I should rather hope you would believe that the spiritual critic was guilty of an oversight, which a little study of his metaphysics, his logic, and his Bible, together with the testimony of millions of wiser and more learned men than either he or I can assume to be, would correct; especially if joined to a little of that humility which is so bright a gem in the decoration of a Christian pastor.

The reverend gentleman makes another mistake in assigning the reason for what he is pleased to call "the denial of the cup to the laity." It is not true that communion under both kinds is throughout the Roman Catholic Church restricted to the clergy, though it is true that in the great Western Patriarchate of which we form a portion, the ancient discipline has been and still continues of giving communion only under one kind. The grounds for this discipline are principally, that it is a convenient usage which has always existed more or less extensively from the days of the Apostles; and that there is good reason to believe not only that it was frequently so administered by the Apostles, but probably once, if not oftener, by our blessed Lord himself, who declared that, *whosoever eateth me, the same shall live by me*, (John vi, 57,) and, *I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread he shall live forever: and the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world*, (John vi, 51.) But the reason which the gentleman assigns is like one of the answers given to the inquiry, whether we do not thereby leave those persons bereft of the blood of Christ; we say, "no, because whosoever receives the living body of Christ receives also his blood from which it is inseparable." We are as far from saying that "whosoever eats the wafer, of necessity eats the flesh and drinks the blood of the Son of God," as we are from saying that he who bears false witness, is at that moment stating the truth. Indeed, if our doctrine was what the Reverend gentleman makes us assert, it would be a MONSTROUS ERROR. If Mr. Bedell has thought proper deliberately to write contradictory nonsense, we are not therefore obliged to adopt his absurd expressions. His expression of *wafer* is used, probably without reflecting that the bread which the Saviour used was of that description, as it was unlawful to use leavened bread at the Passover. But if this was "*changed* into the body of Christ, and the body being composed of flesh and blood," how in the name of common sense could that which had by the *change* become flesh and blood be yet what it was previous to the change, a wafer. If it was *changed*, it was no longer a wafer, if it was no longer a wafer how will the gentleman use the expression "whoever eats the wafer"—when there is no wafer to be eaten, but flesh and blood under the appearance of a wafer? We say if there is no change there is but bread, and we do not eat the body of Christ which is not there: but if there is a change we do eat the body of Christ which is there. I shall show, I trust, that the absurdity belongs to Mr. Bedell and not to me. Whether our doctrine be true or false then, though the reason assigned be like ours, it is not ours, for we do not believe that any person who eats a wafer, thereby drinks blood.

I have to inform you that the Lutherans at Ebenezer in Georgia, and several of them in Savannah do believe, not as the Protestant Episcopal Church believes, but as several of their Churches in Europe do, the doctrine of consubstantiation. I regret to find the Reverend note maker so egregiously mistaken as to publish that "this doctrine does not vary materially from transubstantiation, when critically examined." I beg leave to inform you that there is a real difference and not merely a nominal distinction between the terms. By our doctrine, there is a change of substance, by the Lutheran doctrine there is no change, for the substance of bread still remains: by our doctrine, there is only one substance present, and that is the substance of Jesus Christ; by the Lutheran doctrine, there are two substances occupying the same space, viz. the substance of bread and the substance of the Saviour. The Lutheran says, "the body of Christ is really here together with the bread:" we say "the body of Christ is really here, without any bread, but having its appearance." By the Lutheran doctrine there are two distinct substances occupying the self-same space, both having the appearance of only one which is then present; in ours only one substance occupies the space, but it has not its own appearance but that of one which is not now present, but had been previously there. Mr. Bedell must have written very hastily, for he I presume knew those real differences. The Saviour according to the Lutheran doctrine could not with strict truth say of the sacrament "This is my body" as he could by

our doctrine, but his accurate expression should be, "My body is herewith."

I must now avow, that without meaning any thing offensive by the expression, I could never find common sense to my apprehension, in the doctrine given by the Rev. gentleman as that of his Church. I shall in a few words mention my difficulty. *To eat* means to take solid, as to drink is to take liquid sustenance by the mouth; now the sacrament is *eaten;* that is, taken by the mouth for sustenance, whether spiritual or corporal, matters not. I ask a communicant who has *eaten* the sacrament; "Have you *eaten* the body of Christ?" he says, "Yes." I remark, "Then that body was really present and taken into your mouth." He answers, "No." "Did you then eat what was not really present, and received into your mouth?" He answers me, "Yes, but it was eaten only by Faith." I remark that faith is belief, and belief is not eating. I can understand what it is to believe by faith, and what it is to eat by the mouth; but I never could understand what eating by believing meant, and I never found any person who could explain what it meant. I easily conceive that God can change the bread into the body of Christ, leaving still the appearance of bread to the new substance: when I receive that sacrament, I eat the body of Christ. I can conceive the Lutheran doctrine which requires also the power of God to place the body of Christ together with the bread: the Lutheran can say that he eats the body of Christ together with bread. I can conceive the Zuinglian doctrine which says that there is no change, and therefore that I eat only bread, but recollect that Christ died, and believe that he will save me by his death, but that I do not eat the body of Christ, because it is not there. But I cannot understand Mr. Bedell's assertion that I eat a body which is not there: neither can I understand how I can eat by faith; nor can I understand how by eating a symbol, I eat the reality: nor can I understand that eating and believing mean the same thing: all this is perhaps very intelligible to the Rev. gentleman and to you; and, but that I feel a distrust in my own philosophy, and could not bring myself to use such an expression [as] to what I am told you believe, and of course understand, I should be inclined to rank it with believing that by eating a wafer a person drank blood, and be tempted to give it the epithet which Mr. Bedell very properly gives to that product of his fancy, substituted by him for an article of Catholic belief.

My Dear Madam, I am perfectly aware of the power which early impressions, affectionate attachments, the appearance of consistency, and public opinion exercise over a strong and discriminating judgment, and a desire to know with certainty "what is truth." But I felt that I owed it to my own consciousness of that truth, and in some degree to the character with which I am invested, to rescue the doctrines of my Church from obloquy, and if possible my own name from being exhibited to my fellow citizens identified with the terms *monstrous absurdity, palpable contradiction, more monstrous error, absurd and most unaccountable doctrine;* and the call was if possible more imperative, when I was led into the closets of the most pious and virtuous portion of our community, to be made the object of their contempt or pity, at the moment of their most serious intercourse with our common Creator.

Though the Rev. Mr. Bedell's character as a philosopher or a divine, has not risen in my estimation, I assure you, madam, that I consider your loan of the book to our friend was suggested by the best motives, and that I still hold you in kind and respectful consideration, and remain

With esteem, yours,

†JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

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